The Great Depression in America: A Cultural Encyclopedia, Volumes 1 & 2

Edited by William H. Young Nancy K. Young

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The Great Depression in America

The Great Depression in America

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WILLIAM H. YOUNG and NANCY K. YOUNG



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In memory of Gary Sederholm, whose spirit inspired us all

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Preface

The 1930s: this fascinating chapter in history will continue to be examined, discussed, and debated for the foreseeable future—and no doubt beyond—just as people have been doing since the decade began. Which leads to this encyclopedia: what it is, how it works, and how to use it.

Throughout the pages that follow, readers will gain a sense of American life during the 1930s, from the onset of the Great Depression to the beginnings of World War II. The focus of this encyclopedia centers on popular culture, those activities, events, institutions, and individuals that constitute the routines of normal, everyday life. Movies, radio programming, popular music, best sellers, entertainers and celebrities—the elements that define popular culture—receive primary attention, as opposed to the more traditional and formal content of elite, or high, culture. Thus swing, a component of popular music, receives more space than does classical music, *Life* magazine more than an academic journal, a diner and fast food more than a gourmet restaurant, 42nd Street more than "serious" drama, the dancing of Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers more than avant-garde choreography, and so on. Whenever possible, examples from the vibrant popular culture of the 1930s serve as illustrations of what interested and engaged people during the decade.

For example, under the entry "Crime," the inclusion of popular movies and radio shows, along with pulp magazines and mystery novels, demonstrates how people perceived lawbreaking and criminals at that time. Similarly, the article titled "Gangster Films" reinforces a number of the ideas advanced in "Crime," as do such entries as "Federal Bureau of Investigation," "Lindbergh Kidnapping," and "Mysteries & Hard-Boiled Detectives." In each, a rich sampling from popular culture gives depth to *The Great Depression in America:* A Cultural Encyclopedia and makes it unique in its emphases.

The 200 entries comprising the encyclopedia deal in a variety of ways with the decade and are listed alphabetically, going from "Advertising" and "Airships" through "Your Hit Parade" and "Youth." In the case of peoples' names, surnames receive first listing, followed by the given name so that the entry reads "Crosby, Bing," not "Bing Crosby." At the first mention of any individual within an article, every effort has been made to provide birth and death dates.

In the final pages of this encyclopedia, a detailed index will aid readers in locating information about topics or people not found under "Entries." Thus cartoonist Al Capp

does not appear as an individual entry, but discussion of him and his influence will be found under "Li'l Abner," his famous comic strip. He can be located in the index under his own name. Similarly, the trendsetting 1934 Chrysler Airflow automobile, so stylistically advanced for its time, will not be found under that heading, but instead under "Automobiles" and by name in the index. The index entry for Chrysler will also direct readers to other information about the car.

Each article contains words or phrases in **boldface** that indicate additional related entries. For example, the *Li'l Abner* entry mentions, in the course of its text, Erskine Caldwell, comic strips, *Grand Ole Opry*, hillbillies, the *National Barn Dance*, radio, and religion. Each term is in boldface and can be found under that name in the encyclopedia. At the conclusion of each article, a boldface **See also** suggests other encyclopedia topics, not mentioned in the entry, that may prove helpful in the subject area. In this case, *Li'l Abner* includes cross-references to "Movies," "Newspapers," and "Radio Networks."

Immediately following the "See also" recommendations, a listing called "Selected Readings" gives titles of some useful books, articles, and websites about the entry subject. These minibibliographies provide a starting point for further research but are not exhaustive. An extensive listing of selected resources, found immediately before the index, presents a wealth of additional books, articles, and Web sites covering a myriad of subjects dealing with the Depression era. Many of the citations in this section address relevant topics not discussed directly in any particular entry.

In the text itself, whenever monetary figures appear in their original amounts, their present-day equivalents follow parenthetically. These contemporary numbers represent dollars adjusted for inflation, showing what a product or service purchased in the past would cost today. Because dollars have shifted dramatically over the years, the adjusted values have gone through many changes between the Depression years and the present.

It is the authors' hope that anyone interested in American life and activities during this tumultuous decade will find much that is informative and useful within these pages.

Acknowledgments

Many individuals have contributed, directly and indirectly, to the creation of this encyclopedia. Once again, our sincere thanks to everyone at the Lynchburg College Library. Director Chris Millson-Martula saw that all the library's facilities were available to us, making what could have been an impossible task into something doable. Ariel Myers, the college archivist and the person to see for interlibrary loans, found items that some considered unfindable. Elizabeth Henderson and Linda Carder deftly handled research and Internet questions—and dug out the answers.

Another, larger library also deserves recognition: LOC, the Library of Congress. Jan Grenci and her team—Jeff Bridgers, Maja Keech, and Lewis Wyman—in the Prints and Photographs Division always made us feel welcome and went the extra mile in finding pictures and other illustrative materials in their vast holdings. In the Rare Books Section, curator Clark Evans provided first editions of significant best sellers from the era, including the original dust jackets. In Photographic Services, Sandra Lawson, Shirley Burry, Yusef el-Amin, Jim Higgins, and Erica Kelly guided us through the procedures for obtaining glossies of some of the library's treasures, and they did a fine job shooting them. Sam Perryman, of the Performing Arts Reading Room, likewise gave us guidance about his section's collection.

An evening with Ethan Becker is not to be missed. The son of Marion Rombauer Becker and grandson of Irma Rombauer, creator of *The Joy of Cooking*, he reminisced about growing up among master cooks. Jane Graziani, who works with the national office of the American Automobile Association, gave of her time and knowledge about this important organization during the 1930s. Susan White of King Features Syndicate cheerfully assisted us with obtaining copyright permissions and locating other materials as well.

Nancy Blackwell Marion and others at the Design Group in Lynchburg, Virginia, brought their skills to bear on assembling illustrations. Thanks to their extensive collections of artifacts and memorabilia from the 1930s, Jere Real was able to provide information about Big Little Books, and Bryan Wright found some rare 78-rpm recordings from the era. Tiffany Palmeri helped with information about Coca-Cola advertising, and Al Harris supplied sheet music that captures the period well.

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Introduction

Like ripples on a pond, the events of the Great Depression and its aftermath eventually reached all Americans, regardless of wealth, social standing, race, education, or any other variables. Children saw their own parents, especially fathers, out of work and standing in breadlines with scores of other unemployed people, or selling apples on a street corner. Teens looked on as jobs disappeared, idled by forces they barely understood. Adults watched—some with high expectations, others with cynicism, and more than a few with disdain—as the government tried ineffectually to cope with the crisis. Then a flurry of new legislation—a "new deal"—promised relief for all the economic and social woes plaguing the country.

As the 1930s were on, the Depression did lessen in its severity, but it left in its wake scars and dashed hopes. As the economy improved, people witnessed a new danger, a world tumbling out of control toward another world war. They knew that the United States would eventually be drawn in, an unwilling participant in that growing conflict. Financial security, more promised than real, had briefly seemed within reach, but international politics now threatened everything. The horrors of a new global conflagration replaced many of the uncertainties that had marked the first years of the decade.

For some, the 1930s were the tempering years, for others the anxious years, and still others called them the angry years, the years of protest. By whatever appellation it was known, the decade presented contradictions galore: for a lucky few, those with money and security, the era offered luxuries on a lavish scale. They drove automobiles—Duesenbergs, Cords, Lincolns—unlike any motorized vehicles previously manufactured; they traveled in style, choosing opulent steamships, elegant passenger trains, or even an aerial China Clipper. The world of high fashion rejected the boyish flapper look of the 1920s and embraced a soft, feminine style that caressed the figure, while the average homemaker wore shapeless housedresses and smocks called "Hooverettes."

As individuals warily watched events, the built environment transformed itself. Sky-scrapers rose amid a falling economy, and modern designers streamlined everything, from houses to radios to pencil sharpeners. The sinuous curves of polished chrome banisters, the stark whites of modernistic interiors, and the gleaming black Bakelite surfaces of expensive furnishings beckoned those observers, even as banks foreclosed on their dilapidated homes for nonpayment of mortgages. Those sleek statements of modernity suggested a less fractious society, a symbol of hope that somehow in the days to come



Times were hard for many, and people had to make do as best they could during the grim years of the Great Depression. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

the economy and its accompanying social issues would be smoothed out and function as they were supposed to.

A wave of European émigrés brought an austere internationalism to architecture, and Frank Lloyd Wright, a survivor of numerous shifts in styles, absorbed and adapted these new trends, creating during the 1930s some of his finest, most memorable structures. For those in the vanguard, ornamentation, a hallmark of earlier eras, became passé, replaced by unadorned curtain walls and ribbon windows. The average citizen, however, preferred an early American, colonial, or period revival house to the modernist dwellings seen in many magazines. Nostalgia for a golden-hued past that never really existed expressed itself in furniture and accessories readily available at department stores and through catalogs; this avoidance of contemporary design involved a subconscious rejection of present problems more than a conscious dislike for the work of artists and craftsmen of the day.

Many of the cultural changes of the 1930s found ready acceptance by the public. Housewives flocked to the new supermarkets that began to replace the older

mom-and-pop grocery stores, and travelers certainly preferred the motor hotels—a term quickly shortened to "motels"—to the cramped hotels and ramshackle auto camps that once sufficed for a night on the road. The chain restaurant, another innovative concept, promised better food and ambience than the greasy spoons and diners of the recent past. Getting to these places required an automobile, and even during the Depression, Americans clung to their cars. Throughout the decade, hard-pressed local and state governments found the funds to pave and improve existing roads, as well as construct new ones. By the late 1930s, the first modern, multilane highways began to snake across the landscape, laying the groundwork for the tremendous growth of the suburbs that would characterize the remainder of the twentieth century.

American popular culture, in all its modes and manifestations, offered the well-off, the family on relief, and the young and old a veritable smorgasbord of entertainments and diversions, and the menu kept changing as time marched on. The federal government, traditionally a stranger to cultural trends, even played a role, underwriting the arts through agencies like the Federal Writers' Project, the Federal Music Project, the Federal Theatre Project, and the Federal Art Project. Guidebooks to the states, put together by skilled writers, described the highways and byways, the towns and cities of the nation; plays that boasted low ticket prices and fine actors introduced millions to live theater; and painters created numerous murals in public spaces, giving many their first glimpse of quality art. Unlike any previous era, the 1930s witnessed the rise of a true mass popular culture available to all.

For many, however, time hung heavy in this pretelevision era. Even those with jobs sought diversions to keep their minds off the dark shadows cast by the Depression. Radio, hugely popular throughout the country, allowed listeners to engage in other activities while tuned in to their favorite programs, and that meant an increase in games and hobbies of all kinds. Contract bridge became a fad, as did Monopoly, the classic board game about real estate acquisition. In good weather, and thanks to New Deal programs that greatly increased the number and accessibility of recreational facilities, people flocked to new diamonds to play softball. Extravagant fairs and expositions exhibited their wares throughout the decade, with Chicago's 1933–1934 Century of Progress and New York's 1939–1940 World's Fair setting the standards. Miniature golf enjoyed a brief craze early in the 1930s, and jigsaw puzzles sold in the millions for much of the period. For the really desperate, marathon dancing promised inevitable exhaustion and a cot, some free meals, and maybe a paltry prize for the couple that stayed on their feet the longest.

Thanks to electronic technology, sound movies, recordings, and—in particular—radio, Americans shared images, sounds, and ideas. The newspaper pictures of the airship *Hindenburg* exploding at Lakehurst, New Jersey, competed with breathless radio commentary about the flaming wreckage, and it grew from a tragic event to an icon of modern disasters, a testament to the power of instantaneous communications. The image of the newly inaugurated president Franklin D. Roosevelt, chipper with his cigarette holder up at a jaunty angle, reassured millions that the country would get through the Depression and that FDR would lead the way. In the meantime, Bing Crosby crooned, as did Rudy Vallee and Russ Columbo, and a generation's concept of romantic love would be forever altered. The verbal and visual anarchy of the Marx Brothers, Joe Louis's knockout of Max Schmeling, the blonde bombshell look of Jean Harlow, the comic strip adventures of Dagwood Bumstead and Andy Gump and Little Orphan Annie, the streamlined pizzazz of modern transportation, from the

DC-3 to the Chrysler Airflow—all these and so much more etched themselves into the national psyche, a communal experience that allowed people to make sense of the world around them.

Of all the media, radio ruled. Two giant networks, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), so big that it split into Red and Blue divisions, and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), a worthy rival, stretched their electronic tentacles into every living room in the country. From late morning to early afternoon, soap operas, such as Ma Perkins and David Harum, dispensed folksy wisdom and dramatic pathos, giving way later in the day to the serialized exploits of the likes of Jack Armstrong, the All-American Boy and The Tom Mix Ralston Straight Shooters for kids home from school. The evenings belonged to music with vocalists and bands, comedy with Jack Benny and variety with Fred Allen, and the rat-a-tat-tat of machine guns on Gang Busters, a reminder that criminals sometimes lurked in unexpected places, waiting for the unwary. Thwarted romance, serials, domestic comedy, cops and robbers—each and every day the nation tuned in.

Close behind radio in popularity came the movies. Between 60 and 90 million people—almost half the population—went to the movies week in and week out. To satisfy the paying customers' quenchless thirst for thrills and laughter, Hollywood produced hundreds of feature films each year. The fare ranged from the rubber-faced antics of comedian Joe E. Brown to the peerless acting of Greta Garbo and Paul Muni. Gary Cooper, Errol Flynn, and Ronald Coleman displayed quiet heroism in the face of danger, while Cary Grant, Carole Lombard, and Irene Dunne muddled through their share of screwball comedies. Who could forget Shirley Temple dancing with Bill "Bojangles" Robinson or the adolescent innocence of Judy Garland and Mickey Rooney in Love Finds Andy Hardy? And on Saturdays, theaters opened their doors early for matinees that gave their youthful audiences two Westerns, with stars such as Gene Autry and Roy Rogers, some shorts and cartoons, plus the latest installment of a wondrous, cliff-hanging serial.

Lots of people had free time, wanted or unwanted, and for some books offered an easy escape. Readers immersed themselves in *Anthony Adverse* and *The Good Earth*, along with a host of other best sellers, page-turners all. *Gone with the Wind*, first as a novel and then as a much-publicized blockbuster movie featuring the sizzling chemistry between Clark Gable and Vivian Leigh, generated an unheard-of amount of excitement. Margaret Mitchell's epic story of life in the Civil War South topped everything and anything the decade produced.

More cerebral, perhaps, were the many mysteries and detective tales that found a receptive public. From the intellectual whodunits of Ellery Queen to the courtroom challenges in Erle Stanley Gardner's Perry Mason series to the shadowy world of hardboiled private eyes like Sam Spade and Philip Marlowe, stories of crime and detection sold millions of books.

But reading did not stop with novels. Each week the mail carrier delivered a new issue of the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Collier's*, or *Liberty*, tempting readers with a mix of fiction and fact, making the 1930s a heyday for big-circulation magazines. A handy diversion from the everyday world, these weeklies, along with hundreds of more specialized magazines for women, hobbyists, sports fans, children, and just about anyone else, opened doors to knowledge, leisure, and entertainment. If the articles got too dense, *Life* came along at mid-decade to explain the world in pictures, the first magazine given over wholly to photojournalism. And *Newsweek* and *U.S. News and World Report* challenged *Time's*

leadership in the area of condensed news coverage. Despite all these choices, circulations generally stayed strong, another strand of the mass-media fiber that wove together the nation.

Along with magazines, at sunrise and at sunset newsboys delivered the daily newspapers right to the front porch of millions of homes. Most larger cities boasted competing papers, usually morning and evening dailies, and many households subscribed to both. The dailies served as journalistic eyes on the ongoing world, and people felt out of touch without at least one newspaper. Loaded with features, from bridge columns to horoscopes, they also offered comic strips, the part of the paper that most people ranked as their favorite. Everybody read them, from the family humor of *Blondie* to Popeye gulping down a can of spinach. Dick Tracy battled crime with realistic-looking bullets, and Li'l Abner went his merry way in Dogpatch. *Little Orphan Annie* and *Apple Mary* dared to depict the grim Depression, something new for the comics, and through grit and gumption their heroines gave a daily lesson in surmounting all the difficulties life can throw at you.

Providing a sometimes soothing, sometimes raucous, always rhythmic background to this menu of endless choices, American popular music, on record and in jukeboxes, on radio and movie soundtracks, and on bandstands and in theaters, rose to the challenges of the 1930s. Those already well established, such as the Gershwins, Cole Porter, and Jerome Kern, along with a significant number of other songwriters and lyricists, composed so many standards that orchestras and vocalists will never exhaust them. Blues and jazz and even a smattering of folk and country had their adherents, and a new generation of composers sought modernity in the classical idiom. And then, accompanied by a danceable beat that got more pronounced with each passing year, another body of music evolved that produced a legion of ardent fans: swing. Sweet bands and innocuous lyrics dominated at first, but when the powerhouse swing bands rolled into town, they pushed the competition aside. Benny Goodman, Duke Ellington, Artie Shaw, Count Basie, and a hundred others ruled the airwaves, the dance floors, and the recording industry. Swing united the country's musical tastes under a common umbrella, a musical phenomenon that brought people together as never before, further stitching together the tapestry of popular culture.

As these media marvels wove still more connecting threads, a cultural consensus arose, but one that offered, in its synthesis, a simultaneous study in contradictions. In the arts, the Social Realists painted urban loneliness and social injustice, while the Regionalists celebrated the fecundity of the rural heartland and looked to a mythic past. Meanwhile, traditional painters like Edward Hopper and Charles Sheeler, along with illustrator Norman Rockwell and his evocative covers for the *Saturday Evening Post*, belonged to no school and still found a broad, appreciative public.

The decade blurred gangsters with heroes, watched Jesse Owens and Joe Louis with awe, but still staunchly supported strict segregation. Americans built Hoovervilles in the shadows of gleaming skyscrapers. And they either loved or hated Franklin D. Roosevelt and his New Deal's social programs that came into being as a host of "alphabet agencies," such as the CCC, the NRA, the WPA, the FHA, and so many others. The decade brought the presence of the federal government, wanted or not, into everyone's lives.

Despite these paradoxes, the country displayed that optimism peculiar to its citizens. Faced with a wrenching depression, cultural clashes, and a string of other unhappy events, people continued to laugh. Knock-knock jokes, goldfish eating, flagpole sitting,

George Burns and Gracie Allen, the dialect humor of *Amos 'n'* Andy, and the heartwarming comedies of Frank Capra kept a smile on their lips. Plus just about everyone went gaga over five little girls in Canada.

In all, "the best of times, the worst of times"; certainly, in retrospect, the most interesting of times. The subject of almost constant study since that Tuesday in October 1929 when the stock market crashed, signaling the end of one era and the onset of something new and unknown, the 1930s really began before the 1920s had officially expired. Although the Great Depression did not make its weight felt until 1930-1931, the crash makes for convenient, easily remembered dating. A genuine crisis, the impact of the Depression did not lessen until after 1933 and the beginnings of the New Deal, a time when many thought "happy days are here again." But then a 1937–1938 recession and the threat of a new world war came along, and the nation turned inward, isolating itself from the world, a stance it could not maintain. National politics nonetheless caused the decade to run a bit overtime. Most people would say the real outbreak of World War II occurred when the Wehrmacht overran Poland in September 1939, and some would argue even earlier than that, what with events that unfolded in Asia during the mid-1930s. The U.S. entry into this new world war, however, would not occur until December 7, 1941, amid the explosions and destruction at Pearl Harbor. As the last of the Japanese pilots flew back to their carriers, the 1930s once and for all drew to a somber, bloody close.



ADVERTISING. During the so-called Roaring Twenties, a nineteenth-century term came into renewed vogue: ballyhoo. It means blatant exaggeration, a way to win attention in any way possible. A fitting term, because advertising in the 1920s tended to pull out all the stops as it clamorously demanded the consumer's notice. A reflection of the era, a time when people saw prosperity as unending and advertising revenues had achieved a record-breaking 1929 total of \$3.4 billion, ballyhoo urged more and more consumption. The good times, it seemed, would never end. But of course, they did end with the stock market crash and the onset of the Great Depression. Advertisers faced a new challenge: how to promote products and consumption in straitened times.

With the 1930s, advertisers designed their promotions to show how much people needed goods and services; the older themes of social status, benefits, and pleasure did not entirely disappear, but they received reduced emphasis. Economic pressures meant cutting the bloated ad budgets of preceding years, and most advertising agencies felt the pinch. After a decade of almost uninterrupted growth, managers had to eliminate non-essential jobs, slash salaries, and produce ad copy as cheaply as possible. The public witnessed this change by being exposed to a steadily shrinking number of commercial appeals, at least in print. An exception, however, occurred in the thriving medium of radio. As print advertising declined, on-air promotions increased, although even radio stations saw a drop in revenues in 1932, one of the darkest years of the Great Depression.

Unemployment soared in all sectors of American life in the first years of the decade, and with less money to spend, people looked on much advertising with a certain distrust. Claims that might have gone unchallenged in the exuberant 1920s the public now began to question. A series of books with titles like *Your Money's Worth* (1927), 100,000,000 *Guinea Pigs* (1933), *Skin Deep* (1934), *Eat Drink and Be Wary* (1935), *The Popular Practice of Fraud* (1935), and *Partners in Plunder* (1935) fueled these fears and sold well. In 1931, a new magazine, *Ballyhoo*, appeared on newsstands. Dedicated to deriding most advertising, *Ballyhoo* did well its first two years. The editors refused all paid ads and instead ran trenchant parodies of the real thing. With the slow economic recovery, the novelty of *Ballyhoo* wore off, and the magazine died a lingering death, ceasing publication in 1939.

Organizations like Consumer's Union and Consumer's Research enjoyed rapid growth and prosperity throughout the decade, their success reflecting public discontent with inflated claims and shoddy products. By the end of the decade, they boasted memberships of 80,000 and 60,000, respectively. The federal government at this time launched several investigations into advertising practices, and from these came the Pure Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, passed in 1934. The Federal Trade Commission and the Security and Exchange Commission, along with the U.S. Post Office and the Internal Revenue Service, increased their supervisory and regulatory controls over advertising, another reflection of the general distrust the medium suffered.

Advertisers took heed of the changing times and toned down much of the hoopla that no one had questioned just a few years earlier. And, in order not to upset the public any further, little advertising produced during the Depression reflects the economic problems of the day, at least not directly. Despair and social upheaval receive almost no notice, and most copy glosses over economic realities. Occasionally, ads or radio commercials hint at the need for good personal appearance in order to gain or hold a job, or they might urge sympathy for those less fortunate, but little else. Instead, most Depression-era advertising shows the consumer, comfortable and assured, in the presence of the product being touted.

In a period of uncertainty, these ads nonetheless perform a service by giving information about prices, quality, brands, reputation, and so forth. At the same time, they reassure the public by, paradoxically, saying on the one hand that "prosperity lies right around the corner" and on the other that hard work and sacrifice may be needed to weather any economic storms. To accommodate this two-edged approach, ads often focus less on the product and more on the consumer. The thrust of a promotion might be to buoy sagging spirits and bolster confidence. Throughout the 1930s, this kind of message grew in importance as the certainties of earlier times came into question.

Despite a refusal to acknowledge the crisis directly, advertising nonetheless changed with the decade. The gauzy, optimistic future of years past has been replaced with a more hardedged depiction of the present, a present, however, minus any Depression. They reflect aspirations, not realities. To make their points, many agencies and clients favored loud, brash messages, but without the ballyhoo of the 1920s. They replaced the graceful **Art Deco** typefaces of the 1920s with a plain block style taken from **newspapers**, losing no opportunity to get the message directly to the consumer. Bold type, harsh black-and-white photographs, and a terse prose style that abandons nuance and subtlety for the hard sell characterize many print ads during the 1930s. Any nostalgia for the more elegant styles of the 1920s gets put aside. More and more ads also include contests and giveaways; this emphasis on promotions came from the success they had on radio employing similar techniques. In all, advertising displays a nervous, tense quality, perhaps echoing the tenor of the times more than readers knew. As the decade progressed, agencies continued to cut costs in every way possible, usually making lush illustrations and imaginative graphics their first victims.

The world portrayed by magazine ads, large and small, almost always exists as a contemporary urban or suburban one. Although over a quarter of the nation's population still resided on farms or in what were considered rural areas in the 1930s, the milieu of advertising had long since been urbanized. Skyscrapers represent the office environment; large factories the manufacturing one; and apartments, houses on a city street, or cozy dwellings in the suburbs of a large metropolis, the residential one.

With this urban imagery, American advertising brought forth a sense of modernity. Many ads integrated innovative ideas in technology, design, architecture, and the

like into the world of style; they made the "new" seem chic—for example, color-coordinated ensembles in such mundane products as plumbing fixtures, automobiles, china, and silverware. Elements of contemporary art—expressionism, cubism, abstraction, impressionism—surface with some regularity on the pages of mass-circulation magazines. Some attempt to keep words to a minimum, evoking emotional responses by color choices and breaking down shapes to their basic elements. For example, technology might be suggested by deliberately distorted arrangements of motifs, summoning up the new and the novel visually. Although use of modern art remained scattered, when used it functions as a reaction to the illustrative styles of preceding decades.

For many agencies, the Depression seldom offered the luxury of experimenting with new styles. They saw the realistic, folksy paintings of, say, a Norman Rockwell as infinitely preferable to any attempts at modernism in advertising, and many firms attempted to retain their illustrators. Too often, however, they found such work in less demand, and oils and watercolors became secondary to the print message. Such economic realities brought on an aesthetic and philosophical split in advertising art: a portion of 1930s advertising cannot be distinguished from that of preceding decades, but a significantly larger segment employs a modernistic, abstracted kind of imagery. This dichotomy between old and new continued on into the war years.

To instill their message, advertisers sometimes invoke collective guilt. If consumers do not possess or employ a specific product, they may pay a high price for their neglect. Lapsed insurance policies will force children to drop out of school and go to work; the absence of a particular appliance could lead to social ostracism; failure to practice good hygiene will create a bad first impression. Images of sobbing women and regretful men provide evidence of what will happen when they fail to buy certain products or perform particular acts. This kind of finger-pointing, however, appears in a minority of ads; the majority promises a better life and better days ahead, and thereby reinforces goals and objectives already held by the public.

Regardless of approach, advertisers continued to see their revenues decline, plunging to a low of \$1.3 billion in 1933, or about a third of what they had been three years earlier. As income fell off, some agencies changed course, bowing to the belief that simplicity serves as the key to communicating a message. Pioneer market researchers like George Gallup (1901–1984) and A. C. Nielsen (1897–1981) discovered that the majority of Depression audiences desired clear, simple ads. The wordy parables and long testimonials, so beloved of copywriters, begin to disappear, replaced by a format consisting of short, straightforward sentences or headline-like fragments. As the economy improved after 1933, more and more images of gracious living reappear, but the accompanying copy has lost most of its wordiness.

In addition, researchers found that the use of characters and cartoon drawings from comic strips appealed to a broad public. People, especially youthful readers inured to the comics, liked speech balloons, a device taken from the popular daily series for impact. Many ads employ cartoon characters (some recognizable, others created exclusively for advertising purposes) that extol such disparate products as breakfast cereals, desserts, and beverages; this device proved an effective means of promotion. In fact, the extended Sunday comics in a typical newspaper contained a mix of straight strips and virtually identical advertising messages, and frequently the readers had to determine which was which. By 1937, over 300 newspapers carried comic advertising of one form or another.



Children play atop a soft drink stand advertising various brands. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

The following mail-order campaign serves as a good example of successful comic-strip advertising: generations of American boys have dreaded being "97-lb. weaklings," thanks to the classic cartoon ads of one Charles Atlas, holder of the title "The World's Most Perfectly Developed Man." This honor had been bequeathed on Angelo Siciliano (1892–1972) in 1922, a one-time "weakling" who soon thereafter dubbed himself "Charles Atlas."

Starting in the late 1920s, and blossoming during the Depression years, Atlas and his skilled promoters created a business that quietly boomed for the next half century and became in itself an icon of American popular culture. In an unending series of advertisements, usually found in the back pages of comic books and cheap pulp magazines aimed at male readers, Atlas showed through rather crude cartoons how brawny bullies victimize weak men. Help came in the form of a coupon that would bring a booklet demonstrating how dynamic tension (Atlas's secret method of developing

muscles and power; today it would be called isometrics) changes one's physique and outlook on life. This was classic come-on, as old as advertising itself, but the comic strip format in time lured over 6 million men into trying the booklet *Dynamic Tension* at \$30 (about \$244 in contemporary dollars) for 12 lessons on breathing, exercises, diet, and the like.

Even with difficult choices and grim prospects, a number of other advertising formats enjoyed success during the Depression. Outdoor advertising proved to be a growing industry at this time; the 1920s, often called "the golden age of billboards," brought outdoor ads to a new level, and the 1930s continued that exuberance. About 320 agencies deployed outdoor promotions on a nationwide basis in 1932; seven years later over 500 companies had entered the field. Outdoor advertising traditionally aims at a broad middle and lower middle-class audience. Direct and realistic, it conveys its entire message quickly. Whereas magazines turned increasingly to **photography** to display products, billboards clung to the traditional painted and airbrushed illustration.

The Burma-Vita Company, a small, Minnesota-based firm struggling to market a men's brushless shaving cream, launched one of the most unusual ad campaigns in the long history of American outdoor advertising in 1925. The company had tried giving out sample jars, but that approach did little to increase sales. Then, in one of those serendipitous moments, someone hit upon the idea of using scrap pieces of wood to erect small roadside

signs that presented a serial message. As cars raced by, the drivers could read, in order, rhyming slogans for Burma-Shave, the brushless cream. Shortly thereafter Burma-Vita ordered professionally done signs, but the messages continued to be simple, lighthearted poems, one sign for each line. By the 1930s, the campaign had moved into high gear and gone national; Burma-Vita even staged yearly contests urging consumers to send in their own verses and the little red Burma-Shave signs could be found alongside virtually every highway in the country.

So it went throughout the decade. Some 200 new verses had been written and posted by 1940, and the campaign continued unabated until 1963. Over 7,000 separate Burma-Shave sets dotted the roadscape by 1938, which translates to more than 40,000 individual signs. The company watched its fortunes grow sharply, and the demise of the campaign signified the loss of a part of Americana known to everyone who ever traveled by car in those bygone days.

Not all advertising involved visual appeals. People might quote, verbatim, ad copy they saw in a magazine, but more likely they could repeat the jingles and slogans they heard on radio, and singing commercials emerged as one of the most popular formats for broadcast advertising. Words and **music** on radio had as much impact as print and pictures in other media. Although radio advertising had its inception in 1922, it did not hit its stride until the 1930s, when agencies began to realize the power of the aural commercial. Radio advertising helped bring about greater homogeneity in national patterns of taste and consumption. Regional barriers fell away as **radio networks** linked the entire nation.

The agency-run "radio department" emerged as one of the most important divisions at broadcast studios. Although the networks had the right to approve programming, big sponsors had grown so influential that such approval symbolized more a formality than a privilege. In addition, various syndicates began to prepackage all manner of shows for both network and independent station consumption. These productions proved attractive to smaller stations that could not afford to put together programming of their own that approached the syndicates' caliber of work.

By advertising nationwide on network radio, manufacturers established unparalleled brand loyalty. For example, by sponsoring *The Chase and Sanborn Hour* over many years (1929–1948), a once little-known coffee rose to become a national leader in sales. Miracle Whip dressing, introduced in 1933, enjoyed significant promotion on the *Kraft Music Hall* (1934–1949). Hosted by the popular **Bing Crosby** (1903–1977) for most of its years on the air, within a decade Miracle Whip had won half the market for sandwich spreads.

Pepsodent, a 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 began to underwrite *The Pepsodent Show Starring Bob Hope*, a relationship that would last until the days of **television**. Pepsodent soon became a major player in the competitive field of dental hygiene. Jell-O, Lucky Strikes, Ovaltine, Johnson Wax, Pepsi-Cola, Fitch Shampoo, and a host of other products likewise came to be identified and purchased because of their association with network broadcasting.

Because most radio commercials ran from 30 seconds to a minute, little information could be conveyed about the product, but repetition, music, and sound effects removed any doubt about the brand name. Radio also fostered the illusion of intimacy; the announcer spoke directly to the listener. Print ads may address the consumer, but

establishing any relationship, any closeness, with the reader can be problematic when the ad copy remains removed and somewhat distant, no matter how dramatic the visual presentation. With radio the listener gets "to know" the announcer, a fact that broadcasters used to their advantage. Names like Milton Cross (1897–1975; *The Metropolitan Opera* and Texaco), Ed Herlihy (1909–1998; *Kraft Music Hall* and Kraft foods), Westbrook Van Voorhis (1904–1968; *The March of Time* and *Time* magazine), Harry Von Zell (1906–1981; *The Eddie Cantor Show* and Pabst Blue Ribbon beer), Harlow Wilcox (1900–1960; *Fibber McGee and Molly* and Johnson's Wax), and Don Wilson (1900–1982; *The Jack Benny Program* and Lucky Strike cigarettes) emerged as celebrities in their own right, often becoming significant parts of the shows as well as spokesmen for the sponsors' products.

Although radio challenged other media for a share of the advertising dollar, magazines and newspapers continued to carry the bulk of most American commercial messages. The economic ups and downs of the Depression years can be tracked by the relative numbers and types of ads appearing in any particular medium. For example, between 1930 and 1933, advertising pages decline steadily in most major periodicals. That period, of course, corresponds to the depths of the economic crash, and it stands to reason that real and potential advertisers would be watching their budgets closely. With sharply diminished sales, profits would be down, and thus less could be expended on advertising. This drop shows up in the magazines themselves: they contain fewer pages than they did in the late 1920s. And yet the number of features (articles, stories, columns, etc.) remains about the same, which means the loss reflects missing advertisements.

A gradual upturn, documented by increased manufacturing and sales, occurred between 1934 and 1937 and can be seen in most magazines by a growing number of pages, most of which carry advertising. In 1938–1939, a recession hit the nation, and once again fewer pages and advertisements chronicle the new economic woes. Expensive full-page spreads decline, and cheaper partial-page ads increase.

Advertising of the era tends to depict a woman as the typical consumer—a sophisticated, modern woman who makes most of the purchasing choices for her family. A man's home may be his castle, but a woman manages it; men hold down jobs, but women do the shopping and keep themselves informed about products and services—at least in the world pictured by advertisers. Given this milieu, most, but not all, commercial messages direct themselves at women, even if that approach results in rampant stereotyping of both sexes.

For example, liquor ads made a statement about the repeal of **Prohibition** and the propriety of home consumption of **alcoholic beverages**. Various brands of beers and whiskies grace many magazine pages (various restrictions prevented liquor advertising over the air) after 1933 and Repeal. In deference to the mores of the era, however, distilleries targeted men with their messages; the times may have been changing, but liquor companies appear unwilling to cross any gender lines, real or imagined.

Gender aside, the American breakfast serves as an example of advertising's cumulative impact on national taste. Commercially packaged dry cereals appeared in the late nineteenth century, but with limited choices: shredded wheat and corn flakes about summed up what could be found on grocers' shelves. Most people still thought that bacon and eggs, plus other meats and potatoes, constituted the mainstays of the morning meal. Through ceaseless advertising, the public became aware of new cold cereals, such

as Wheaties, Grape-Nuts, Pep, and Cheerios. Ovaltine, Postum, and Bovril strove to be accepted as coffee substitutes, and marketers pushed vitamin supplements by the end of the decade. These changes can be tracked on the advertising pages of national magazines.

Beyond breakfasts, in order to pitch their messages at a certain emotional level, a number of American food products, such as Cream of Wheat (hot cereal), Aunt Jemima (pancake mix), and Uncle Ben (rice products), have long used black Americans as part of their labeling. Obvious racial stereotyping, right down to the demeaning use of "Uncle" and "Aunt," draws uncomfortable connections between race and servitude. For example, Rastus, the grinning porter on the Cream of Wheat label, clearly creates an image of master and servant. Throughout the 1930s, print ads showed him serving white children steaming bowls of their favorite hot cereal. Certainly, images like these support much of the racial stereotyping so rampant in the U.S. during the first half of the century.

When these two-dimensional figures spoke in their ads, they employed a minstrel show form of English. The agency writers who created such bits of hackneyed dialect thereby perpetuated destructive images of black Americans. In large-circulation, middle-class magazines, such egregious stereotyping unfortunately proved commonplace during the 1930s. It took but a small step from these degrading advertisements to the embarrassing antics of Eddie Anderson (1905–1977) as Rochester on *The Jack Benny Program* (1932–1958) or the steady stream of dialect jokes on the tremendously popular *Amos 'n' Andy* (1928–1960). This kind of media cross-reinforcement of deeply set cultural racism continued well beyond the 1930s.

Another pernicious side of popular American advertising during the Depression years involved the heavy promotion of smoking. Most magazines, newspapers, and radio stations ran tobacco ads. For men and women alike, at least in the ads, cigarettes signified urbanity, sophistication. As a rule, advertisers picture attractive people smoking, and often celebrities endorse one brand or another. From a gender standpoint, little of an earlier bias against women smoking remained in advertising of the 1930s, although a national survey, done in 1937, found that 95 percent of respondents thought men could smoke openly on the street, whereas 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, thanks in large part to its acceptance in advertising, nevertheless continued its climb among both men and women throughout the decade. Ad agencies viewed smoking as a generational custom, one aimed at the fashionable young, and they stoked their ceaseless campaigns with messages that pushed for increased tobacco consumption.

Lucky Strikes urged smokers to avoid overeating. "When tempted, reach for a Lucky instead!" In women's magazines, their slogan said, "Reach for a Lucky instead of a sweet!" This ploy apparently worked; Lucky Strikes increased their market share throughout the decade. Chesterfields, competitors of Lucky Strikes, mounted a memorable—and successful—campaign of their own that 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 enjoyed a revival in 1931. With a growing proportion of younger women taking up smoking in the 1930s, these advertisements had obviously struck a chord.

Of all the tobacco campaigns, one of the most successful series began in 1933 with the introduction of the Philip Morris brand of cigarettes. The company, looking for a distinctive ad strategy, decided on one that could work both in print and on radio. Simplicity itself, the ad consisted of a bellhop crying out, "Call-1-1 for Philip Mor-r-riss-s-s-s-s"." On radio, the voice belonged to Johnny Roventini (1910–1988), a page at the New Yorker Hotel. In print, the image showed Roventini, spiffy in his black pageboy hat, red jacket, and black pants, calling out to readers. Either way, radio or print, the Philip Morris ad worked well. Almost overnight, Philip Morris gained a sizable market share and America had a new advertising icon.

Advertising does not mirror society. It presents objects and people in situations that may bring recognition on the part of the audience, but it distorts any reflection of the time, and deliberately so. An advertisement presents, in whatever medium, a product or service, and seldom makes any kind of comment about the passing social scene. It may reflect aspirations or visions of "the good life," but it hardly portrays the times with any accuracy. Through the repeated use of familiar motifs and stereotypes, American advertising in the 1930s rose to the difficult challenges of the Depression. It dispensed with the old ballyhoo and told consumers they would survive the crisis and could go on consuming, that hard work and the genius of American capitalism would lead to better times, and that advertising would serve as a guide during the journey.

See also Coffee & Tea; Grocery Stores & Supermarkets; Race Relations & Stereotyping; Serials; Soft Drinks; Toys; Youth

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AIRSHIPS. Nothing captured the American imagination quite as much as the magnificent airships that traversed the skies during the 1920s and early 1930s. Also called dirigibles, zeppelins, and lighter-than-air craft, these sleek, hydrogen-filled behemoths of the air owe much of their existence to Count Ferdinand von Zeppelin (1838–1917) and Dr. Hugo Eckener (1868–1954), two German engineers and visionaries. They pioneered the development of lighter-than-air **travel** and, in the process, made airships a brief but significant element in **aviation** history.

During the 1920s, Germany worked diligently to perfect these unwieldy craft and led the world in overall airship utilization. The *Graf Zeppelin*, a mammoth 775-foot dirigible and pride of the German fleet, circumnavigated the globe in 1929 with Dr. Eckener at the controls. The itinerary included stops at Lakehurst, New Jersey, and Los Angeles, California. As a result of these exploits, the U.S. Post Office in 1930 issued a set of three commemorative airmail stamps, each depicting the *Graf Zeppelin* in flight. Extremely rare and valuable, the stamps came in denominations of 65 cents, \$1.30, and \$2.60 (\$7.88, \$15.76, and \$31.53 in contemporary dollars). Three years later, to celebrate Chicago's **Century of**

Progress Exposition, the post office printed yet another stamp, this one showing the *Graf Zeppelin* above the ocean, a dirigible hangar on the right, the skyscrapers of Chicago on the left. Available in a 50-cent denomination (\$7.79 in contemporary dollars), it became a prize eagerly sought by philatelists.

The U.S. Navy envisioned dirigibles as an effective extension of the fleet and lobbied strongly to get such aircraft included in their budget. In the midst of the Depression, the admirals pushed Congress to approve the construction of the Akron (1931) and the Macon (1933). The Akron generated good publicity for the navy, flying around the country and engaging in maneuvers. It even carried four small biplanes on its huge frame, releasing them while airborne and then "recapturing" them while still aloft. The Akron, however, went down in a 1933 storm with the loss of 73 lives, the worst air disaster up until that time. The Macon plunged into the ocean in 1935. With these two failures, the U.S. government effectively retreated from any further airship development until World War II.



Two airships fly near the Washington Monument. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

Seemingly unfazed by American military problems, the Germans pushed ahead. The *Graf Zeppelin* proved a popular airship, one known to millions. To complement "the Graf," in 1936 Germany constructed a sister ship, the *Hindenburg*, a huge 804-foot-long craft that carried almost 100 passengers and crew. Promoted as the most luxurious dirigible in the skies, Germany entertained hopes that airship travel would become commonplace, linking the United States, South 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. This feat focused public attention on airships, and it appeared the era of regular, convenient dirigible travel had arrived. Nine more transatlantic flights ensued, usually with a number of celebrities on board, and virtually everyone raved about the smooth, quiet ride.

The future for airship travel looked so rosy that the original plans for New York City's **Empire State Building** (1931) boasted a towering mooring mast for dirigibles. No lighter-than-air craft ever attached there (it would later be adapted as the city's primary **television** antenna), but at the time its placement atop the world's tallest skyscraper seemed an eminently sensible way to attract a futuristic generation of airships. No one foresaw a series of disasters that would dampen enthusiasm for zeppelin travel.

On a return trip to Lakehurst in May 1937, a crowd turned out for the *Hindenburg*'s arrival, as was the custom. Herb Morrison (1905–1989), a reporter for Chicago's WLS,

an NBC radio news affiliate, stood among the curious as the *Hindenburg* approached the mooring mast. But something went terribly wrong and the great airship burst into flames. Morrison, microphone in hand and wits about him, managed to record the disaster live. As he watched and reported, the anguish and emotions of the unfolding disaster gripped the newscaster. "Oh, the humanity!" he cried out, one of those memorable moments in broadcast history, while 38 people died in the flaming wreckage before him. The debacle closed a fascinating chapter in aviation history; no one wanted anything more to do with military or commercial airships.

Despite these setbacks, the privately owned Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company, long active in dirigible development, continued work with nonrigid airships, or blimps. Goodyear employed nonflammable helium instead of the more explosive hydrogen, and by 1941 their blimps had safely transported several hundred thousand passengers and carried countless advertising messages on their exteriors.

Hollywood, always a reflector of trends and styles, brought out several **movies** that featured airships in their stories. Howard Hughes (1905–1976), himself an aviation pioneer, directed *Hell's Angels* in 1930. A special effects–filled picture, it features exciting World War I dogfights; one in particular involves a German zeppelin.

The Lottery Bride (1930) uses a dirigible in a few scenes supposedly taking place in the Arctic, but the camera focuses on Jeanette MacDonald (1903–1965), not the airship, in this tedious romance. MacDonald would later rise to acclaim in a series of filmed **operettas**, and *The Lottery Bride* merely stands as an early role of no particular distinction.

Shortly after the two films above came *Madame Satan* (1930), a bedroom farce of sorts directed by the colorful Cecil B. DeMille (1881–1959). A tale about upper-class high jinks, this curious feature uses a dirigible as the setting for a number of its scenes. DeMille, a master of lavish productions, staged some of this melodrama in what has to be the most surreal, **Art Deco**—drenched passenger compartment ever envisioned for a zeppelin. The special effects staff at Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer had to figure out how to simulate a realistic in-flight disaster, one that would involve lightning and the packed compartment suspended in the air, a scene that culminates with the passengers parachuting back to earth. In typical DeMille fashion, *Madame Satan* serves as a stylish representation of the latest **fads** and **fashions**, and it provides the thrill and spectacle of an aerial calamity. Although by modern standards this movie may be judged only moderately successful in either area, *Madame Satan* can nevertheless be considered a bizarre film, one that clearly demonstrates how Hollywood always remains on the lookout for new gimmicks—in this case, airship travel—couched in contemporary terms to lure in the customers.

The fascination with lighter-than-air craft continued in 1931 with the movie debut of *Dirigible*, another aerial epic, directed by none other than Frank Capra (1897–1965), a man who would become one of the most celebrated film directors of the decade. This early effort concerns polar exploration, and it employs a dirigible to carry people to their destinations. Despite its provocative title, *Dirigible*, like most Capra pictures, addresses human conflicts, not the capabilities of an airship.

In 1934, animal trainer Clyde Beatty (1903–1965) had achieved considerable popularity, and he made several films during the decade that capitalized on that fame. One, *The Lost Jungle* (1934; both as a serial and as a feature), has Beatty playing himself in a bit of hokum that involves, among other things, a dirigible crash. The movie suggests that, by 1934, airships had become a normal way to travel, especially to remote places.

See also Circuses; Serials; Stamp Collecting; Transportation

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ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES. Prohibition, which lasted from 1920 until 1933, made Americans acutely aware of alcohol and drinking. In 1920, the nation had adopted the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution, a measure that forbade the manufacture, distribution, and sale of alcoholic beverages. It followed on the heels of the Volstead Act of 1919, which defined intoxicating, or alcoholic, drinks as beer, wine, and liquor ("spirits"), if any contained more than half of a percent (0.5 percent) alcohol by volume. Despite this definition, cocktails—drinks made from one or more alcoholic beverages, along with a mixer, such as soda or tonic water—proved especially popular during the Prohibition years, a period that drew to a close with the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment in 1933.

Favorite cocktails included such concoctions as Long Island iced tea, a potent drink born during Prohibition that contained several alcoholic beverages, along with a "splash" of Pepsi-Cola or Coca-Cola as the mixer. Despite its name, it contained no iced tea. Many more cocktails achieved popularity during this period, including the old fashioned, the Manhattan, the zombie, the Bacardi, and the martini. President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945) in fact saluted the end of Prohibition by sipping a martini, or so the legend goes. Carrying on that tradition, the mint julep, a drink with origins that predate Prohibition, became the signature offering for the Kentucky Derby in 1938.

Prohibition describes a time when a well-meaning law put **restaurants**, bars, and saloons out of business, ruined an emerging wine industry, and increased the production of **soft drinks**. It probably curtailed the development of haute cuisine because of the lack of fine wines to accompany gournet dining, spurred the growth of tearooms and cafeterias, and removed an array of alcohol-based products from grocery store shelves. Finally, it created deficits from lost tax revenues, and caused illness and death from the reckless consumption of legal medications with a high alcohol content and from drinking contaminated alcoholic beverages illegally produced, often referred to as "moonshine."

The government deemed the production and sale of moonshine, basically a fermented corn beverage, as illegal both during Prohibition and after Repeal. Much of the government's concern revolved around lost tax revenues, not health. Moonshine rose to prominence as a way to satisfy public demand for banned alcoholic beverages, and its manufacture flourished particularly in rural areas, where access to corn was more convenient and government surveillance less likely.

In the decade prior to the imposition of Prohibition, the per capita consumption of alcohol (beer, wine, and liquor) ranged from a high of 2.60 gallons from during 1906 to 1910 to a low of 1.96 gallons from 1916 to 1919. Prohibition probably reduced the consumption of alcoholic beverages—since the sale of alcohol was technically illegal, no reliable figures exist—but statistics for 1934, the period immediately following Repeal,

show per capita consumption standing at 0.97 gallons, rising to 1.20 gallons in 1935. Households could make 200 gallons of nonintoxicating cider or fruit juice per year. But "nonintoxicating" led to loose interpretations of the term, and many citizens became home winemakers; some even took up bootlegging by selling homemade alcoholic beverages illegally. In 1931 the Bayer Company started marketing Alka-Seltzer as a remedy for hangovers, a sure sign some people had consumed too much alcohol.

Urban speakeasies, or illegal drinking establishments, multiplied at this time. The term, dating from the nineteenth century, suggests the use of passwords to gain entry and talking quietly to avoid arousing attention; it often was shortened to "speak" during Prohibition. Many individuals enjoyed frequenting such clubs, places that existed beyond the law and allowed for a display of conspicuous consumption and rebellion; going to a speak became a fashionable thing to do. As the number of speakeasies grew, so did the illegal business of smugglers, bootleggers, and gangsters, the suppliers of these businesses. Moonshine, produced by uncounted stills around the country and readily available, also took on a certain cachet, and its providers charged outrageous prices. Products like "bathtub gin" became an illegal luxury, and many thought it culturally sophisticated to ignore any dry laws. With the end of Prohibition in 1933, many speakeasies continued to operate, but legally, calling themselves bars or cocktail lounges.

The cocktail party, a stylish new means of home entertainment, became emblematic of the 1920s and continued on into the 1930s. At these gatherings, sweet cocktails, or "flips," another name for such drinks, emerged as a preferred beverage during Prohibition days, perhaps because the sweetness disguised the taste of bad, or illegal, alcohol. After repeal, cocktail parties required neither home brew nor the purchase of illegal alcohol, but flips maintained their popularity. To accompany the drinks, the hosts usually would offer an array of "finger food," and these various appetizers took their place in recipe pamphlets, cookbooks, and on party serving trays.

As the cocktail party gained in popularity, it became fashionable for women to drink not only at home, but in public. In the country's past, drinking had been a male prerogative. But customs changed with the onset of the twentieth century, especially after World War I. Short stories and novels depicted women consuming alcoholic drinks, and movies reinforced the concept visually. Many successful films made drinking, especially by women, a normal part of everyday experience, creating images of expected behavior for those in the audience. To cite just two examples, the enormously popular Greta Garbo (1905–1990), in 1930's Anna Christie, uttered her first words in a sound film, whispering, "visky with ginger ale." Jean Harlow (1911–1937), another big star of the day, sipped a cocktail in *Platinum Blonde* (1931) while clad in one of her trademark slinky gowns.

Clearly, fashionable people downplayed any secrecy about the consumption of alcohol. Fred Astaire (1899–1987) and Ginger Rogers (1911–1995), the consummately elegant dancers who starred in many a 1930s movie, often performed their numbers in stylish and sophisticated nightclubs that encouraged drinking. Tuxedoed waiters brought cocktails in crystal glasses on silver trays; musicians played while people dined and sipped fine wines; and the imagery all combined to suggest that alcohol enhanced any social situation.

Prohibition also affected the sale and consumption of beer, another favorite alcoholic beverage. Around 1880, over two thousand breweries operated in the United States,

but fierce competition caused that number to decline. Approximately fourteen hundred breweries produced beer in 1914. With the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment and the implementation of Prohibition, beer production on a national scale came to a halt. Anticipating the restrictions on the sale of alcoholic beverages, some plants already had "near beers" or "cereal beers" on the market. These products achieved immediate popularity; they had some of the taste of beer, but offered a lower alcohol content (less than one half of 1 percent). These beer substitutes could be "spiked" with illegal alcohol to give them a considerable kick. Near-beer labels included Pablo by Pabst, Famo by Schlitz, Vivo by Miller, Lux-O by Strohs, and Bevo by Anheuser-Busch.

Not all breweries resorted to making near beers. Some, in an attempt to remain solvent, pursued secondary lines of business, such as building truck bodies and refrigerated cabinets. Others tried **ice cream** production, or curing and smoking hams and bacon. Still others, in keeping with their past endeavors, produced malt and yeast.

Following the April 1933 repeal of Prohibition, breweries returned to their original business as quickly as possible; 31 had resumed operations by June of that same year and business boomed. The Anheuser-Busch Company, for example, sold 218,073 barrels of beer in 1919, and from April through December 1933 the figure stood at 607,511 barrels. The company, in a gesture of appreciation for the coming of Repeal, inaugurated a tour of New England and the mid-Atlantic region. A bright red beer wagon drawn by six Clydesdale horses made ceremonious deliveries of two cases of complimentary beer to New York's governor Al Smith (1873–1944) and to President Roosevelt. Wagons and horses have long been corporate symbols for the Anheuser-Busch Company, and their appearance in Albany and Washington could not have harmed business.

By 1934, 756 American breweries had resumed producing beer in massive amounts to serve pent-up demand. Most of these breweries remained primarily regional; not until after World War II did national brewing companies become a reality. Although only half as many breweries produced beer in 1940 as had been in business in 1910, actual beer production reached pre-Prohibition levels by the end of the decade. Despite depressions and recessions, Americans always seemed to have enough loose change for a glass of beer during the decade.

The American Can Company and Kreuger Brewing in 1935 introduced the metal beer can, a move that led to increased home consumption. Consumers liked the no-deposit feature of cans (most bottles at this time were returnable and required a deposit), as well as their being nonbreakable, fast-cooling, and stackable.

Prohibition also included wine in its restrictions. Wine had never enjoyed as much popularity as whiskey and beer in the United States, so in the years prior to Prohibition, the facilities for the manufacture of wine and wine-related products had lagged behind those used for whiskey and beer. In 1919, the per capita consumption of wine stood at a miniscule 0.12 gallons, as opposed to 1.08 for beer and 0.76 for liquor (total per capita consumption was 1.96 gallons). Not until the mid-1800s had the cultivation of grapes even become a recognizable industry. Supported primarily by immigrants from cultural traditions that enjoyed wine with meals, most other Americans chose not to serve it, and many looked askance at those who did.

In the years immediately prior to World War I, the American wine industry had exhibited some growth, but the imposition of Prohibition in 1920 effectively stifled it. Before 1920, over one thousand commercial wineries had competed for customers;

following Repeal, slightly more than 150 remained. To survive economically, wine producers applied for and received permits to make wines for medicinal and sacramental purposes. They also converted many of their vineyards to grow more juice grapes. In an ironic twist of fate during the Prohibition years, American grape production actually increased; individuals bought them in large quantities attempting to make home-brewed wines, not nonalcoholic grape juice.

But for the wine industry as a whole, problems continued throughout Prohibition. The costs of maintaining vineyards, along with the loss of domestic sales, especially to restaurants, crippled the industry, and by the time of Repeal, American wine producers faced a long road back to profitability. More than two-thirds of the wine consumed after Repeal came from dessert varieties, like port, sherry, and muscatel. For the industry to grow, table wines, never particularly popular in the United States, had to gain a base of customers. Eleanor Roosevelt (1884–1962) helped wine producers, at least symbolically, when she began serving table wines at the White House following Repeal. Throughout the 1930s, however, the comeback proved slow and difficult; it took time to replant fields with the proper grapes and then allow them to grow to maturity.

In retrospect, Prohibition did not curtail the American appetite for alcoholic beverages; those who wanted to drink liquor, beer, or wine usually could find a way, and Repeal made their choices legal in most localities. The end of Prohibition also put thousands of people back to work in breweries and distilleries, with a ripple effect spreading to distributors and truckers, restaurants and lounges, and liquor stores and supermarkets.

See also Advertising; Alcoholics Anonymous; Coffee & Tea; Food; Grocery Stores & Supermarkets

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ALCOHOLICS ANONYMOUS (A.A.). This unique organization, dedicated to fighting the disease of alcoholism, came into being in June 1935. Bill Wilson (1895–1971; known primarily as "Bill W" in keeping with the anonymity theme that helps unite members) and Dr. Robert Smith (or "Dr. Bob," 1879–1950) had met in Akron, Ohio, the previous year. Both men suffered from alcoholism, although at the time of their meeting Bill W enjoyed a tenuous sobriety, whereas Dr. Bob still actively drank. They realized that most people, including members of the medical community, viewed their addiction as an incurable condition, and they sought to discover ways of achieving lasting sobriety. Working together, they developed a program of recovery that showed considerable promise.

The two men, along with a patient in an Akron hospital, created what has come to be known as the first A.A. group, although no formal name existed at the time. Unique because it involved alcoholics working with fellow alcoholics through a series of 12 steps

in a nonjudgmental way, the idea slowly spread. Additional groups were organized in other cities, and by the end of the decade the 12-step concept had received national attention. The basic text, and the source of the organization's name, *Alcoholics Anonymous*, also known as the "Big Book," first came out in 1939, and it has remained continuously in print since then. It combines history, philosophy, and the Twelve Steps; each new member of A.A. receives a copy, making it one of the most widely circulated titles in the history of American publishing.

Because alcoholism had long been viewed in America as a moral failing, a social disgrace, the disease received little serious medical attention prior to the founding of Alcoholics Anonymous. In a break with tradition, the Twelve-Step program treated alcoholism as a disease and not a personal failing. Both **Prohibition and Repeal** had made Americans very aware of problem drinking, and the early successes of the pioneering A.A. groups received favorable media publicity. These facts combined to position the fledgling Alcoholics Anonymous at the end of the 1930s as the primary group prepared to deal with alcoholism.

See also Alcoholic Beverages

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AMERICAN GOTHIC. This title identifies a 1930 painting executed by Regionalist **Grant Wood** (1891–1942); it had its first public exhibition at the Art Institute of Chicago that same year. Arguably the most recognizable painting in the annals of American art, it elicited almost instantaneous discussion from the moment of its first unveiling.

A simple composition, American Gothic depicts a woman and a man standing before an Iowa farmhouse constructed in the Carpenter Gothic style. Although it did not win first prize in the Art Institute's competition (also known as the American Artists Exposition), the museum nevertheless purchased the picture for its permanent collection, paying \$300 (about \$3,600 in contemporary dollars) for the portrait. Since then, Wood's painting has become an American icon, an artifact that has taken on meanings larger than itself. After briefly touring the country, it became part of an Art Masterpieces display at Chicago's Century of Progress Exposition during 1933–1934; it turned out to be a big hit and quickly entered a select circle, that of popular, well-known American paintings. Countless cartoonists have since parodied the image, and advertisers have employed likenesses of the couple, usually humorously, as a means of pitching every conceivable product and service. In both cases, the re-creators have relied on the audience's familiarity with the painting, although American Gothic, in and of itself, may have little or nothing to do with the message being presented.

After struggling for some years as an artist, but with little success, Grant Wood in the summer of 1930 saw a modest farmhouse in the tiny community of Eldon, Iowa. He did a quick painting of it on the spot, and thus created the background for his later masterpiece. Subsequent sketches placed two figures in the composition, with the man clasping a rake. When he had worked out the other details, Wood chose his sister Nan

(1899–1990) and his dentist, Byron H. McKeeby (1867–1950), as the two foreground subjects. In the meantime, the rake evolved into a three-tined pitchfork, or hay fork.

A variation on nineteenth-century photographs of couples posed before their residences, the unsmiling McKeeby looks straight at the viewer, while Nan Wood diverts her gaze slightly off to the right side of the picture. Their "home" looms behind them, precise in its structural details, including a plain gothic window that gives the painting its title. An accomplished technician, Wood gives his work a wealth of detail (the brooch at Nan Wood's collar, McKeeby's gold collar button, a snake plant on the porch, stylized spherical trees, and so on), much of which deepens any interpretation of the work.

Initial public reaction to the painting bordered on outrage, particularly among Midwesterners, those first exposed to the picture. For many, *American Gothic* suggested a satirical attack on traditional American values. Nan Wood's figure represented—or so some interpreted it this way—a prudish, cringing wife, whereas McKeeby's glaring character, pitchfork at the ready, depicted a mean-spirited man, closed to anything new or threatening.

Many art critics also saw satire in the picture, but celebrated it as satire directed at narrow-mindedness and small-town America. Instead of taking offense, they felt the subject matter and its treatment put Wood in league with such admired social commentators as Sinclair Lewis (1885–1951) and H. L. Mencken (1880–1956), themselves caustic observers of American mores. In fact, Wood in 1936 did a set of illustrations for a special edition of Lewis's 1920 *Main Street*.

With time, however, an intriguing reversal occurred: the public began to embrace American Gothic as an affirmation of solid American (not just Midwestern) values, and viewers ignored, or overlooked, any satirical implications. The Depression, followed by the looming threat of world war, heightened people's sense that this strong pair of citizens could look adversity in the eye and not be frightened. From figures of artistic ridicule, the couple came to represent positive sensibilities in stressful times.

Many of the art world's critics likewise shifted in their attitudes, stepping away from their previous praise and condemning American Gothic as kitsch, a cheap dilution of artistic merit in order to appeal to the mass market. They characterized Wood as a mere illustrator and accused him, along with his fellow Regionalists, of playing to the crowd and ignoring aesthetic excellence. Wood did not help clarify any confusion about the painting with his public comments. He had at first identified the couple as husband and wife, but later retreated, saying they were father and daughter. His early hints at sarcasm about the picture's meaning mellowed into support for the couple, accompanied by praise for their salt-of-the-earth honesty and straightforwardness. Wood capitalized on his newfound fame, posing for publicity photographs attired in bib overalls, a folksy Iowan who came from and represented the Heartland. As the critical and popular winds shifted, Wood set his sails accordingly.

Grant Wood went on to create many other notable paintings, but nothing else he produced ever matched *American Gothic* in popularity. In that single work, he had struck a resonant chord with virtually all Americans, even those who had never seen the original. He spoke obliquely about the work, and many of his subsequent efforts plainly show an attempt to recapture, or replicate, whatever magic *American Gothic* possesses. None, however, achieves that goal, and *American Gothic* continues to be parodied and admired, the very act of parody attesting to its hold on the American imagination.

See also Advertising; Illustrators; Photography; Regionalism

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AMOS 'N' ANDY. Freeman Gosden (1899–1982) and Charles Correll (1890–1972), two white male performers of many voices, happened into **radio** at just the right time, the mid-1920s when the new medium was still defining itself. The pair created *Amos 'n' Andy*, one of the earliest comedy series, a prototype for the soap opera, and arguably the most popular radio show of all time. It ran from 1928 until 1960, and even attempted a brief foray into **television** from 1951 until 1953.

Gosden, who voiced Amos, and Correll, who did Andy, rank among the first stars of radio, and their radio personas happened to be black Americans. In time, the two created a large cast that included both men and women, and they accomplished it all using only their own vocal talents. In those early days, the two actors frequently posed in full blackface makeup for publicity shots, but made no attempt to hide their identities.

The original concept for Amos 'n' Andy started out as Sam 'n' Henry on Chicago's WGN in 1926. Freeman and Correll had joined the station in 1925 as a musical variety team, providing patter and some songs. Sam 'n' Henry emerged as a "colored comedy," a nightly radio show with roots in the American blackface and minstrel tradition. In the 1920s and 1930s, minstrel shows (white performers made up in blackface dispensing patronizing, stereotypical racial humor and music) still retained substantial audiences and regularly played across the country. After just a few broadcasts, Sam 'n' Henry had found a large Midwestern listenership, and by 1928 the two performers wanted to expand beyond WGN's signal limits.

The National Broadcasting Company (NBC radio) expressed interest in the program, but WGN refused to cooperate. As a result, Correll and Gosden moved to WMAQ, another Chicago station, but one with network connections. To avoid copyright problems, Sam 'n' Henry changed to Amos 'n' Andy and the new show made its WMAQ debut in March 1928. The following year, NBC radio picked up their contract as a network offering, a shift that gave Amos 'n' Andy national exposure. Placed in a 15-minute nightly time slot at seven o'clock, it became an immediate hit, and its popularity continued, unabated, throughout the 1930s.

Rather than lose potential audiences to home radios, theaters would delay starting films until 7:15 or stop their **movies** and pipe in the nightly broadcasts. Department stores installed speakers so shoppers would not miss an episode. Such loyalty did not go unnoticed; in the 1930s, *Amos 'n' Andy* had only two sponsors: Pepsodent toothpaste (Procter and Gamble) carried the show from 1929 to 1937; Campbell's Soup took it over from 1937 onward. Success rewarded Correll and Gosden well; in 1933, the

bleakest year of the Depression, they each earned \$50,000 (about \$800,000 in contemporary dollars), making them two of the highest paid individuals in the country.

The adventures of Amos, Andy, Kingfish, Lightnin', Calhoun, Sapphire, Madame Queen (whose goal in life focused on marrying Andy), along with the elaborate schemes involving the Mystic Knights of the Sea and the Fresh-Air Taxicab Company, made for a series filled with warm, gentle humor. Those characters might mean little to most people nowadays, but mentioning *Amos* 'n' Andy will evoke a response from anyone familiar with the early years of broadcasting.

The two actors, who did their own scriptwriting, employed a stereotypical "Negro dialect" and delivered their lines exactly as written. Phrases like "I'se regusted," "Hello dere, Sapphire," "Ain't that sumpin!" "Holy mackerel, Andy!" and "Awah, awah, awah" (a lament voiced by Amos when things went wrong—as they often did) 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 any superficial discussions of *Amos* 'n' *Andy*.

In the period before World War II, overt racism came in many forms, most of which the public blithely overlooked. The movies did not hesitate to caricature nonwhite groups, but they focused especially on black characters. Stores sold—if they carried them at all—recordings featuring black artists as "race records." Even cartoons and comic strips depicted black figures as degrading stereotypes, and newspapers showed no qualms about carrying them. It should therefore come as no surprise, given the times and popular attitudes, that Amos 'n' Andy stirred minimal criticism in its early years. A few civil rights organizations attacked the series as racist, but to no avail; the network and the sponsors turned deaf ears to their protests. In the meantime, the show continued to attract a true mass audience that cut across lines of race, age, and gender. For those directly involved with Amos 'n' Andy, there seemed little point in arguing with success.

In retrospect, many of the episodes remain genuinely funny. The entanglements of the characters cross racial lines; everybody can identify with them. The scripts present likeable personalities; the plots tell tight stories and avoid meanness or violence. Plus, Amos 'n' Andy played on radio, an aural medium. In 1930, at the peak of their popularity, Gosden and Correll made a movie, Check and Double Check; the odd title comes from an expression used in the series. Despite the popularity of Amos 'n' Andy, the film, after little time in release, did poorly at the box office.

Listening to the radio show—as opposed to seeing the characters in a movie—tempers the more blatant stereotyping. The mind and ear create whatever images they want, a discovery that American radio made during its formative years. Of course, that means it can also erase any hints of racism with relative ease, something that audiences must have done during the nightly broadcasts. For black listeners, and there were many, the show presented the challenge of enjoying the stereotypical humor and, at the same time, finding in it a validation of their experience in America. That both Amos and Andy appear as naive bumpkins allows black listeners to insulate themselves from the characterizations; this dissociation bestows a freedom to laugh without being the butt of the joke. Despite the charges of racism leveled against Amos 'n' Andy, it drew a remarkably diverse audience, a testament to its universality.

In late 1928, a short-lived comic strip based on the show debuted; it was syndicated by the *Chicago Daily News*, the owners of WMAQ, the series' NBC radio affiliate station. A **candy** bar also bore the name "Amos 'n' Andy" on its wrapper. Dolls, toy taxis, and other reminders of the series likewise enjoyed brief runs. Nothing, however, lasts forever, especially in the realm of popular culture. After so many years on the radio, *Amos* 'n' Andy began a long, slow decline in the 1940s, and NBC radio finally cancelled the show in 1960. During its 30-odd years on the air, *Amos* 'n' Andy nonetheless attracted one of the largest returning audiences in the history of radio.

See also Race Relations & Stereotyping; Radio Networks; Transportation

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APPLE MARY. Throughout the history of **comic strips**, only a few women have achieved success as cartoonists. Martha Orr (1908–2001) must be counted among that select group, and she did it in 1934 by creating a single strip, *Apple Mary*. Unusual in that it dealt directly and realistically with the Great Depression, *Apple Mary* quickly captivated newspaper readers. Orr took the theme of economic hardship and blended it with the melodramatic plot devices of **radio soap operas**, an extremely popular medium at the time. The strip told serialized stories, and Mary proved wise in the ways of solving the problems of the lovelorn. Despite the emphasis on relationships, *Apple Mary* reflected its time, with unemployment and poverty a major part of the strip's visual and story components. Since the 1930s stand as the golden age of newspaper comics, it seems fitting that such a strip would make its debut then.

Orr's creation may have been influenced by Lady for a Day, a 1933 film from director Frank Capra (1897–1991), itself an adaptation of a 1929 Damon Runyon (1884–1946) short story titled "Madame la Gimp." The main character in both, a somewhat disreputable older woman who sells apples from a pushcart, goes by the name of Apple Annie. She aspires to greater social acceptance, and story and movie humorously track her progress toward that goal. A sequel, Lady by Choice, directed by David Burton (1877–1963), followed Lady for a Day in 1934; both movies star May Robson (1858–1942) as Apple Annie and achieved box office success. Possible or probable antecedents aside, Apple Mary succeeds on its own merits, and it pleased readers until 1939.

In the comic strip, Mary likewise hawks apples from a pushcart in Depression-ridden America, but she accepts her lot and displays little inclination to move up the social ladder. In reality, the apple-selling movement lasted only about a year, and as more and more vendors became disillusioned about easy money, it faded away. But people did not forget the image of someone trying to peddle apples for a nickel on a street corner; it emerged as one of those iconic memories of the Depression. Despite a changing economic climate, Orr kept Mary at her trade far longer than anyone would have expected.

Unlike the glamour girls that decorate the frames of most cartoon series, Mary herself is older, a widow, a bit dowdy, and down on her luck. But hard work and a tough spirit

prevail, and she struggles along, meeting a wide collection of characters in the course of her adventures. In time, Martha Orr retired from cartooning and devoted herself to family concerns. Nothing, however, ever really dies in popular culture; it simply metamorphoses into something that will gain a larger audience. And so *Apple Mary* became *Apple Mary and Dennie* in 1939. A new artist, Dale Conner (active 1930s), took on the illustrations, and Allen Saunders (1899–1986) wrote the continuity. Signing themselves "Dale Allen," the two renamed the strip *Mary Worth's Family*, a title that survived from 1940 to 1942, whereupon it evolved into the more familiar *Mary Worth*, the series' present name. These changes meant the kindly white-haired widow would carry on with the soap opera plotting but without the nuisance of the apple cart.

See also Illustrators; Newspapers

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ARCHITECTURE. It might appear to the casual onlooker that no designing, no building, took place for much of the decade, and any review of the general U.S. economy during the Depression years supports such a generalization. By 1932, manufacturing output had fallen 54 percent from 1929 figures, and the automobile industry saw a drop of 80 percent during that same period. Banks closed, unemployment rose, and breadlines became commonplace in many cities. In the first years of the Depression, housing starts declined by 90 percent. That translates as 84,000 new units in 1933, compared to 937,000 in 1925. In addition, over 1.5 million homes were in default or in the process of foreclosure by 1933. For the architectural profession, these numbers meant that, by 1933, two-thirds of all workers in the building trades had lost their jobs, and 85 percent of all the architects in New York City had joined the jobless ranks. Equally grim information came from other cities and towns.

Contrary to what many believe, however, architecture did not retreat into a moribund state and wait out the Depression. Construction of new buildings, commercial and residential, continued, albeit at a greatly reduced rate, and architects, both employed and unemployed, worked with new and innovative **design** concepts, many of them European, throughout these troubled years. Economic recovery began to manifest itself in the later 1930s, and with it came a small building boom that would continue until the onset of World War II and accompanying material shortages.

Commercial & Public Architecture. Some of the great urban skyscrapers of the twentieth century—the Chrysler Building, the Empire State Building, Rockefeller Center, for example—went up during the 1930s. These commercial enterprises often boasted lavish interior decoration in addition to their striking exteriors. The decade also witnessed the evolution of the International Style, an approach to design that incorporated the modernist theories of many architects from around the world, giving added meaning to its name. With the unrest brought on by World War I, the social upheavals in its aftermath, and the clouds of a new world war gathering in Europe, a number of prominent European architects fled to the relative safety of the United States, and their influence hastened the internationalization of American design.

The Viennese architect Rudolf Schindler (1887–1953) served as an early leader in this exodus; he came to the United States in 1914 and began a lucrative practice on the West Coast. In 1923, another Austrian, Richard Neutra (1892–1970), made the journey. Schindler and Neutra eventually created a lucrative partnership in Los Angeles. Relatively unaffected by the Depression—the popular movie industry kept Los Angeles prosperous—the two boasted many commissions and contributed some pioneering work, especially in the area of apartments and private residences, in the International Style throughout the decade.

Eliel Saarinen (1973–1950), a Finnish designer, had likewise left Europe in 1923, settling in the Midwest. The buildings of Michigan's Cranbrook Academy of Art bear his signature. That same year, the Swiss-born William Lescaze (1896–1964) arrived in New York City. In 1929, he joined with George Howe (1886–1955), and from that collaboration came the Philadelphia Savings Fund Society (PSFS) office tower in 1931, generally conceded to be one of the masterpieces of the emerging International Style.

A virtual rush of architects embarked for the United States as totalitarianism rapidly shut down free artistic expression in Europe: Marcel Breuer (1902–1981; Hungarian), Walter Gropius (1883–1969; German), and Mies van der Rohe (1886–1969; German), the most notable; all emigrated in 1937. Collectively, these architects established lasting roots for modern design, and their shared influence, particularly in the postwar years, had enormous impact on the directions American architecture would follow.

Although modernism marked the road to future developments, traditional architecture continued to have a hold in some sectors, especially in the design of public buildings. Thus a classicist like John Russell Pope (1874–1937) could be contracted to create such neoclassic monuments as the National Gallery (Washington, D.C., 1937–1941) and the Jefferson Memorial (Washington, D.C., 1934–1943). Admired as they are by millions of visitors each year, they also represent the last vestiges of tradition and stand as veritable anachronisms amid a sea of change.

Movie Palaces. The Hollywood film industry prospered during the Depression, and millions of Americans went to the movies every day. From the time that Samuel "Roxy" Rothafel (1881–1936) first opened his posh Regent Theatre in New York City in 1913, the American movie theater took on the trappings of a palace that reflected in its architectural splendor the success of the medium. These frothy concoctions of applied ornament lured customers throughout the silent-picture era, offering them escapism from humdrum lives with promises of thrills, romance, suspense, and comedy—all in luxurious comfort and opulent surroundings. No matter how trifling the picture, as these theaters proliferated around the country, they encouraged patronage, and "going to the movies" meant more than watching flickering images on a screen.

The advent of sound in 1927 gave the industry pause while it retooled for the new technology, but the atmospheric palaces continued to rise, and the 1930s saw new facades, arcades, lobbies, and garish neon signs, all of it designed to keep the customers coming. The Depression also affected Hollywood's fortunes, but by 1934 attendance and profits commenced an upward swing that would last throughout the remainder of the decade.

Working with imagined replicas of European castles, to the latest in **Art Deco** and Streamline moderne, dozens of architects specialized in theater architecture, with C. Howard Crane (1885–1952), John Eberson (1875–1954), Thomas W. Lamb (1871–1942),

S. Charles Lee (1899–1990), B. Marcus Priteca (1889–1971), and the brothers Cornelius W. and George L. Rapp (1861–1927 and 1878–1942, respectively, often listed as Rapp & Rapp) ranking among the leaders in the field during the 1930s. Not as flamboyant as the sumptuous palaces of the 1920s, one imaginative design after another nevertheless emerged from their drawing boards, ranging from the fanciful Loew's 175th (New York City; 1930, Lamb), to the lavish Art Deco Paramount (Aurora, Illinois; 1931, Rapp & Rapp), to the modest Anaconda (Washoe, Montana; 1936, Priteca) and the modernistic La Reina (Sherman Oaks, California; 1938, Lee); these Depression-era flights of fancy offered moviegoers a make-believe environment, one that blurred fantasy and reality and guaranteed relief from anxieties about the outside world.

Restaurants & Shopping. When traveling a highway at 50 miles an hour, a driver has little time to interpret signs, so the sign must relay its message clearly and forcefully. After much trial and error, mimetic architecture, a new language designed for the roadside, came into being. Mimetic design ("mimetic" means imitative or representative) manifested itself on American thoroughfares through giant hamburgers and hot dogs, towering ice cream cones and frosty soft drinks, three-dimensional shoes and pocketbooks, rotating furniture and appliances—all part of an ongoing gallery of edible delights and consumer goods presented in a way to capture the eye of the passing motorist.

Although the heyday of the drive-in snack shop and suburban shopping mall still lay in the future, architects and designers had begun to acknowledge the importance of automobiles in their planning. Accommodations for parking assumed significance, as did easy access to shops and eateries. Despite the business downturn of the early 1930s, eventual recovery meant more cars on the road and the necessity of increased convenience for the motorized public. In addition, American cities displayed a fondness for horizontal expansion, both commercial and residential. The growth of suburbs meant improved traffic flow, and two-lane roads became three- and four-lane highways. The accompanying architecture had to adapt to a mobile population that relied on automobiles for transport, a realization that commenced in the 1930s.

Gas Stations. A business as ordinary and commonplace as a gas station reflected the trend toward an automotive culture. In the early years of the twentieth century, the concept of the service station barely existed. A dirty garage, with maybe a gas pump at curbside, fulfilled this function. These places repaired vehicles, and they dispensed oil and gasoline, if at all, as a sideline to their regular business. They followed no architectural format and might be housed in any kind of structure, or often as an appendage to a building performing some unrelated function. As the demand for automotive service facilities grew, the greasy repair shops began to be displaced by more savory establishments, and they slowly took on an identity of their own.

Standard house or cottage plans—with important modifications, of course—served as the favored designs for the construction of gas stations during much of the 1920s and into the 1930s. Usually consisting of boxlike structures, not unlike a typical foursquare house, these "new" stations usually featured a canopy that extended out over the pump(s). For example, both the Pure and Phillips oil companies introduced variations on the traditional English cottage in the late 1920s. With their steeply pitched shingle roofs, these stations proved popular among consumers, and almost seven thousand such period structures had gone up, mainly in Midwestern states, by the early 1930s. Their

success led to colonial, Georgian, Mission, and even some Oriental-style stations. Others, in the spirit of mimeticism, imitated lighthouses, giant oilcans, icebergs, teepees, coffee pots, and windmills—anything to catch the driver's eye.

In 1934, the Texas Oil Company (Texaco) hired Walter Dorwin Teague (1883–1960), a respected designer, to create a more modern gas station. The commission resulted in a classic International Style building, smooth and sleek, complete with white porcelain enamel steel tiles. It boasted no "Early American" wood or stucco that produced an anachronistic identity. Several other designers, working in a similar vein, tackled the lowly gas station during the Depression. Raymond Loewy (1893–1986) created plans for both Shell and Union Oil prototypes, as did Norman Bel Geddes (1893–1958) for Mobilgas. Their designs evoked modernity, although few reached the construction stage and existed mainly on drawing boards and in journals. But from this move toward a more contemporaneous structure emerged the generic station of the later 1930s and 1940s, a flat-roofed box with lubrication bays, plenty of glass, and a fuller range of services, such as clean rest rooms, free maps, and coolers for soft drinks.

Residential Building: Modernism & Tradition. Most discussions about architectural modernism, pro or con, tend to ignore everyday housing. Although some modernistic dwellings were built at this time, especially by architects like Richard Neutra, Rudolf Schindler, and Frank Lloyd Wright (1867–1959), much residential building instead looked to the past for its inspiration.

Most homes that might be called modernistic went unseen by the general public. Chicago's 1933 Century of Progress Exposition did display 14 contemporary houses, and at least two of them, both designed by George Fred Keck (1895–1980), could be deemed "futuristic." His House of Tomorrow and Crystal House elicited some enthusiasm among fairgoers (over 1 million people visited them), but most of it died out following the close of the exposition in 1934.

The House of Tomorrow stood three stories tall, and each level, set back from the preceding one, featured an exterior that boasted 12 sides. Built on a steel frame and almost completely enclosed in glass, anyone living in it could control exterior light through shades and drapes. A central core provided heating and cooling and proved remarkably efficient. A built-in hangar for a private airplane gave the dwelling perhaps its most unusual feature; the dream of owning one's own airplane has long occupied a favored spot in the thinking of many futurists (and even more science fiction writers), and Keck clearly embraced the notion.

The Crystal House, true to its name, employed glass and steel almost exclusively in its construction. An exposed, weblike frame surrounded a glass-encased box that served as the living quarters. Keck made few attempts to give warmth to his exterior design, and it did not meet with any great popular success. Whereas the House of Tomorrow attracted considerable attention, the Crystal House did not, and officials dismantled it at the close of the fair.

One of the most forward-looking American designers of the day, R. Buckminster Fuller (1895–1983), developed what he called the 4D Dwelling Unit, or Dymaxion House, in 1927. A neologism of Fuller's making, "Dymaxion" derived from dynamic maximum tension and represented some of his theories about engineering and construction techniques. His prototypes for houses came from approaches to aircraft and automotive manufacturing, and the Dymaxion House employed prefabricated parts that could be assembled into

modular units. For Fuller and his dedicated followers, rational design and efficiency predicated everything, and creature comforts and aesthetics lagged behind. He tinkered with his Dymaxion concepts, including a Streamlined automobile, throughout the 1930s, and attempted to have his 4D House displayed at Chicago's Century of Progress Exposition, but he could find no backers. Undeterred, Fuller continued, until his death, to proselytize for his Dymaxion theories, and remained a fascinating—if minor—gadfly on the fringes of ongoing American design.

Prior to Keck's displays at the Chicago exposition, A. Lawrence Kocher (1885–1969) and Albert Frey (1903–1998) had collaborated in 1931 on a concept they called the Aluminaire, a starkly modern structure constructed of aluminum and glass. Far ahead of its time, the Aluminaire borrowed from several avant-garde European architects and employed prefabrication and nontraditional materials that would allow it to be mass-produced cheaply. Unfortunately, the public deemed it cold, mechanical, and noisy, and no developers wanted to risk erecting Aluminaires on any large scale. It did, however, offer some new building ideas, and its innovations, especially the widespread use of aluminum, would find a place in construction following World War II.

A handful of other pioneers of modern residential design worked during the 1930s. Howard Fisher (1903–1979) formed General Houses, Inc., in 1932 to promote prefabrication and offered several basic models. Although he also exhibited at the Century of Progress Exposition, he failed to find buyers for his adventurous designs and General Houses went out of business. Frank Lloyd Wright, still active in the 1930s (and for another 30 years or so thereafter), promoted his concept of the Usonian House, a compact, modern house that could be economically constructed. Like Fisher and the others mentioned above, Wright lacked broad public acceptance for these innovative designs, but he retained a fondness for them and kept building them whenever he could find a client. Over 30 Usonian homes were built between 1936 and 1959, making him one of the most successful of this visionary group of architects.

These futuristic homes could all be mass-produced, just like any other machine-made products, but neither consumers nor the housing industry seemed particularly interested in exploring the subject. The building trades did not, however, ignore all the innovations found in these experimental houses. In an attempt to keep construction prices as low as possible, and to emerge from the depressed building market, manufacturers came up with products like prefabricated door and window units, exterior-grade (i.e., weather-resistant) plywood, along with improved drywall and better glues and caulking.

During the years following World War I, a typical residential street (as well as s commercial strip or corridor) often displayed a hodgepodge of building styles. A bungalow might reside next to a Foursquare next to a Spanish or Tudor or Georgian or Romanesque or Gothic revival next to a Victorian fantasy and so on to the end of the block. Commercial buildings likewise exhibited a proliferation of facades, from neoclassic to Art Deco, with everything in between. As a rule, no attempts were made, as might be the case in a European community, to blend styles, to present a unified front to the passerby. Therein lies the glory and the bane of much American architecture—its noisy insistence that every structure, from the grand to the banal, be individual, a reflection both of the owner and the architect.

Lack of significant technological innovation merely represented part of a larger Depression problem. Most middle-class Americans lacked financial resources during these troubled years and therefore continued living in traditional houses throughout the decade. As a result, the residential landscape consisted of an eclectic mix of older homes, not new ones. Despite the insistence on individualism, that right of choice, American cities and suburbs during the decade (or any other period, for that matter) look remarkably alike, their patchwork constituent parts virtually interchangeable.

Several companies introduced various kinds of wall paneling, and knotty pine became a best seller for those who could afford it and wanted to achieve a colonial look, then a popular decorating trend and a reflection of the fondness for the nation's colonial past. The term "Early American" had achieved some status in the 1920s. It signaled a return to days gone by in residential architecture and decoration, a fashion that continued unabated into the 1930s. By and large, the nation continued to vote for tradition, both in design and construction, as far as personal residences were concerned. Americans have long insisted on their perceived right to choose whatever style they wanted; their homes may differ in size and cost, but each exists as a miniature estate in the eyes of its owners.

The year 1931 saw the formation of the American Institute of Interior Decorators (now the American Society of Interior Decorators), a reflection of a growing interest in applied design. But this group, and others like it, also concerned itself with historical accuracy in the many revival movements gaining interest in the country. Amid a flurry of publicity, colonial Williamsburg opened to the public in 1932, providing added impetus to the aim of accurate preservation. Specialty magazines with titles like *Decorator's Digest* (1932) and *Interior Decorator* (1934) found a ready public, and a fad for the authentic "Early American" look ensued.

An open fireplace, surrounded by knotty pine paneling and complemented by a replica spinning wheel and a cobbler's bench serving as a coffee table, became a popular look. Fueled by this widespread acceptance of such antiquities, the number of professional interior decorators swelled in the U.S. during the 1920s and 1930s. Women entered their ranks, with many coming from upper-class backgrounds. Mainstream women's magazines, such as *House and Garden* and *Better Homes and Gardens*, began to feature these newcomers' work and ideas, bringing them to a mass audience. Not to be outdone, large, influential department stores like Wanamaker's, Marshall Field, Macy's, Lord & Taylor, and B. Altman included the latest in Early American decorating trends in their furniture and accessory displays.

This popular movement toward a usable past remained in vogue throughout the decade. For those few who could afford new homes, historical motifs dominated much residential architecture, and the resultant styles gained the name "period revivals." By and large, the favorites involved colonial (especially the "Early American" New England farmhouse look), Tudor (or anything vaguely medieval), and Spanish Revival (or the hacienda look). Large firms like Sears, Roebuck and Montgomery Ward, along with many smaller ones such as Aladdin, Gordon Van-Tine, Lewis, and Sterling, had long offered houses in kit form. They shipped the parts, mostly precut, to the owner's site, and it became the buyer's responsibility to erect it. Tens of thousands of kit houses were bought and built between 1900 and 1940, and many fit into the period revival classification. From Montgomery Ward's "Coventry" (1931; French Provincial), to Lewis's "La Salle (1934; Colonial Bungalow), to Aladdin's "Hamilton" (1937; Tudor), their catalogs featured an endless array of homes boasting period designs. Given the

economies of kit construction, they proved popular, but the general downturn in construction of all kinds forced sales even of kits to drop during the Depression.

Quaintness and eclecticism nonetheless emerged as two distinctive traits of the era, regardless of the actual style. People desired something cozy, something harking back to a simpler, more secure, past, a far cry from the plain functionalism of the International Style. In 1933, Walt Disney (1901–1966) released a cartoon titled *The Three Little Pigs*. An enduring image from the picture involves the sturdy house that one of the pigs has constructed, in contrast to the flimsy ones built by the other two. Many Americans wished for the same image of security in their period homes; they wanted to be able to sing the cartoon's theme, "Who's Afraid of the Big Bad Wolf?" (1933; music by Frank Churchill [1901–1942], lyrics by Ann Ronell [1906–1993]) and keep the Depression from their door, just as the three pigs did in that prophetic animated feature.

Automobiles & Architecture. Throughout the first decades of the twentieth century, American architects tried different approaches to incorporating the increasingly omnipresent automobile into their home designs. Sometimes an obvious solution presented itself: since cars had replaced the horse-drawn carriages of just a few years earlier, many larger, older homes often utilized their now-empty carriage houses and stables as garages. The designers of new homes took a cue from this past, and many modern homes of the 1920s and 1930 boasted garages, brand-new structures that sheltered Fords and Chevrolets, not horses. Built simultaneously with the house itself, but functioning as an independent structure, the contemporary garage usually stood behind the residence and most of the time could be accessed from the street via a driveway that ran alongside the house.

Alleys, a vestige of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century town planning, survived in many communities with the coming of the horseless carriage. With houses tightly arranged on a block, there existed little room for a driveway running beside the structure, but alleys could bisect a city block, providing access for cars behind the homes. Alleys made the driveway unnecessary, eliminated the aesthetic distractions that garages and drives presented, and allowed the architect to focus on the house itself rather than an appendage for sheltering vehicles. They also permitted a developer to place houses more closely together, thereby making up for the land lost with the construction of an alley.

In 1919, a new comic strip began appearing in the *Chicago Tribune*. Its title, *Gasoline Alley*, contributed a unique phrase to the language. Written and drawn by Frank King (1883–1969), the strip took its name from those very alleys found behind many American houses built on typical city blocks. Here, the characters of the strip—usually males—could gather to talk about their cars, do repairs, and otherwise participate in the automotive culture becoming so pervasive in American life. Immensely successful, *Gasoline Alley* reflected, throughout the 1930s, middle-class American values and cast them in a gently humorous but positive light.

The negative connotations associated with alleys—"back alley," "alley cat," and so on—along with the conspicuous consumption that displayed itself in a desire to "show off" one's new car (or cars—the two-car family came into being during the 1920s) in front of the house, soon brought about a move to eliminate alleys. Architects turned the garage around so it faced the street, and, if possible, put in a driveway beside the house. In the years following World War I city planners gradually dropped the urban

alley concept. By the 1930s, most homes had backyards that backed up to similar backyards, and the garage meanwhile crept closer to the house, sometimes even attaching itself to the main dwelling. Of course, in the building boom that followed World War II, the attached garage, or often a built-on carport, became a distinguishing feature of residential design.

The Second World War brought the construction of most nonessential commercial and residential structures to a halt. The postwar years would witness an unparalleled building boom, and it would be accompanied by significant architectural changes. In retrospect, the 1930s augured many of these changes—a greater acceptance of modernism, in particular—but economic realities prevented most from blossoming. The popularity of traditional formats reflected the insecurity the nation felt during these difficult years, and the corresponding reluctance to embark on any new, uncharted courses.

See also Aviation; Comic Strips: Grocery Stores & Supermarkets; Motels; New York World's Fair; Streamlining; Transportation; Travel

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ART DECO. In 1925, from April until October, Paris served as the site for the Exposition des Arts Decoratifs et Industriels Modernes. Over 16 million people viewed the show, an international celebration of new design trends, giving legitimacy to many of the latest movements in art and design. On a more popular level, the exhibition brought the concepts of Art Deco—the term derives from the Arts Decoratifs, or "decorative arts," of the title—to people's attention. Already well established in the salons and ateliers of Europe, Art Deco had made only a few inroads into American design following World War I. Officially, the United States sent no exhibits to the sprawling show, although the government, under the direction of then-Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover (1874–1964), did dispatch a commission of 108 interested individuals who observed the proceedings and took note of the ascendancy of Art Deco.

Any discussion of the term presents seeming contradictions. Ideally, the style boasts of stripping away needless or ostentatious ornamentation, and yet many items deemed "Art Deco" appear drenched in applied decorative elements. Over time, some identifying standards have nonetheless come into place, and Art Deco can be interpreted broadly to include the following generalized characteristics: products that obey basic geometric and rectilinear dictates, including symmetry. In addition, stylized motifs, such as stripes and bars, ziggurats (or zigzags and lightning bolts), chevrons, and fans (or sun rays) mark Art

Deco creations, from large buildings to tiny pieces of jewelry. The style freely employs modern materials (or traditional ones in modern ways), such as terra-cotta, stainless steel, chrome plating, metal tubing, glass blocks, and many plastics, like Vitrolite, Lucite, and Bakelite.

In a belated response to the Paris exposition, the Metropolitan Museum in New York City organized a 1929 show that featured "The Architect and the International Arts." It consisted of eight rooms, each decorated by a different architect and displaying artifacts manufactured by American companies. Expensive and elitist, just like its European counterpart, the exhibition alerted middle-class consumers of new trends in domestic design, trends that included numerous Art Deco elements.

That same year, and then again in 1934, New York's Museum of Modern Art presented shows about "machine art"; similarly, the Brooklyn Museum in 1931 sponsored "Modern Industrial and Decorative Art." The fact that these exhibitions occurred in museums and not at manufacturers' trade shows acknowledged that mass production could not be dismissed in discussions of the decorative arts. In all these presentations, however, the curators attempted to create a blend between a machine aesthetic and the warmth of natural materials and craft. The human element could not be dismissed; comfort had to be combined with utility and economy.

During this period, the United States usually displayed one of two minds in its approach to new cultural trends: deferential or xenophobic. On the deferential side, the consensus among government officials and their advisers revolved around the perception that the nation lacked any coherent approach to modern design, and thus had to look to Europe, "the Old World," for inspiration. This feeling of cultural inferiority had little basis in fact, but had held sway among many people since the late eighteenth century and the founding of the country. With its reluctant rise as a world power, the United States began to shed that cultural reticence, but the transition took time, and not until the first third of the twentieth century—the very period of the Paris exposition—would American decorative arts begin to take their place on the world stage.

In the meantime, a form of cultural xenophobia sometimes manifested itself among American designers and manufacturers. They often dismissed anything remotely "European," arguing that native products possessed an inherent superiority over "foreign" goods and ideas. For example, much of what was exhibited in Paris consisted of carefully handcrafted luxury items made from rare or expensive materials, or both. By and large, that exposition displayed the elegant, the sumptuous, the one-of-a-kind, and often the ostentatious. It appealed to a wealthy clientele that wanted luxury goods, and cost was no barrier.

American firms, on the other hand, substituted machine-made products for handcrafting in order to attract a growing middle class eager to possess the newest of the new but at a modest cost. Xenophobic or not, Americans wanted a commercialization of modernism. Art Deco would finally be embraced in the United States in the later 1920s and on into the 1930s, but with significant changes that separated it from the earlier European versions; what gained a popular American following melded the continental penchant for luxury with the practical concerns of cost and marketability.

The range of Art Deco design is limited only by one's imagination. Thus towering American skyscrapers, such as the **Chrysler Building** (1930) and the **Empire State Building** (1931), are categorized as Art Deco **architecture** because of many decorative

elements incorporated into their designs. The same would hold true for many of the great movie palaces of the 1930s, a final outburst of Art Deco architectural flamboyance. Its use in architecture has, however, usually been limited to commercial and government buildings; only on rare occasions can it be found in small residential structures. The economies imposed on new construction during the 1930s hampered the full expression of Art Deco concepts. The grand entryways, a common Art Deco practice, to public and commercial buildings may conceal an otherwise rather pedestrian structure. Shorn of ornament, save for the entries, these buildings in actuality spoke of financial restraint.

Further afield, furnishings, from office suites to kitchen appliances, frequently receive Art Deco touches, as do smaller items like jewelry, cigarette cases, watches, and perfume bottles. Dinnerware, silver, and book bindings likewise attract designers, and unusual materials, such as onyx, or polychrome lacquer and enamels, enhance the products. Again, the range appears limitless.

Too often employed as a blanket term, "Art Deco" can be presented in many guises. There exists "high" Art Deco, as seen in the finely crafted items on display at the Paris show. But mass-produced Art Deco, the decided preference in the United States, tends to freely employ certain motifs (too freely, some critics would say) and gives a comforting illusion of financial security without being terribly expensive. In many ways, the popularity of many cheap Art Deco–inspired knickknacks in the Depression era served as a comforting reaction to the austerity imposed by the financial crisis. The glossy figurines (many of them unabashedly erotic with their sensuous nude women) that could be found in many middle-class homes in the 1930s clearly reflected some of the imagery carried over from countless movies that featured Art Deco sets.

Regardless of how its designers and manufacturers presented it, Art Deco fit a fash-ionable niche for much of the 1930s. It served, both commercially and domestically, as a widely accepted symbol of glamour. More importantly, it heralded the future. When pared down to simple shapes and stripped of superfluous ornamentation, items once identified as "Art Deco" lost that designation and instead fell under more inclusive labels of "Modernism" or "Moderne."

See also Fashion; International Style; Rockefeller Center; Streamlining

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ASTAIRE, FRED, & GINGER ROGERS. Of all the many dancers in Hollywood **musicals** during the 1930s, the team of Fred Astaire (1899–1987) and Ginger Rogers (1911–1995) proved the most popular and the most enduring. In the nine films in which they appear together, they, more than anyone else, epitomized both style and elegance on the dance floor.

Nebraska-born Astaire came from a stage background; he had costarred in vaudeville with his sister Adele (1897–1981) when both were children; they carried on the partnership in stage musicals that commenced in 1917, eventually making it to Broadway and



Fred Astaire (1899–1987) and Ginger Rogers (1911–1995) in Shall We Dance (1937). (Courtesy of Photofest)

several major shows. In 1932, Adele left the team to marry, and Fred began to search for new ventures. He looked to Hollywood and, despite a disappointing screen test, managed to land a contract. His film debut consisted of a bit part in a 1933 Joan Crawford (1904–1977) vehicle called *Dancing Lady*. Astaire, not surprisingly, plays a dancer, and it got him noticed; RKO paired him with Ginger Rogers for second-tier roles in *Flying Down to Rio* (1933), a frothy musical featuring the then-popular Dolores del Rio (1905–1983), the ostensible star of the movie.

While Fred Astaire labored to establish his film credentials, Ginger Rogers had already become a veteran of the silver screen. By the time she first danced with him in *Flying Down to Rio*, she had appeared in 22 movies in the 1930s alone, plus two shorts in 1929. Despite making so many pictures in so brief a time, Rogers still had not achieved top-star ranking, but her energetic dancing and singing turns in films like **42nd Street** (1932) and *Gold Diggers of 1933* (1933) had earned her considerable notice. In *Gold Diggers of 1933* she wowed everyone with her rendition of "The Gold Digger's Song (We're in the Money)" by virtue of being scantily clad in large gold coins and inexplicably doing some of the lyrics in pig Latin. When RKO offered her a part in *Flying Down to Rio*, she even received billing over newcomer Astaire who could offer no comparable accomplishments.

Once paired in *Flying Down to Rio*, Rogers and Astaire get to sing and dance "The Carioca," one of the featured numbers in the picture, and they steal the show. The rest of the cast stands aside as their flawless timing and remarkable fluidity introduce a style

of cinematic ballroom dancing not seen before. Within a year, the two would be together again, but now in their own musical, stars in their own right.

Eight additional Astaire/Rogers pictures followed Flying Down to Rio during the 1930s: The Gay Divorcee (1934), Roberta (1935), Top Hat (1935), Follow the Fleet (1936), Swingtime (1936), Shall We Dance? (1937), Carefree (1938), and The Story of Vernon and Irene Castle (1939). Each film typifies elegance and poise. With the worst of the Depression waning by 1934, the confident, glossy imagery displayed by Rogers and Astaire replaced the earnestness, the sense of responsibility that characterized so many of the musicals of the earlier 1930s. This self-assuredness carried over into the dancing itself: instead of being regimented and geometric in their choreography, certainly the approach taken in musicals made during the 1930–1933 period, Fred and Ginger dance in a seemingly carefree and fun way, avoiding the synchronized movements associated with a previous generation of musicals. Astaire insisted on doing his own choreography, and he brought a new, never before seen level of sophistication to movie dancing.

Every detail in their movies reveals a cinematic vision of modernity, and all their collaborations have a singular look about them, as well they should. Each exhibits the work of RKO's art director/production designer Van Nest Polglase (1898–1968), one of the best interpreters of the Art Deco–Streamlining approach to interior design. Polglase saw to it that the two danced in Hollywood's distinctive interpretation of the big-city night-club; stark blacks and whites, along with chrome and other polished surfaces, set off Astaire's trademark tuxedoes and Rogers's gowns. Aesthetic escapism at its best, these sequences satisfied audiences hungry for images of good fortune. Instead of the theme about a plucky chorus girl who finally makes good and stars in a hit, the basic plot of so many earlier musicals, the movies with Astaire and Rogers dispense with any Social Realism and focus their energies on being stylish and sophisticated. The formula worked; their films ranked among the biggest box office draws of the decade.

After the 1939 release of *The Story of Vernon and Irene Castle*, and not wanting the magic to wear thin, Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers ceased doing movies together. Both pursued independent careers, Astaire continuing in musicals and **recordings**. Not just a marvelous dancer, he could also sing, and well. Possessed of a somewhat thin, high-pitched voice, he chose his songs carefully and displayed impeccable phrasing. Over time, he would introduce and record more standards than any other male vocalist, and major **songwriters and lyricists** like **Cole Porter** (1891–1964), **George Gershwin** (1898–1937), and **Irving Berlin** (1888–1989) often had him in mind when writing their **music**. In the process, he enjoyed many a hit record.

Ginger Rogers likewise branched out into other areas. In 1940, she won an Academy Award for Best Actress with her role in the nonmusical *Kitty Foyle: The Natural History of a Woman*, a film that showcased her talents as a dramatic performer. She would continue to appear in a variety of films throughout her long career. The two would be reunited one last time in 1949 with *The Barkleys of Broadway*, and they demonstrated that, despite an absence of 10 years, they remained one of the screen's most captivating dancing combinations.

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AUTO CAMPS. Long before motels offering every imaginable amenity dotted American highways, a crude ancestor called an auto camp served weary travelers. A combination of a small general store and primitive lodging, these accommodations ranged from tent sites to a bare-bones room with a cot or bed. Such camps served basic needs and nothing more, but they provided a cheap place to park off the highway for the night. Some motorists, called "auto gypsies," created their own roadside lodging, often by trespassing on private property, pitching a tent, and usually leaving litter. Official auto camps, established by local governments in the early 1920s, attempted to cope with this problem by designating sites to sleep in the car or put up a tent.

An outgrowth of the popularity of **automobiles**, auto camps in the 1920s and 1930s seldom lacked for customers. Through both decades, many American families, middle-class professionals, and white-collar workers had the desire and the means to utilize their cars for recreation, to be on the road longer than the Sunday afternoon outing. They craved adventure, the sense of leaving home and seeing the country, "roughing it," and enjoying the intimacy of gathering around an evening campfire. Not everyone searched for the romance of the road, of course; the worst days of the Depression saw large numbers of unemployed people drifting, hoping for piecemeal work and a break in their economic situation.

Salesmen and businessmen traveled because their professions demanded it (the idea of a woman traveling alone still raised eyebrows). With the Depression and the growing popularity of the automobile, more and more of these travelers switched from **trains** and took to the highways. Cost and convenience often motivated them to stay at places other than the expensive **hotels** located in the center of town. Auto camp patrons, still enamored of the idea of being away from home, eventually desired a more comfortable setting that provided additional amenities, and in time the auto camp would be replaced by the motel.

Both privately operated and municipal auto camps sometimes euphemistically billed themselves as tourist parks, but originally most tended to be situated in cities, near downtown, in order to generate business for local merchants. The early days of the Depression witnessed an increase in the number of drifters stopping at auto camps, and many municipalities tried to keep out less affluent guests by charging fees. In time, private entrepreneurs took over most of the auto camp trade, seeing it as an attractive business opportunity, especially if located along the increasingly busy highway. Privatization also brought about competition, which in turn led to better facilities, and crude tent sites soon sported raised wooden platforms to keep the occupants dry in rain.

Many auto camps built cabins where tents once stood and offered varied levels of service: a basic cabin (or "cottage," as quaint advertisements sometimes called them) might offer one or two single beds, electricity (a bare bulb hanging by a cord), and access to public bathroom facilities for 50 cents (about \$7.50 in contemporary dollars), whereas a deluxe cabin might provide larger beds, brand-name mattresses such as Simmons Beautyrest or Sealy, a chair and a lamp, and a private bathroom with sink, toilet, and tub or shower for \$2.00 (about \$29.50 in contemporary dollars). Most travelers rented for the night, but some opted for a week's vacation at one spot. Tourists swapped recommendations and would drive extra miles to stay at a particularly well-known facility or find a good deal.



Cottages and services in a typical auto camp. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

With a constant push for improved facilities and more auto camps opening, *Popular Mechanics*, a magazine with a large following among do-it-yourselfers, in the 1930s ran articles with instructions on how to build quality tourist cabins. Simple bungalow designs predominated, but log cabins, English Tudor, and colonial designs could also be found. Well-constructed cabins replaced ramshackle ones. Owners promoted such amenities as gasoline, meals, **ice cream**, maybe a pond or lake along with fishing tackle for rent, club houses, dance halls, and laundry rooms. Catchy names like "Kozy Kamp," "Para Dice," "Dew Drop Inn," "U Pop Inn," and "Tumble Inn" served as a popular marketing gimmick.

One of the greatest films of the Depression era, Frank Capra's *It Happened One Night* (1934), provides moviegoers unfamiliar with auto camps an opportunity to become acquainted with this mode of traveling. Filled with contemporary detail, the picture tells the story of a rugged reporter (Clark Gable; 1901–1960), a wealthy heiress (Claudette Colbert; 1903–1996), and how this unlikely couple travels Depression-era America by bus and by car. In one classic scene, they share a run-down auto camp that typifies what could have been found at that time.

As the 1930s progressed, many of the country's auto camps went out of business, replaced by more sophisticated lodging, or they themselves evolved into motor courts, the direct predecessor of the motel. Others became sites for a new kind of traveler, those pulling their own "cabins" (i.e., trailers) behind their cars.

See also Advertising; Architecture; Buses; Leisure & Recreation: Magazines; Movies; Screwball Comedies; Travel

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AUTOMOBILES. In a survey conducted in the 1920s and repeated in the 1930s, Americans ranked the automobile as their preferred means for travel. They even declared ownership of a car to be more important than a home, telephone, electric lighting, or indoor plumbing. Prior to the stock market crash of October 1929, American automobile companies had experienced explosive growth as vehicle designs became standardized and closed bodies greatly improved passenger comfort whatever the weather. With these advances, the automobile, in addition to its use for general transportation, errands, or visiting relatives and friends, served as the means for a new kind of recreation, the Sunday drive, a time when the family went "out for a drive," strictly for the pleasure of being in the car. During the worse days of the Depression, families, as much as possible, continued to treat themselves to the joys of this newfound activity.

Improvements in automobile technology during the 1920s led to the manufacture of luxury cars, vehicles that functioned as status symbols, another reason for car ownership. Described as the largest, grandest, most beautiful, and elegant motorized vehicles ever built, luxury cars created a flurry of enthusiastic attention when presented at the Detroit, New York, and Chicago auto shows during the Roaring Twenties. The classic Duesenbergs, Cords, Pierce-Arrows, and Cadillacs contained countless innovations, such as Cord's front wheel drive and retractable headlights, and sold to the rich and famous who could afford a chassis price tag as high as \$8,500 (\$100,000 to \$125,000 in contemporary dollars), plus the cost of a custom-made coach. Publicity for the cars came easily and photographers captured movie stars like Gary Cooper (1901–1961) with his Duesenberg or Ginger Rogers (1911–1995) and Tom Mix (1880–1940) with their Pierce-Arrows. Mix also owned a Cord 812, the car he was driving at breakneck speed when he had a fatal accident on an Arizona highway.

Following the onset of the Great Depression, more and more Americans, especially the noncelebrities, decided against assuming installment debt in order to replace a car that still ran well. Whenever possible, people held on to their automobiles, even if it meant removing the wheels and setting the car on blocks. During the grimmest years of the crisis, the purchase of used cars actually exceeded that of new ones. By mid-decade, 95 percent of all the automobiles sold cost under \$750 (\$11,000 in contemporary dollars).

Out of 60 American companies manufacturing a significant number of cars in 1930, only 18 remained in production at the end of the decade. Some of the best-known small firms closed—Essex in 1931, Reo and Franklin in 1934, Stutz in 1935, Durant Motors in 1936, and the Hupp Motor Car Company in 1940. Despite their glowing reputations for creating top-of-the-line vehicles, the financial effects of the Depression finally proved to be too much for the manufacturers of luxury cars. Cord and Duesenberg stopped production in 1937, followed by Pierce-Arrow in 1938. Only the term "doozie" remained, meaning something extraordinary or excellent. It possibly derived from the Duesenberg's nickname of "Duesy."

The three largest American automobile manufacturers—Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler—had supplied nearly 75 percent of the cars sold at the beginning of the 1930s; even this trio of giants experienced declining sales until 1933. During this turnaround year, all three shared in a sales increase of almost 500,000 cars over 1932, and by 1939 accounted for 90 percent of automobile sales. As the decade advanced, more and more Americans looked for vehicles that emphasized improved mechanical qualities, and the Big Three responded with synchromesh transmissions that allowed for smooth shifting, automatic chokes, adjustable seats, built-in trunks, defrosters, and hydraulic brakes. A car radio called Motorola first appeared during the late 1920s and played on the obvious connections between "motor" and mobility. It could be purchased from the Galvin Corporation as an extra for around \$110 (\$1,300 in contemporary dollars). Cadillac included a no-draft ventilation system in its 1933 models; individual front wheel suspension became a feature in 1934; and the first sunroofs and a gearshift on the steering column appeared in 1938.

Walter P. Chrysler (1875–1940), president of the Chrysler Corporation, in a daring move introduced the Airflow model in 1934. A combination of **Art Deco** and Streamlined **design**, it offered a roundly sloping hood, a swept-back windshield, chrome detailing, and headlights that appeared to blend in smoothly with the flow of the chassis. Chrysler counted on **Streamlining**, with its imagery of speed, as a marketing approach for the Airflow. Employing an almost unlimited **advertising** budget for its "car of the future," along with wide brand recognition, a relatively low sticker price, and a large chain of dealerships, the Airflows initially gained wide public attention. But consumer interest soon waned; many felt that beneath the showy exterior lurked an ordinary Chrysler with few real changes. The recession in 1937 further hindered commercial success, causing the company to withdraw its sleek, forward-looking car from production in order to concentrate on more traditional models.

But even with its failure, the Airflow had prepared consumers for the direction that automotive design would follow. During the last years of the decade, other manufacturers experimented with more modern treatments and, through heavy advertising, introduced each year's new model with an emphasis on improvements and sleek looks. Soon the American buyer began to accept the concept of "planned obsolescence"; the changes might consist of little more than cosmetic additions rendered in sheet metal, but the growing consumer market rushed to buy the newest models anyway.

The willingness to own and drive an automobile during the 1930s involved some challenges. Bricks and cobblestones, among the materials used for those city streets that might be described as paved, made for a rough ride no matter what the features of the car. Once on the approximately 500,000 miles of road that crisscrossed the country outside regular city limits, a driver encountered more obstacles and discomforts. Not just the absence of pavement, but narrow two-lane highways with unexpected turns and a lack of bridges created a certain degree of uncertainty. No multilane interstates existed, although an occasional three-lane road, considered quite modern, could be found.

Construction started on two significant roads in 1926—U.S. Route 66, from Chicago, Illinois, to Los Angeles, California, and U.S. Route 40, "the National Road," from Atlantic City, New Jersey, to Oakland, California. For most of the 1930s, however, they remained unpaved, bumpy, and messy during inclement weather. Truck drivers favored Route 66 because of its flat, straight stretches in the Southwest. Identified as

the "Mother Road" by John Steinbeck (1902–1968) in his famous novel **The Grapes of Wrath** (1939), it served as the major pathway for migrant farmers uprooted by dust storms and soil erosion.

Thanks to President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) and his New Deal programs, such as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC; 1933–1942) and the Works Progress Administration (WPA; 1935–1943; name changed to Work Projects Administration in 1939), portions of major routes improved and more and more roads got built. During his administration, the number of paved highways doubled, important bridges and tunnels were constructed, and scenic parkways and byways became a part of state and national parks.

Even with all their deficiencies, roads—old, new, under construction—served as a network that connected large population centers, allowing people to venture out in their cars for business and vacation travel, as well as the Sunday afternoon drive. One-half of American families owned a vehicle and gasoline turned out to be one of the few commodities to enjoy steady sales throughout the Depression years. Car ownership stood at over 20 million autos by 1935 and continued to rise steadily as did the number of miles traveled in motor vehicles, increasing from 201 billion in 1933 to 285 billion by 1939.

From the early days of the twentieth century, cities grew and residential building spread from the center of the city to its fringes, creating the American suburb in the process. Mass transportation for getting to and from work and for pleasure saw decreased usage as more families acquired cars. This in turn created the problem of what to do with the vehicle when not in use. The title of a popular comic strip of the era, Gasoline Alley, by Frank King (1883–1969), refers to a narrow lane that bisected many residential blocks of the time. People erected garages that fronted this alley, not the street; the conventional driveway beside a house remained a relatively unknown concept in crowded cities. The content of this gentle, good-natured series often focused on the activities of the alley: cars, their repair and performance, and general automotive lore.

During the 1920s and 1930s, Gasoline Alley ranked among the most popular newspaper comic strips. It found a large, receptive audience in a nation looking for stability. The quiet humor and warmth of its characters served as a welcome antidote to the fear and anxiety felt throughout the nation during the Depression. Nothing much exciting happened in its frames, but the occurrence of the timeless cycle of birth and life, marriage and family, young and old, while suburban, middle-class America tinkered with its cars reassured readers, and it clearly met their expectations.

As automobiles grew in popularity, business owners and city planners recognized a need to address the issue of parking in work and shopping areas. A 1933 survey conducted by the Kroger Grocery and Baking Company revealed that 80 percent of their customers used an automobile for shopping. That year, when the company opened a new store in Cincinnati, Ohio, it built a lot to accommodate 75 cars, the first such parking feature to surround a grocery store. In another innovative move related to the increased number of cars on urban streets, the city fathers of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, in 1935 installed the first parking meters, the "Park-o-Meter." The devices provided orderly parking on certain streets and also raised income for the municipality. Other communities lost no time in adopting them, and the inescapable parking meter became a part of the American scene.

Once out of the garage and onto the open highway, whether for business, a short family trip, or extended vacation, the scarcity of amenities such as service stations, rest



Given the poor roads and lack of service stations during the 1930s, car repairs often had to be made with the tools at hand. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

rooms, lodging, and **restaurants** required careful planning. What with small gas tanks and low mileage per gallon of fuel, the average automobile had a cruising range of about 50 miles and required frequent stops for refilling. The best tires tended to be unreliable. In fact, well-equipped drivers always set forth with a spare or two plus a tire repair kit with glue and patches.

Enterprising merchants, ever mindful of business opportunities, accommodated increased traffic and its uncertainties by erecting **gas stations**, eateries, cabins, cottages, **motels**, and souvenir shops along the roadways. Along with new businesses, the placement of signs at a Texaco gasoline station, a Howard Johnson's Restaurant, or an Alamo Plaza Tourist Court announced the possibility of gas, **food**, and a comfortable night's sleep on a Sealy mattress. These signs turned the highway into a promenade displaying American efficiency and know-how.

Auto camps offered a place for tourists to park their cars and convert them into a quasi tent-cabin for the night. By opening the car doors and attaching an extended cover to the top of the vehicle, the traveler had a protected spot for cooking and eating before spending the night inside the car. **Movies**, a popular form of entertainment, soon could be enjoyed from the convenience of the automobile. The first drive-in theater, located in New Jersey, opened in 1933, followed by others across the country.

The first official organized stock car race took place in 1936 on a part packed sand, part paved, four-mile track in Daytona Beach, Florida. Legend has it that the roots of

such racing originated with moonshiners on dusty dirt roads hauling illegal distilled corn whiskey; they raced in an attempt to get away from the police. Through the remaining years of the decade, the popularity of stock car competition grew under the leadership of William France Sr. (1909–1992), with the Daytona race continuing as its biggest event.

Over the years, as more and more Americans considered purchasing a new car, the automobile industry had the opportunity to display its wares at four world's fairs, Chicago in 1933, San Diego in 1935, and San Francisco and New York in 1939. The Century of Progress Exhibition in Chicago hosted the "dream cars" exhibit that included Cadillac's introduction of its V-16 limousine. In San Diego, the highly popular Ford Building designed by Walter Dorwin Teague (1883–1960), a famous industrial designer, contained a fountain resembling the Ford V-8 emblem. Teague also designed another successful exhibit for Ford, a winding, half-mile road called the "Road of Tomorrow," for the New York World's Fair. General Motors' "Progress on Parade" exhibit in San Francisco allowed crowds of interested visitors to try the new gearshifts and see exactly what happened when they turned the steering wheel with their own hands.

But perhaps the ultimate experience occurred at the New York World's Fair's Futurama exhibit, also sponsored by General Motors. Created by Norman Bel Geddes (1893–1958), another of the era's outstanding industrial designers, Futurama presented a scale model of America in 1960, complete with homes, urban complexes, bridges, dams, surrounding landscapes, and, most important, an advanced highway system that permitted sustained speeds of 100 miles per hour. The exhibit could be viewed from moving chairs with individual loudspeakers; visitors exited the building sporting a small blue and white pin containing the phrase "I Have Seen the Future."

Through both a depression and a recession, many American drivers kept their older cars in running condition. Nevertheless, the decade saw an increase in vehicle ownership. Advertising encouraged everyone to purchase the newest model and, for a brief period, offered consumers the opportunity to flirt with the idea of owning a luxury car. But for most, the realities of the decade left the sensible, reliable family car, be it old or new, as the dominant vehicle on America's roads.

See also Aviation; Buses; Fairs & Expositions; Grocery Stores & Supermarkets; Hotels; Leisure & Recreation; Prohibition & Repeal

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AVIATION. From the Wright Brothers' first flight at Kitty Hawk in 1903 to the horrors of the London blitz brought by Luftwaffe bombers in 1940, aviation held the attention of everyone through the first third of the twentieth century. People craned their necks when they heard a plane buzz high in the sky, whereas they ignored the rumble of a truck on a nearby highway. For many, the 1920s and 1930s can be called

"the golden age of aviation." Despite the fascination, few Americans ever set foot in an airplane during the 1930s. Deemed unsafe, unnatural, inconvenient, and just too expensive, the development of commercial aviation languished. Not until long after World War II would the airline industry finally begin to draw in large numbers of passengers.

Many forces conspired to block the arrival of aviation as an everyday form of **travel** in the United States. Comfortable, welcoming facilities for passengers proved virtually nonexistent both on the ground and in the air. Only large urban airports boasted terminals equipped to handle crowds, and most airplanes, at least in the early years of the decade, can only be described as noisy and cramped. With these limitations, people viewed flying as something reserved for the adventuresome. **Train** travel offered luxury at modest prices, and **automobiles** and **buses** grew larger and more comfortable at the same time. Planes might fly higher and farther and faster than ever before, but the average citizen remained hesitant about boarding one.

The U.S. Postal Service unexpectedly emerged as an important booster of aviation. As early as 1917, postal authorities had allocated money to start an experimental airmail service, an activity that commenced in 1918. Walter F. Brown (1869–1961), postmaster general in 1929, moved the airmail project forward when he established three primary aerial routes for the country: a northern, central, and southern cross-country pattern. Although this division ostensibly came about to speed up mail service, it also led to the creation of several early airlines, since Brown identified who he wanted to perform this function. In 1931, four small carriers merged to become United Airlines and took on the northern route. Transcontinental & Western Airlines (later Trans World Airlines, or TWA) in 1930 flew the central portion, and for the southern tier several secondary operations joined forces as American Airlines. These moves generated considerable enthusiasm among business people, because most sensed that money stood to be made in the fledgling airline industry.

Other prominent domestic lines at this time included Delta Air Services (it changed to Delta Air Corporation in 1930, and later identified itself by its present-day Delta Air Lines) and Pitcairn Aviation, a small carrier founded in 1926. Pitcairn became known as Eastern Air Transport in 1929, and then took its better-known name of Eastern Air Lines in 1938. On the eve of the Great Depression, 44 airlines operated within the United States. The government's support of United, Transcontinental & Western, and American Airlines through its airmail service contracts made them the country's major carriers throughout the 1930s. In the process, three main hubs for air travel and transport evolved: New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles.

The airmail contracts covered only domestic routes, and some entrepreneurs hungrily eyed foreign markets. As the range that airplanes could fly increased, there remained little reason to limit commercial flight to the continental United States. American businessman Juan Trippe (1899–1981) in 1927 took over a struggling Florida-based carrier and proceeded to win an exclusive contract to carry mail between Key West and Cuba. Within a year, Trippe had landed two more foreign routes—one to Puerto Rico and the other to the Canal Zone, places that had heavy U.S. investments—and in so doing laid the foundation for Pan American World Airways (PAA).

Eager to procure additional routes, Trippe looked farther afield. At that time, Great Britain refused permission for commercial planes to land and refuel in Bermuda or Newfoundland in order to limit competition with British airlines. Given fuel limitations, aircraft headed toward Europe had to refill their tanks in Newfoundland before heading out over the sea. The restrictions effectively blocked American carriers from establishing direct routes from the United States to Europe. Trippe therefore turned his attention to the Pacific. He ordered several large seaplanes, or flying boats, that carried sufficient fuel for extended flights. In 1935, PAA made the first transpacific airmail flight from San Francisco to Manila, refueling in Hawaii, Midway Island, Wake Island, and Guam. Before long, even longer-range aircraft would shrink the Pacific, and the vision of opening up markets in Japan, the Philippines, and China held great promise.

Charles Lindbergh's epochal solo transatlantic flight in 1927 had effectively dispelled the idea that airplanes could not cross great distances. His feat received an outpouring of media attention, so much that it awakened the public to the growing possibilities of flight. In the following year applications for pilots' licenses jumped from 1,800 to 5,000. Although the oceans no longer seemed so vast and general optimism about flight ran high, the occasional crash and the inevitable death continued to cause most Americans to question the safety of commercial flying.

In 1929, and still flush from his solo success, Lindbergh agreed to lend the prestige of his name to the young Transcontinental & Western Airline (TWA), and he and his wife, Anne Morrow Lindbergh (1906–2001), made a record-breaking flight to Asia, a flight she captured in her best-selling memoir *North to the Orient* (1935). The "Lone Eagle" took to the air once again in 1933, working to create a North Atlantic route for future airliners. His wife continued to chronicle their adventures, and in 1938 *Listen! The Wind* further evoked their travels.

By any measure, however, passenger air travel during the 1930s cost a good deal of money, although the airlines strove to keep prices competitive with first-class rail travel. Those flying on business accounts and a handful of wealthy individuals made up the bulk of people booking flights. A few went a step further and bought airplanes for private business and pleasure flying. But little changed for the average traveler; the airlines had to compete for that tiny minority who did fly. In the meantime, both the airlines and aircraft manufacturers strove to **design** and fly the safest, fastest, and most economical planes possible.

In the early 1930s, Transcontinental & Western Airlines approached the Douglas Aircraft Company about the possibility for an all-metal monoplane capable of carrying up to 12 passengers at a speed of 150 miles her hour. The company's answer, the DC-1, evolved into the DC-2, and then into the justly famous **Douglas DC-3**. Its manufacture and subsequent success made commercial aviation a profitable business.

The Boeing Company, a direct competitor with Douglas, experimented with building its own all-metal monoplane; their version, called the Boeing 247, made its debut in 1933. This craft carried 10 passengers and could fly on one engine, if necessary. Not as large or fast as the rival DC-1, it faced a bleak future. Yet another company, Lockheed Aircraft, introduced its L-10 Electra in 1934. Small in comparison to the Boeing or Douglas models, it instead boasted a higher top speed than they, and it enjoyed lower operating costs. For awhile, the Electra challenged the Douglas line.

In addition to concerns about speed and safety, service emerged as a factor in the competition for passengers. The pilot and copilot often could not assist with the frequent cases of airsickness or fear, nor had they time to distribute **food** and **soft drinks**. Boeing

Air Transport, later to become part of United Airlines, in 1930 hired eight nurses known as "sky girls" to work as stewardesses in its fleet of airplanes. The idea had been presented to Boeing Air by Ellen Church (1904–1965), a registered nurse, and on May 15, 1930, she became the world's first stewardess, working a flight from San Francisco, California, to Chicago, Illinois. Not until 1933 did other airlines follow suit, but the once-novel idea of an attendant on board did in time catch on as an industry standard.

In those early days, stewardesses worked many jobs. They handled all the baggage, made sure interiors sparkled, and often helped in the fueling of the aircraft. When aloft, they prepared and served beverages and meals, and kept passengers and themselves as comfortable as they could in unheated, unairconditioned, and unpressurized cabins. Toward the end of the decade, TWA equipped a number of its DC-3s with radios in the passenger cabin. It fell to the stewardess to find stations, keep them in tune, and find new ones as the plane passed out of range of the signal. Individual loudspeakers allowed patrons to listen or not, and also permitted the pilot to speak directly to the cabin, if need be.



In 1929, Bernt Balchen (1899–1973) became the first person to pilot an airplane over the South Pole; he continued to be a popular aviator for years afterward. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

While the airlines tried to please a few paying customers, a number of individuals brought additional publicity and color to the aviation industry, and some even occasionally made the headlines. Various prizes, most of them monetary, enticed daring pilots to attempt new feats. Wiley Post (1898–1935), a colorful Texan who wore a signature eye patch, the result of an accident, had spent a considerable portion of his life among pilots and airplanes. In 1931, he raced around the world in the *Winnie Mae*, a single-engine, high-wing Lockheed Vega monoplane that featured detachable landing gear. This device reduced drag and gave the craft increased speed and distance. Post, who made the lengthy journey with copilot Harold Gatty (1903–1957), telegraphed accounts of his journey to a news syndicate, and people lined up at newsstands to read the latest chapter in his flight. Post flew around the world in 8 days, 15 hours, and 51 minutes, a time that eclipsed the 1929 record of 21 days set by the *Graf Zeppelin*, the famous German airship.

Not satisfied, and bitten by fame, Post took off again in 1933, but this time he sat alone in the *Winnie Mae*. Battling fatigue and the elements, although he carried a radio

direction finder and had an early autopilot, he beat his own record by over 21 hours, making him both the fastest pilot ever and the first to circumnavigate the globe solo. Two years later, flying an experimental airplane and this time again with a companion, the beloved humorist Will Rogers (1879–1935), Post suffered a crash near Point Barrow, Alaska. A tragedy, and a blow to aviation as well, the accident killed them both.

Despite the loss of Wiley Post, other equally colorful daredevils continued to challenge the skies during the 1930s. Roscoe Turner (1895–1970) won many racing trophies and set a number of records, such as a 1930 transcontinental speed mark, Los Angeles to New York in 15 hours, 37 minutes. Sporting a splendid moustache that flared to waxed spikes, Turner epitomized the image of a dashing aviator. He fashioned his own flying suit, a powder blue affair with exaggerated whipcord breeches, and traveled briefly with a pet lion cub, Gilmore. To the delight of the press, Turner had a custom parachute made for his mascot, and Gilmore usually sat up front in the cockpit.

Turner established much of his fame through aerial racing, a popular spectacle that flourished in the Depression era. Two events in particular garnered public attention, the National Air Races, also known as the Thompson Trophy races (which Turner won three times in the 1930s), and the Bendix Trophy flights (he won this event once). Both carried with them a mix of prestige and considerable danger to the pilots.

In the Thompson Trophy, a closed-course race that had its origins in 1929, small planes, both military and civilian, zoomed around a prearranged pattern that employed tall pylons as markers. The closer and faster a pilot could shave a pylon, the better the elapsed time. Competing for cash and recognition, the pilots pushed themselves and their airplanes to the limit. A number of fliers crashed and died, but such tragedy only whetted the audience's appetite for more.

Initiated in 1931, the Bendix Trophy involved a coast-to-coast cross-country flight. Elapsed time and total distance flown determined the winner. A challenging race, it drew the top aviators of the day, such as Jimmy Doolittle (1896–1992) of the army air corps, Howard Hughes (1905–1976), "Meteor Man" Frank Hawks (1897–1938), and Roscoe Turner.

Hughes, a movie director, inventor, and multimillionaire, designed his own craft for the race. His *Hughes Special* reached the almost unbelievable airspeed of 325 miles per hour in 1935. Two years later he sped across the country from Los Angeles to New York in 7 hours, 28 minutes and 25 seconds. Then in 1938, he set another record by completing a flight around the world in 3 days, 19 hours, and 14 minutes in a Lockheed 14, more than halving Wiley Post's 1933 record.

Aviatrix Amelia Earhart (1897–1937), famous as the first woman to fly solo across the Atlantic in 1932, planned a circumnavigation of the globe for 1937. In the last leg of her journey, her plane disappeared over the Pacific. Despite a massive search, no traces were ever discovered, making her disappearance one of most tantalizing mysteries of the 1930s.

Although Amelia Earhart captured the public imagination through much of the decade, other women also set records and garnered occasional headlines. Ruth Nichols (1901–1960), for example, established a new world altitude record for women, 28,743 feet, in 1931. Nichols thereby flew twice as high as an earlier mark of 14,000 feet, made in 1922 by none other than Amelia Earhart. Since at the time Nichols worked for Crescent Aircraft, her job allowed her to spend most of her time in competitions. She repaid the favor

by breaking a number of women's speed and distance records. In 1939, Nichols founded Relief Wings, a civilian air ambulance service. The Civil Air Patrol (CAP) absorbed this project when the United States entered the Second World War in 1941.

The colorfulness and derring-do of these pilots spread, not unexpectedly, to the newspaper comic pages. Adventure series like *Barney Baxter in the Air* (1935–1950), drawn by Frank Miller (1898–1949), went for the **youth** market. The series involves an adolescent boy in all sorts of aerial adventures. With the approach of World War II, Barney pushes hard for military preparedness, and *Barney Baxter* became one of the first **comic strips** to suggest the inevitability of war and the importance of being ready.

Ace Drummond (1935–1940) likewise competed for space on the crowded funny pages. Purportedly drawn by Captain Eddie Rickenbacker (1890–1973), a renowned World War I flying ace, Clayton Knight (1891–1969) actually handled the chores of drawing and writing the series. Knight even included a small panel titled Hall of Fame of the Air where the exploits of real fliers could be celebrated. Noel Sickles' (1910–1982) Scorchy Smith (1930–1961) also did well, as did Tailspin Tommy (1928–1942), drawn by Hal Forrest (1892–1959) and written by Glenn Chaffin (1897–1978).

Probably the claim of being the most popular of all the flying strips, however, fell to *Smilin' Jack* (1933–1973), a long-lived mix of humor, romance, and adventure. The creation of Zack Mosley (1906–1993), its mustachioed hero might easily remind readers of Wiley Post or Roscoe Turner. A galaxy of women fliers also wanders in and out of the stories, so Amelia Earhart or Ruth Nichols might come to mind. Awkwardly drawn at best, 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 and the exploits came from the headlines.

The comics had their aviation hits, but Hollywood, always alert to the public pulse, also celebrated flight. The 1930s saw the theatrical release of over 25 aviation-oriented commercial films. The decade opened with two World War I dramas, director Howard Hughes's Hell's Angels (1930) and Howard Hawks's (1896–1977) The Dawn Patrol (also 1930). This latter picture, starring Richard Barthelmess (1895–1963) and Douglas Fairbanks Jr. (1909–2000), proved so successful that the studios remade it in 1938 under the same title. The second version features Errol Flynn (1909–1959), Basil Rathbone (1892–1967), and David Niven (1910–1983), three of the top names in movies at the time These pictures indicated the direction the majority of future aviation pictures would take: war stories that allowed for lots of combat footage.

Forgotten titles like *Lucky Devils* (1932), *Sky Devils* (1932), *Airmail* (1932), *Wings in the Dark* (1935), *Devil Dogs of the Air* (1935), and *It's in the Air* (1935) brightened marquees during the early days of the Depression. Mostly potboilers, they did provide an exciting moment or two of flying. But a pair of exceptions also came along: *King Kong* (1933) and *Flying Down to Rio* (1933).

Few might think of *King Kong* as an aviation film, and they would be right. Its mix of horror, fantasy, and special effects makes it one of the memorable movies of the thirties. But the final sequence, with the giant ape perched atop the newly built **Empire State Building**, brushing off attacking army biplanes like annoying gnats, stands as one of those cinematic moments that has become an icon. The most advanced aerial weapons of the day prove virtually impotent against this primeval force. Their flashy acrobatics and speed signify little. Popular culture eagerly embraces technology with one hand,

while with the other it regularly displays an accompanying undercurrent of distrust in too much reliance on science.

Ostensibly a musical, *Flying Down to Rio* likewise can hardly be remembered as a picture about the wonders of flying, but it happens to contain one of the great film flight sequences. In this delightful musical, the talents of dancers **Fred Astaire** (1899–1987) **and Ginger Rogers** (1911–1995) receive a cinematic showing for the first time. But even Astaire and Rogers take a backseat to a bevy of chorines as they kick their heels in unison while standing on the wings of a large airplane "flying down" to the famous Brazilian city. A triumph of camera effects, the scene makes absolutely no social or technological comments, but it does display the wonder and fun only movies can provide.

Most of the films for the remainder of the decade returned to more traditional aerial imagery. As the war clouds over Asia and Europe darkened perceptibly, American movies turned to thoughts of preparedness. Exceptions, however, occasionally showed up on theater screens. Fly-Away Baby (1937), part of an ongoing Warner Brothers series, chronicles the adventures of reporter Torchy Blane. Ably portrayed by Glenda Farrell (1904–1971), this particular episode has the intrepid newswoman taking to the air in order to catch some killers and get her story. The Torchy Blane movies, based on a pulp magazine series, totaled nine features and ran from 1936 until 1939.

Test Pilot (1938), a shared vehicle for superstars Spencer Tracy (1900–1967) and Clark Gable (1901–1960), portrays fliers (Gable) and mechanics (Tracy) who put experimental aircraft through their paces. The story includes footage about testing the military's thennew B-17 bomber and the importance attached to military superiority. In a similar vein, Wings of the Navy (1939) extols the training received by young recruits in the armed forces. 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 reflects this loss of innocence.

The romance of flight also carried over to radio, especially the late afternoon serials aimed at children and adolescents. Typical of this genre would be *The Air Adventures of Jimmie Allen* (1933–1937). Although the broadcasts were limited primarily to the Midwest, the show met with unexpected success. The tale of a boy pilot, it featured a member's club, premiums, and occasionally even sponsored an air show. It enjoyed so many listeners that a largely forgotten movie, *Sky Parade* (1936) came out that featured an actor calling himself "Jimmie Allen" in the lead. *Captain Midnight* (1939–1949), *Jimmie Allen*'s successor, had the distinction of recruiting some 1 million youngsters to join the captain's flight patrol, for which they received membership cards and "secret decoders." Another aviation show, *Skyblazers* (1939–1940), played on Saturday evenings, and featured narration by Roscoe Turner, the famous pilot.

See also Airships; Automobiles; China Clippers; Horror & Fantasy Films; Newspapers; Pulp Magazines; Spectacle & Costume Drama Films; Transportation

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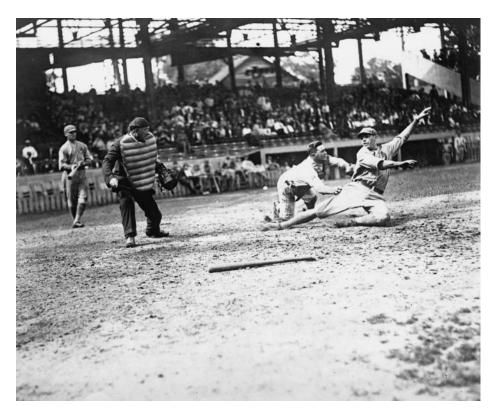
BASEBALL. The Depression had a serious, negative impact on professional baseball. Most of the major-league clubs, often family-owned, were undercapitalized. The New York Yankees, the Boston Red Sox, the Detroit Tigers, the Cincinnati Reds, and the Chicago Cubs, rich with private funds, stood as the exceptions. With the financial crisis and rising unemployment, many people could no longer afford to attend ball games. For the majority of teams, the strength of the reserve clause, a legally binding restriction that kept players with a team and salaries low, proved about the only thing that allowed baseball to stay afloat in the face of falling attendance throughout the decade. The game did not recover until after 1945 and the end of World War II.

On top of the economic problems facing baseball, the 1930s witnessed a changing of the guard, as older players retired and newer, younger ones stepped to the plate. The game lost its biggest, best-known star when Babe Ruth (1895–1948), "The Sultan of Swat," "The Bambino," quit actively playing in 1935. Ruth, who had first signed with the Red Sox from 1914 until 1919, commenced his glorious tenure with the Yankees in 1920. He remained with New York throughout the twenties and on into the 1930s. Age caught up with him, however, and he returned to Boston—but this time with the Braves—for the 1935 season, his final one. An era had ended, and everyone knew it.

Lou Gehrig (1903–1941), the "Iron Horse" of baseball and a teammate of Ruth's, retired in 1939. They batted back-to-back in the Yankees' feared "murderers' row" lineup—Ruth third, Gehrig fourth—from 1925 to 1934. He also played in 2,130 consecutive games, a remarkable record that remained unbroken for many years. But amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS), a debilitating illness often called Lou Gehrig's disease, stopped him toward the end of the decade. He quit playing after a dismal opening of the 1939 season and died in 1941.

While the 1930s saw the Yankees lose two of their most memorable players, the team also gained a new sensation. In 1936 Joe DiMaggio (1914–1999) joined the house that Ruth built and shortly became known as "the Yankee Clipper" for his prowess both with a bat and as a fielder. Not yet the equal of Ruth or Gehrig during the late 1930s—his best years lay ahead of him—DiMaggio nonetheless appeared a fitting replacement for the two retiring greats.

In the National League, the happy-go-lucky St. Louis Cardinals of the 1930s enlivened games with their antics and won themselves the moniker "the Gas House Gang." The term had originated in the latter part of the nineteenth century after an infamous



An umpire makes a call at the plate during a baseball game. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

gang of thugs who congregated in the so-called gas house district of New York City, an area where tanks stored gas for lighting and heating. Hardly vicious, the Cardinals exhibited a rowdy, raucous sense of humor, and it endeared them to fans, serving as just the right antidote for the Depression blues. Led by the Dean brothers, Dizzy (born Jay Hannah Dean, 1910–1974) and Daffy (born Paul Dean, 1913–1981), a winning pitching duo, the team also included a host of other colorful Cardinals who collectively energized the Gas House Gang. The team won pennants in 1930, 1931, and 1934, and brought a sense of fun to baseball when it most needed it.

With racial segregation the rule in the 1930s, black players could not be hired by then-white teams. This injustice meant denying recognition to many fine and deserving players. For example, Satchel Paige (1906?–1982) began pitching in 1924 with the Mobile Tigers, a black semipro aggregation. He soon moved on to various professional teams in the Negro Leagues, compiling an extraordinary set of statistics. In 1933, he had a 31-4 record; he claimed he pitched 64 scoreless innings and had 21 straight wins, but accurate information remains notoriously hard to come by. He had maybe 100 no-hitters, and won over 2,000 games out of some 2,500 pitched. He probably worked for over 250 different black teams, including the Birmingham Black Barons, the Pittsburgh Crawfords, and the Kansas City Monarchs. He also barnstormed as an individual pitcher.

The record books do show that in 1948 Paige finally realized his dream of playing in the major leagues when he crossed the color bar and joined the Cleveland Indians at about age 42. He later put on a uniform and pitched a couple of innings for the Atlanta Braves to qualify for a pension in 1968, making him the oldest major leaguer in memory. Although much about Paige may be hearsay, he certainly played at his peak in the 1930s and most American baseball fans unfortunately knew nothing about him.

As the decade drew to a close, June 12, 1939, saw the National Baseball Museum and Hall of Fame open its doors in Cooperstown, New York. Legend has it that baseball supposedly began 100 years earlier in Cooperstown. The new museum initially enshrined 13 immortals, and remarkably 11 of them could be present for their inauguration.

Throughout its colorful history, American baseball has been cloaked in layers of imagery and myth. A case in point would involve lights and night play. For traditionalists, baseball has always been a "daylight game," with 3:00 p.m. as the proper starting time. The club owners, anxious to keep costs at an absolute minimum during the 1930s, fought any modernization, any new technology. Economics, however, also brought about some changes of heart. In 1935, the Cincinnati Reds, despite objections, installed lights and watched their attendance soar. Quickly, other teams either followed suit or made plans to change. In another move to boost attendance, 1933 witnessed the first major-league All-Star game. The American League won the contest, which included a home run by Babe Ruth. Staged in conjunction with Chicago's ongoing Century of Progress Exposition (1933–1934), its success made it an annual event.

Traditionally, **newspapers** or specialized journals covered baseball for fans, and the *Sporting News* ranked as the premier sports magazine of the 1930s. Founded in 1886, by the Depression era the *News* devoted most of its reporting to baseball and enjoyed a high level of respect. Newspapers emulated the *Sporting News*, thereby popularizing complete box scores and all the endless statistics and in-depth articles about players that have come to characterize baseball reporting. Following a custom initiated in the 1920s, newspapers sent their best sportswriters on the road, accompanying the home team as it played away games.

Both listeners and broadcasters discovered that **radio** could also be an effective way to cover ongoing events. A knowledgeable commentator could bring the game into people's homes. At first, however, owners and leagues opposed such broadcasting, arguing that it would keep away the crowds and thus reduce income, and newspapers and the *Sporting News* likewise tended to deride the practice. In a makeshift agreement, baseball's officialdom allowed two stations per community to broadcast games, but that modest figure soon grew. By 1938, 260 different stations carried live baseball broadcasts and radio had become an important part of promoting the game. By the later 1930s, sports ranked second only to **music** for consumption of radio time.

A generation of electronic reporters came to the fore, breathlessly broadcasting the play-by-play over the family Philco. Among those early sportscasters can be counted a young man named Ronald "Dutch" Reagan (1911–2004), who broadcast Chicago Cubs games for an Iowa station. He would later become an actor and then the fortieth president of the United States.

In actuality, much radio baseball in the 1930s could not be called "live"; it just seemed that way. Broadcasts might be re-created games, narratives done in studios, not at the ballparks. Technical limitations often forced sportscasters to be isolated behind studio microphones, reliant on telephones to bring them details of the unfolding contest. Their job entailed filling empty airtime, creating the illusion of constant action. A sportscaster

mastered "chatter," the ability to keep listeners interested, and millions faithfully tuned in to hear descriptions of a runner sliding home or a "long, pop fly to center field . . . he's under it . . . ," and so on for nine innings.

Together, the sportswriters and broadcasters tended to create images of athletes that often exceeded their actual feats. Thus the era witnessed the rise of the sports celebrity and sports hero, or idol. The rigorous training and endless practice were forgotten, replaced by images of instant success and adulation for the lucky few. At the beginning of the decade, Babe Ruth served as the biggest star in major league ball. In 1930, he made \$80,000 (\$970,000 in contemporary dollars) as a Yankee—more than any other player, more, even, than President **Herbert Hoover** (1874–1964). Ruth epitomized the Horatio Alger story, going from rags to riches and achieving power. But, great as he was, the Sultan of Swat also epitomized something else, a product of publicity, a figure created by mass media and zealous press agents.

Some of the ways publicity created baseball heroes included bubblegum cards, an immensely popular form of recognition. Often, inside the wrapper, coupons good for baseball paraphernalia could be found. Manufacturers put out baseball-shaped radios, and listeners might hear such tunes as "Tigers on Parade" (1935; music and lyrics by J. Fred Lawton [active 1930s] and Will E. Dulmage [active 1930s]) and "I Can't Get to First Base with You" (1936; words and music by Fred Fisher [1875–1942]). Baseball-labeled cigars, along with enameled pins and pendants, proliferated, as did baseball-themed cartoons and games. Players willingly endorsed—for a fee—a variety of products: Wheaties and Grape-Nuts cereals, tobacco items, **soft drinks**, beer, gum, **candy**, and numerous other goods striving to make a profit from baseball.

This attitude carried over into several **movies**, but nothing of great merit. For whatever reason, baseball did not do well at the box office. Comedian Joe E. Brown (1892–1973) stars in *Fireman*, *Save My Child* (1932), *Elmer the Great* (1933) and *Alibi Ike* (1935); Spencer Tracy (1900–1967) plays on a prison team in 1930s *Up the River*; a mystery titled *Death on the Diamond* (1934) features a young Robert Young (1907–1998); and Rita Hayworth (1918–1973) has a bit part in *Girls Can Play* (1937), but baseball proved difficult for the silver screen during the 1930s.

See also Leisure & Recreation; Magazines; Race Relations & Stereotyping; Softball

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BASIE, COUNT. Born William Basie in Red Bank, New Jersey, in 1904, this piano player, organist, and popular orchestra leader initially studied with his mother and various area musicians. By the mid-1920s, Basie had gained a variety of experiences and knew firsthand about the hardships of working with traveling entertainment groups.

He persevered, however, and his career blossomed in the 1930s. By the time of his death in 1984 he had outlasted most of his contemporaries, remaining until the end in the first rank of successful, respected bandleaders.

In 1927, Basie found himself touring with a vaudeville troupe that received billing as "Gonzelle White's Big Jazz Jamboree." Whatever its merits, the act broke up in Kansas City, Missouri. After a few odd jobs, including playing organ in a theater to accompany silent **movies,** Basie in the summer of 1928 joined bassist Walter Page's (1900–1957) Blue Devils, a popular Kansas City band. The pianist had already heard Page's group, and its style impressed him tremendously, especially its fluid rhythm and dedication to the blues.

Basie left Page in early 1929 and played in some of the innumerable nightclubs that dotted Kansas City, a fact that gave the city a reputation for lawlessness but also made it a mecca for musicians. Basie wanted to become a member of Bennie Moten's (1894–1935) Kansas City Orchestra, a well-known Midwestern group. Since Moten himself played piano, Basie had to sell the leader on his other talents, and he finally got himself hired as an arranger in the summer of 1929. His charts emphasized blues-based tunes and featured an infectious, pulsating rhythm, something that became the trademark of later Basie bands.

Within a short time, Basie's skill with the piano caused Moten to make him the band's primary pianist, a position he would hold for the next four years. At the same time, Moten began systematically hiring members of the Blue Devils, a situation that persisted until Walter Page broke up his own band and joined the aggregation in the early 1930s. A series of personnel changes and financial ups and downs caused Basie to briefly leave Moten in the 1933–1934 period; he formed the Cherry Blossom Orchestra (named after the club in which it played). The nucleus of Basie's future bands could be discovered within the Cherry Blossom Orchestra's ranks, but the group dissolved and Basie returned to a reconstituted Moten ensemble.

Fate intervened when Moten unexpectedly died in 1935, bringing about another reorganization. Basic gathered some of the best players from the band and created an aggregation he called the Barons of Rhythm. The name did not stick, but in the meantime the new band landed a long-term contract with the Reno, a Kansas City nightclub. Thanks to a local **radio** station and a high-powered, experimental one, this new Basic orchestra did late-night broadcasts from the Reno, and John Hammond (1910–1987), a young jazz critic who also doubled as a record company talent scout, caught them, hundreds of miles away, on his car radio. He liked what he heard and immediately decided to find out more about this swinging group.

While Hammond pursued his investigations, an admiring radio announcer bestowed on Basie the royal title of "Count"; he would retain the nickname for the remainder of his long career. In early 1936, Hammond got in touch with Basie and urged him and his band to come east for better exposure. After finishing their run at the Reno, the musicians set out for New York City, stopping first in Chicago. An instant hit with Windy City audiences, they optimistically continued their trek eastward, interrupting it with one-night stands, They finally opened at the Roseland Ballroom to enthusiastic reviews in December 1936.

John Hammond saw his expectations fulfilled when Decca Records, a major label, signed the Basie band to a recording contract. They cut their first sides in early 1937 and

thereafter came to be considered a significant part of the growing **swing** scene, not just at the regional level but nationally. The Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS radio) put them on the air, and at the end of the decade Basie and his musicians moved to Columbia Records, another important label for **jazz** and swing artists.

As the band's star rose, Basie attracted some of the best jazz instrumentalists of the day. The rhythm section, considered one of the steadiest in the annals of swing, featured Jo Jones (1911–1985) on drums, Walter Page on bass, Freddie Green (1911–1987) on rhythm guitar, and of course, Basie himself on piano. Its light, airy, but insistent beat kept dancers on the floor and listeners happy. Many of the arranging chores fell to the skillful Eddie Durham (1906–1987). In addition, with the likes of Lester Young (1909–1959; nicknamed "Prez") on tenor saxophone, Dicky Wells (1909–1985) on trombone, and Buck Clayton (1911–1991) on trumpet, along with vocalists Jimmy Rushing (1903–1972), Helen Humes (1913–1981), and Billie Holiday (1915–1959; nicknamed "Lady Day"—the band was full of royalty), the Basie orchestra's lineup made for one of the most jazz-inflected ensembles of the 1930s.

"One O'Clock Jump" (1937; music by Count Basie), the band's up-tempo theme, typified its hard-swinging Kansas City style. Since Basie, once a sideman himself, knew all his musicians personally, a friendly atmosphere permeated their performances. Hard-driving, but with a simultaneous air of relaxation, the Count Basie Orchestra personified swing. Boasting the best timekeeping machine in the business, the band easily moved from hit to hit with swing selections like "John's Idea" (1937; music by Eddie Durham; the title refers to John Hammond and what he did for the band), "Every Tub" (1938; music by Count Basie and Eddie Durham), "Jumpin' at the Woodside" (1938; music by Count Basie), and blues like "Sent for You Yesterday" (1938; music and lyrics by Eddie Durham and Jimmy Rushing), and the Basie orchestra quickly climbed to the top in popularity. Unlike many black bands of the day, the Basie aggregation found itself welcome at white venues, and black audiences likewise flocked to the band's performances where they could. Wherever Count Basie played, the welcome mat came out, and people settled back for a session of swinging music.

See also Radio Networks; Race Relations & Stereotyping; Recordings

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BASKETBALL. As with football during the 1930s, people enjoyed basketball primarily as a collegiate sport. The first big college tournament occurred in 1934 at New York City's Madison Square Garden. More than 16,000 fans attended the event, enough to warrant its continuation. By 1938, the gathering had been christened the National Invitational Tournament (NIT) and had become firmly established in American sports culture.

For professional play, sparse crowds and racial segregation ruled the day. White players could join one of two competing groups, the American Basketball League (ABA), reestablished in 1933 after folding in the 1920s, and the National Basketball League



A coach gives pointers to a boys basketball team. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

(NBA), formed in 1937. Black players did not have the luxury of league play; they had to rely on pickup games with other teams. The New York Rens, active in the 1920s and lasting until 1948, typified a black team: they not only had to find games but also had to battle unfair referees, deliberately rough play, and boorish fans. Despite such disadvantages, the Rens played spectacular basketball, rolling over most opponents.

The Harlem Globetrotters, another black team, also rose to prominence during the 1930s. Initially organized and coached by Abe Saperstein (1901–1966) in 1927 as the Savoy Big Five, contractual disagreements led to the creation of a new team bearing the name the New York Globetrotters. Somewhere along the way, New York changed to Harlem. Regardless of what people called them, Saperstein envisioned his players as a conventional basketball team, but they proved so skillful and superior to anyone willing to face them that bookings were hard to come by. In order to keep audiences happy, and to attract more people to their performances, Saperstein added comedy and trick ball handling. He had unknowingly discovered the secret of longevity for his Globetrotters. Playing any teams that would join them on the court, the Harlem Globetrotters continued to demolish virtually all their opponents; at the same time they put on a show that has continued to entertain generations of fans.

Black teams or white, these early professional basketball pioneers traveled to wherever a paying game could be found, sometimes appearing as many as 150 times in a season. Only a few stars emerged during these formative years, and the sport struggled mightily

to survive. After lengthy discussions, the two white leagues merged to form the National Basketball Association (NBA) in 1949.

The basketball played in the 1930s usually consisted of slow, defensive tactics, which resulted in far fewer baskets than contemporary fans expect. Scores of 18–14 or 21–15 might be the final tallies for an entire game. In an attempt to speed things up and lure more spectators, the leagues adopted the 10-second rule in 1932, meaning that the ball had to be in play and shots attempted quickly. Even with the new regulation, each time a player scored, the ball would then be returned to center court and the teams reassembled for a new tip-off. Officials abolished that cumbersome rule for the 1937–1938 season, speeding up the game and increasing scores.

Angelo "Hank" Luisetti (1916–2002) of Stanford University emerged as one of the first real stars of basketball, either collegiate or professional. He scored 1,300 points for Stanford between 1936 and 1939, plus he perfected the one-handed jump shot. Until then, players attempted virtually all shots with a two-handed approach. His popularity earned him top billing in a 1938 movie called *Campus Confessions*. Hardly a lurid tale, despite its title, promoters billed it as "a peppy college romance [with] a real basketball game!"

As a final note, most players in the pre–World War II era stood under six feet in height. Anyone over six feet most coaches saw as awkward and uncoordinated, whereas they believed a shorter person possessed greater speed and superior ball-handling abilities. Not until the 1950s would tall players change the entire game of basketball.

See also Movies; Race Relations & Stereotyping

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BENTON, THOMAS HART. Born in the rural community of Neosho, Missouri, Thomas Hart Benton (1889–1975) grew to be one of the most influential American artists of the 1930s. Since his father served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1897 to 1905, young Thomas studied at Washington's Corcoran Gallery of Art. In 1908 and still in his teens, Benton moved to Paris, France, returning to Neosho in 1911. During these years, he met many artists and displayed an interest in a number of modernist movements.

After a short stay in Missouri, Benton traveled to New York City where he continued to associate with avant-garde painters, and some of this exposure appears in his early work. In 1918–1919, he served with the U.S. Navy as a draftsman and began exhibiting in New York galleries. Following World War I, he commenced work on a monumental series of murals he called *American Historical Epic*. It consisted of 10 panels, although he had initially envisioned it with 60. The project did not reach completion until 1926. This realistic, historical mural marked a significant change in his style and ran counter to his early career, when he had presented himself as a European-influenced modernist. A brief flirtation with Marxism in the 1920s also had little impact, but his readings in American history did, and *American Historical Epic* shows that Benton had decided on a

thematic direction for his artistic life: a continuing explication of American subjects through painting.

Benton emerged as an artist imbued with feelings about the goodness and strength of everyday people. He became convinced that the common man possessed an inherent energy that could best be presented through art. He often tried to present himself as a "man of the people," deliberately striking anti-intellectual poses that often clashed with the attitudes of his colleagues in the art world.

The completion of American Historical Epic urged Benton, along with many other American painters of the era, forward in the creation of public murals. In 1930, he did a series of eight large-scale paintings for the New School for Social Research in New York City. Titled America Today, they depict average Americans engaged in a variety of activities, and Benton made no attempt to glamorize his figures or place them in heroic attitudes as had been the fashion.

The Whitney Museum of American Art in New York City had its founding in 1931. In the midst of the Depression, the new institution celebrated American art and artists, and Thomas Hart Benton in 1932 created a five-panel mural for the museum, *The Arts of Life in America*. Today the mural may be found in the New Britain Museum of American Art in Connecticut. Democratic in tone, the panels argue that art should not be restricted to an elite group or hidden in museums. To reinforce this idea, he incorporated popular figures from newspaper **comic strips** and cartoons and did not restrict himself to images taken from "high art."

Benton maintained his interest in murals by undertaking *The Social History of the State of Indiana* in 1933. Intended for display at the Indiana Pavilion at Chicago's **Century of Progress Exposition** (1933–1934), this 22-panel work focused on everyday life. He filled his pictures with common people at ordinary pursuits instead of the more traditional political and military leaders from textbooks.

In light of the attention these various large-scale efforts attracted, in December 1934, *Time* magazine selected Benton for one of its weekly covers. The editors ran a wideranging feature on contemporary American art, with special emphasis on **Regionalism**, a movement then gaining adherents across the country. In interviews, Benton took the opportunity to lambaste much of the then-current artistic community and claimed that Regionalism superseded any modernist movements.

Increasingly taken with American history, Benton in 1935 moved permanently to Kansas City, Missouri. The success of his Indiana murals led to a similar set, *The Social History of the State of Missouri*, unveiled in 1936. Once more, his cast of characters consisted of numerous surprises—Huckleberry Finn, Frankie and Johnny from the folk ballad, and Jesse James (1847–1882)—but their inclusion fit well with Benton's populist leanings. At the same time, politicians and business leaders received short shrift from the artist, both in this mural and other works. More often than not, he showed them taking bribes or attempting dishonest deals to fatten their wallets, as in *Preparing the Bill*, executed in 1934.

Never one to avoid public pronouncements about his or others' work, Benton soon served as the self-appointed spokesman for the Regionalist movement. At times, his pleas for greater recognition and acceptance of his staunchly Americanist view of art sank into polemics, a strident voice that lacked diplomacy. He demanded a "manly," representational art, free of the false affectations and European influences he saw in modernism. In

1937, he published An Artist in America, a somewhat self-serving defense of his artistic credo, but also a spirited defense of Regionalism. His outspoken approach, although it soon grew tiresome, played well to unsophisticated audiences, particularly those unfamiliar with artistic trends since the turn of the century.

Despite his tendency to pontificate and exaggerate, Benton enjoyed considerable popular acclaim, and his willingness to speak out made him more visible than most of his counterparts. He freely used allegories (*Persephone*, 1938; *Susannah and the Elders*, 1938), along with the tales (*Huck Finn*, 1936) and legends (*The Ballad of the Jealous Lover of Lone Green Valley*, 1934) of heartland America as his inspiration. His writhing, elongated figures, as in *Romance* (1932), with all their serpentine contours, became his trademark, along with unique perspectives, and he formularized these elements into his compositions. Among his contemporaries, Benton clearly stood out as the most colorful, and his visibility helped immeasurably to make people aware of the Regionalist approach to art.

As his fame grew, Benton fashioned a succession of paintings that focused on the land itself. His common people remained in the pictures, but his brush sought out details about crops and various plants and trees (*Butterfly Chaser*, 1932). He painted rich land-scapes, as in *Cradling Wheat* (1938) and *Threshing Wheat* (1939), and most involved rural themes, which put him more in step with the other Regionalists. Thomas Hart Benton had not necessarily mellowed, but his emphases evolved with his age. The fecundity of the earth became a theme, and he took care to make it a strong image in his painting, often placing his once-dominant figures more in the background.

Benton remained active until his death in 1975. Murals, historical paintings, and numerous other works continued to come from his studio. As he aged, the exhibitions and the honors bestowed on him never ceased. Perhaps no artist before or since has taken so seriously the myths and legends that help constitute American history.

See also Federal Art Project; Newspapers; Social Realism; Grant Wood

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BERLIN, IRVING. Born Israel Baline in Siberia, Irving Berlin (1888–1989) and his family immigrated to the United States in 1892 and settled in New York City. He quickly familiarized himself with his new country, and first made his mark on the American theatrical scene in 1908. He contributed a long-forgotten song, "She Was a Dear Little Girl," to an equally long-forgotten show, *The Boys and Betty*. It established Berlin as an up-and-coming young composer on both Broadway and Tin Pan Alley. The latter phrase identifies a section of Manhattan's 28th Street between Fifth Avenue and Broadway where **songwriters and lyricists** congregated and interacted with various **music** publishers; it came to mean the popular music business in general.

After the advent of sound movies in 1927, Berlin turned to creating themes and interpolated songs for film scores, adding them to his expanding universe of show tunes and individual melodies. Unable to read music—an arranger would transcribe his ideas—Berlin had, by the 1930s, composed hundreds of songs, and he ran his own music publishing house.

During the decade, Berlin contributed the music for several Broadway shows. In 1932, he collaborated with playwright and librettist Moss Hart (1904–1961) to create *Face the Music*, a musical revue. Since the Great Depression had by that time begun to affect large numbers of people, one song stands out: "Let's Have Another Cup o' Coffee." A carefree little tune, it reflected the attitude expressed by many toward the crisis: in tough times, have another cup of coffee and wait things out. It quickly established itself as a Depression hit, suggesting the resiliency of Americans in trying times.

A year later came As Thousands Cheer, another collaboration with Moss Hart. The play's structure mimics a daily newspaper, with headlines, such as "Lonely Hearts Column" or "Heat Wave Hits New York," introducing different sections of the revue. The play satirizes real people, such as **Herbert Hoover** (1874–1964), **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945), and John D. Rockefeller (1839–1937). A trenchant, topical musical, As *Thousands Cheer* ran for 400 performances, suggesting that sophisticated Broadway audiences could laugh at the difficult times, if only for a few hours in a theater.

Topicality aside, the play featured several musical numbers that have come down to the present as standards, the kind of popular music that transcends time and place and gets to be known for itself. "Easter Parade" a melody Berlin had written back in 1917 and called "Smile and Show Your Dimple" fits this category. Recycled with new lyrics for As Thousands Cheer, it enjoyed great popularity and has become a part of American musical history.

In that same play, Ethel Waters (1896–1967) performed a show-stopping "Heat Wave," another of his compositions. A star in her own right, Waters' exuberant rendition gave Berlin one more hit in his growing collection. After the success of As *Thousands Cheer*, the composer turned his sights once more toward Hollywood. Not until 1940 and the opening of *Louisiana Purchase* would he return to Broadway.

Already established on the West Coast, Berlin experienced few problems in 1934 when he commenced writing songs for the movie medium once more. In 1928, he and James Gleason (1882–1959) had worked on a minstrel play titled *Mr. Bones*. Two years later, the show had its movie incarnation as *Mammy* (1930). It stars Al Jolson (1886–1950), then still riding on the publicity generated by his speaking role in *The Jazz Singer* (1927). Berlin's compositions include "Across the Breakfast Table," "Here We Are," and "To My Mammy." His variations on "Mammy" songs, with all their stereotypical images, may make contemporary audiences squirm, but they must be understood in the context of their times. The minstrel tradition died hard in American musical culture.

That same year saw *Puttin'* on the *Ritz*, another piece he did with James Gleason. This film contains, in the title song, one of Berlin's best-known compositions. Harry Richman (1895–1972), a popular song-and-dance man, sang "Puttin' on the Ritz" in the film and he considered it "his." But when the incomparable Fred Astaire (1899–1987) performed the same song some years later in the movie *Blue Skies* (1946), audiences promptly forgot Richman. "Puttin' on the Ritz" had a new owner, and Astaire has been associated with the number ever since.

In 1931's Reaching for the Moon, crooner Bing Crosby (1903–1977) gets to sing Berlin's "When the Folks High-Up Do the Mean Low-Down," a sprightly little number that showcases Crosby's ability to handle up-tempo songs. The movie also marks the beginning of the two men's long association. Years later, Crosby, a major star by then,

would introduce Berlin's classic "White Christmas" in the film *Holiday Inn* (1942). His version for many years held the distinction of being the biggest-selling single record in history.

Upon his 1934 return to Hollywood from Broadway, Berlin proceeded to amaze everyone in the music business by writing some of the greatest songs of his already illustrious career. He began the cycle with *Top Hat* (1935), the fourth pairing of the immensely popular **Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers** (1911–1995). Audiences got to hear "Top Hat, White Tie, and Tails," "Cheek to Cheek," "No Strings," "Isn't This a Lovely Day!" and "The Piccolino."

In almost no time at all his music could be heard in *Follow the Fleet* (1936), the fifth Astaire/Rogers vehicle. In this film, Berlin crafted "I'm Putting All My Eggs in One Basket," "Let's Face the Music and Dance," "Let Yourself Go," and "I'd Rather Lead a Band."

Riding on the crest of popularity generated by those two films, Berlin stayed at the top with 1937's On the Avenue, a musical featuring Dick Powell (1904–1963) and Alice Faye (1915–1998). Its soundtrack contains two particular gems, "I've Got My Love to Keep Me Warm" and "This Year's Kisses"

Berlin resumed his association with Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers for the third time with Carefree (1938), a picture that gave audiences "Change Partners," "Carefree," "Since They Turned Loch Lomond into Swing," and the humorous "Yam." The composer said Astaire was one of his favorite vocalists, an assertion that bore tribute to Berlin's own skills and Astaire's impeccable taste. Carefree marked the last of the Astaire/Rogers films Berlin would score, although two more would be produced without him, The Story of Vernon and Irene Castle (1939) and The Barkleys of Broadway (1949). Berlin's three contributions to the series have been rated as almost flawless models of the 1930s Hollywood musical.

Alexander's Ragtime Band came out in 1938, and it serves as a pastiche of older Berlin favorites, like "Blue Skies," "Easter Parade," and the title song. Old wine in new bottles, the movie offers nothing new, instead capitalizing on the songwriter's considerable fame. Berlin's final film for the decade, Second Fiddle (1939), features Norwegian ice skater Sonja Henie (1912–1969), a popular star of the day. Proving he could adapt to any script's needs, Berlin contributed "Dancing Back to Back" (which might bear comparison to his more famous "Cheek to Cheek") and "When Winter Comes."

The song "God Bless America" (1918) lies outside the composer's Broadway and film music. He wrote this ode to patriotism for a World War I production called *Yip Yip Yaphank*. Deciding it did not fit the play, he kept the tune in a trunk with other scores. It reappeared as the shadows of World War II began to stretch across the nation. In the recorded version sung by **radio** star **Kate Smith** (1907–1986), "God Bless America" became a virtual second national anthem and has retained that honored status down to the present.

One of a handful of composers/songwriters to escape anonymity, Irving Berlin achieved a certain celebrity with the general public. Given his extraordinarily long life, Berlin wrote for most of the twentieth century; he composed over 1,000 songs, hundreds of which went on to become hits, and many of those are now considered standards. He personified Tin Pan Alley, a songwriter who could work in virtually any format.

See also Coffee & Tea; Ice Skating & Hockey; Musicals; Newspapers; Olympic Games; Race Relations & Stereotyping; Stage Productions

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BEST SELLERS (BOOKS). First used in the late nineteenth century, the term "best seller" (dictionaries do not agree on the spelling of this term, allowing best seller, bestseller, and best-seller, with no overwhelming favorite) applies to any new book that sells briskly shortly after its initial appearance. Technically, it should not be used for books that continue to have strong sales long after their first publication, such as the Bible or plays by Shakespeare. Classics, like some of the works of Nathaniel Hawthorne (The Scarlet Letter, 1850), Herman Melville (Moby-Dick, 1851), or Mark Twain (Adventures of Huckleberry Finn, 1884), for example, do not fall under this rubric; their continuing large sales derive from required reading at schools and colleges, as well as interested readers. The term applies to both hardcover and paperbound books, although many lists separate the two. Qualifications aside, the 1930s certainly did not lack for best sellers.

Many question the whole concept of best sellers, couching their argument in terms of quality versus quantity. Those who disparage best sellers say they reward mediocrity and big sales, thus giving a distorted picture of what the public prefers to read. A large percentage of best sellers also can be considered ephemeral; they burst upon the scene, attract momentary attention, and then disappear. But, when a best seller reaches countless people, if only briefly, it may cause some of them, who otherwise might not, to read. Pro or con, best sellers reap huge profits for their publishers and thereby sustain the book industry.

The listings below attempt to give a sense, year by year, of shifting literary tastes in the United States during the 1930s. The selections have been compiled from several sources and present a highly condensed view of reading choices, focusing only on those books that ranked in the top 10 (selling over x-number of copies; the actual figures vary from year to year) for any given year. Since paperback reprints had just begun to make serious inroads on hardcover publishing at the end of the decade, the books listed below should be thought of as hardcover editions. Wherever possible, cinematic adaptations have been noted. Books frequently spur the film industry, and **movies** derived from famous books often lead people back to the written source.

A number of titles that have survived the 1930s and are now considered important for an understanding of the decade will not be found; they failed to sell in sufficient quantities to receive the "best seller" accolade. Their omission points out just how arbitrary such categories can be. For example, the absence of William Faulkner's (1897–1962) Light in August (published in 1932), F. Scott Fitzgerald's (1896–1940) Tender Is the Night (published in 1933), John O'Hara's (1905–1970) Appointment in Samarra (published in



Pearl Buck (1892–1973), author of *The Good Earth* (1931). (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

1934), John Dos Passos' (1896–1970) complete trilogy USA (published in 1937), and Richard Wright's (1908–1960) Native Son (published in 1940) hardly lessens their importance. The inclusion of works like Cimarron (1930), Anthony Adverse (1933 and 1934), and Green Light (1935) makes no claim for greatness or longevity, just that they generated sufficient sales to rank first for their respective year (or years) on the best seller lists.

Fiction Best Sellers, 1930-1940.

1930: No. 1: Cimarron, Edna Ferber (1885–1968). Adapted for film in 1931; redone in 1960. A sprawling novel about the Oklahoma land rush, its popularity demanded an equally big movie, and Hollywood complied; the filmed version won Best Picture for the 1931 Academy Awards, the first Western to win that honor.

On the other hand, who recalls *Exile*, by Warwick Deeping (1877–1950), the no. 2 book for the year? Deeping had been a yearly visitor to the lists during the later 1920s, but given the ephemeral quality of so many best sellers, he is all but forgotten today.

1931: No. 1: The Good Earth, Pearl S. Buck (1892–1973). Adapted for film in 1937. The success,

both critical and popular, of *The Good Earth* led to the Nobel Prize in Literature (1938) for Buck, the first American woman so recognized.

The no. 2 book for 1931 was Shadows on the Rock, by Willa Cather (1873–1947), another important American author. Perhaps better known for such classics as My Antonia (1918) and Death Comes for the Archbishop (1927), Shadows on the Rock finally brought her the popular and commercial recognition missing in her earlier career.

1932: No. 1: *The Good Earth* (see 1931). American readers clearly liked Buck's tale of a Chinese family, and its escapist setting in what most saw as an "exotic land" provided a welcome escape from the harsh realities of the Depression at home.

Another forgotten title, *The Fountain*, by Charles Morgan (1894–1958) took second place for the year. A study of English attitudes during World War I, it also had a film version in 1934, which, from all reports, proved equally forgettable.

Pearl S. Buck, riding on the success of *The Good Earth*, could claim third place honors with a lesser known novel, *Sons*, the second part of her trilogy about Chinese family life (the final volume, A *House Divided*, came out in 1935 and did not reach the best-seller lists).

1933: No. 1: Anthony Adverse, by Hervey Allen (1889–1949). Adapted for film in 1936. A historical novel of lavish proportions (over 1,200 pages), hundreds of characters, a \$3.00 cover price—expensive by Depression standards; it would cost roughly \$45.00 in contemporary dollars. Price proved secondary, and Anthony Adverse swept away the competition. Its phenomenal sales doubtless kept many a struggling bookseller in business during those dark days. A vast coming-of-age tale, its titular hero wanders the world, encountering adventure at every turn, and entranced readers turning its endless pages.

God's Little Acre, a steamy 1933 novel by Erskine Caldwell (1903–1987) originally came out in hardcover the same year as Anthony Adverse. It enjoyed respectable sales, but nothing spectacular. Not until the 1940s did cheap paperback editions become widely available; at that point, the book (and countless others by a variety of writers) sold in the millions. Today, God's Little Acre ranks among the all-time American best sellers—with cumulative sales much greater than those for Anthony Adverse—but not until 15 years after its initial publication did those large sales begin. A similar history can be given for a number of titles issued prior to the paperback revolution of the 1940s and thereafter.

Gladys Hasty Carroll's (1904–1999) As the Earth Turns came in a distant second for 1933, although it did garner a 1934 film adaptation. A story of life in rural Maine, its bleakness could not hold a candle to the rousing excitement of Anthony Adverse.

1934: No. 1: Anthony Adverse (see 1933). Continuing its hold on readers everywhere, not until Margaret Mitchell's (1900–1949) **Gone with the Wind** came along in 1936 did another book challenge its unparalleled popularity.

A long-forgotten tale of romance, *Lamb in His Bosom*, by Caroline Miller (1903–1992), enjoyed sufficient sales to place second. Margaret Mitchell claimed *Lamb in His Bosom*, a story of the old South, was her favorite novel.

1935: No. 1: Green Light, Lloyd C. Douglas (1877–1951). Adapted for film in 1937. Almost a breather between Anthony Adverse and the forthcoming Gone with the Wind, Douglas's novel about a physician (a frequent theme in his work) stands as a light read with soap opera qualities in its plotting. His Magnificent Obsession, published in 1929, had belatedly made the best seller lists in 1932 (no. 8) and 1933 (no. 4).

Three books destined to be classics—Thomas Wolfe's (1900–1938) Of Time and the River (1935) and James Hilton's (1900–1954) Good-Bye, Mr. Chips (1934) and his Lost Horizon (1933)—placed no. 3, no. 5, and no. 8, respectively, on the 1935 listings. Wolfe, a major American writer by any criterion, seldom appeared on any best-seller charts, so Of Time and the River stands as something of an exception. Hilton's Good-Bye, Mr. Chips set a record by being adapted for film in 1939 and 1969, plus **television** versions in 1959, 1984, and 2002. His Lost Horizon went on to be a Hollywood smash in 1937 (remade in 1973).

1936: No. 1: Gone with the Wind, Margaret Mitchell. Adapted for film in 1939. The epitome of historical novels, Mitchell's masterpiece outsold all other fiction for the next two years, with sales in the millions. Like Anthony Adverse before it, this equally long (1,000+ pages) work, set in the South before and during the Civil War, encompasses many characters and numerous subplots. Scarlett O'Hara and Rhett Butler have become one of literature's best-known couples.

Although Gone with the Wind overshadowed all of the competition, The Last Puritan, a cerebral novel by George Santayana (1863–1952), claimed second place.

1937: No. 1: Gone with the Wind (see 1936). Continuing as America's favorite best seller, its commercial success prompted an outpouring of historical fiction. Northwest Passage, by Kenneth Roberts (1885–1957) took follow-up honors and went to film in 1940. Another historical epic, Drums along the Mohawk, by Walter D. Edmunds (1903–1998) came in fifth (it had placed no. 4 in 1936) and played on theater screens in 1939. In the midst of economic woes and a growing threat of war, readers seemed to want to examine their roots and be reassured by what they found.

1938: No. 1: The Yearling, Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings (1896–1953). Adapted for film in 1946 and again in 1994 in a television version. Often categorized as a book for

young adults, *The Yearling* transcends age categories. The story of a boy growing up in rural Florida, this book struck many readers with its simplicity and warmth. Winner of a Pulitzer prize, it enjoyed the further distinction of coming out in a Scribner Classic edition, with illustrations by **N. C. Wyeth** (1882–1945) just a year after its release.

The Citadel, by A. J. Cronin (1896–1981), had held third place in 1937, and then advanced to second in 1938. This novel about a young Scottish doctor went to film that same year and then three times to television, in 1960, 1983, and 2003. Northwest Passage also enjoyed a second year on the lists, this time in fifth position.

1939: No. 1: The Grapes of Wrath, John Steinbeck (1902–1968). Adapted for film in 1940. The story of the Dust Bowl and the plight of dispossessed Oklahoma farmers, this novel quickly established itself as an enduring American classic. Its film version proved no less powerful and won several Academy Awards. It was one of the few books to address directly the economic problems faced by rural America during the early 1930s; readers might not be keen to read about such problems, but the strength of Steinbeck's writing and his gifts as a storyteller overrode any such aversions.

Rebecca (1938), a twentieth-century Gothic novel by Daphne du Maurier (1907–1989), had first appeared in 1938's list at no. 4; it continued its popularity in 1939 and advanced to third place. It was adapted for film in 1940 in a splendid version by director Alfred Hitchcock (1899–1980) and won Best Picture at the 1940 Academy Awards; it has had four television versions (1947, 1962, 1979, and 1997). Although it fell to seventh place, *The Yearling* held on for a second year.

1940: No. 1: How Green Was My Valley, by Richard Llewellyn Macmillan (1906–1983). Adapted for film in 1941, where it won Best Picture and then to television in 1975. The nostalgia of How Green Was My Valley, a story of growing up in Wales, played in sharp contrast to World War II then unfolding in Europe.

Another classic for the era, For Whom the Bell Tolls, by Ernest Hemingway (1899–1961), came in at no. 4, one of the few times Hemingway, another major American author, managed to achieve this distinction. A novel of the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), it addresses the twin themes of war and fascism. For Whom the Bell Tolls had its film incarnation in 1943 and a television adaptation in 1965.

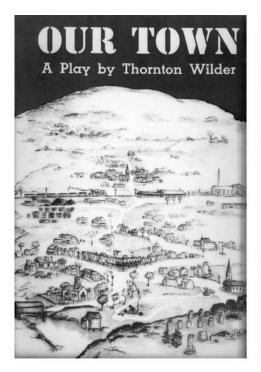
Nonfiction Best Sellers, 1930–1940. Since nonfiction seldom attracts the level of popular attention given novels, only the more prominent or noteworthy titles in this broad category are mentioned.

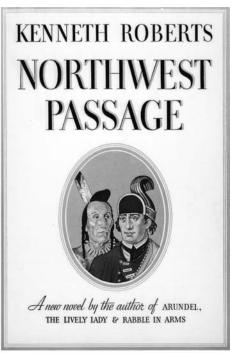
1930: Although it ranked seventh in sales, *The Story of Philosophy*, by Will Durant (1885–1981), has, over the years, established itself as a perennial favorite. A somewhat similar book, *The Outline of History*, by H. G. Wells (1866–1946), came in at no. 8, but has likewise continued to sell well in various editions.

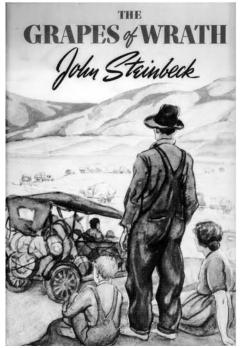
1931: In response to the ongoing craze for contract bridge, two titles by Ely Culbertson (1891–1955) entered the year's list: Culbertson's Summary at no. 5, and Contract Bridge Blue Book at no. 6.

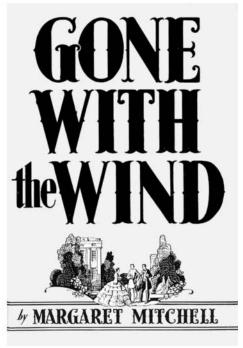
1932: Columnist Drew Pearson (1897–1969) raised some eyebrows with his gossipy Washington Merry-Go-Round (also on the 1931 list) and its sequel, More Merry-Go-Round (both written with Robert S. Allen [1900–1981]).

1933: For the third year in a row, Ely Culbertson made the list, this time with Contract Bridge Blue Book of 1933 (no. 8). A sensational exposé, 100,000,000 Guinea









The original first-edition jackets of four of the many best sellers published during the 1930s. (Courtesy of Library of Congress, Rare Books Division)

Pigs, by Arthur Kallett (1902–1972) and Frederick John Schlink (1891–1995), had readers discussing truth in **advertising** and the nation's health; it would remain a best seller for two years.

1934: *Life Begins at Forty*, a simple self-help book by Walter B. Pitkin (1878–1953), enjoyed its second year on the list.

1935: A monumental history of General Robert E. Lee (1807–1870) aroused interest in the Civil War. Written by Douglas Southall Freeman (1886–1953), it signaled a rash of publishing, both nonfiction and fiction, about America's past and history in general.

1936: Inside Europe, by journalist John Gunther (1901–1970), the first of several "inside" books by the author, focused attention on the Continent and the many problems that would eventually lead to World War II.

1937: Dale Carnegie (1888–1955) burst upon the literary scene with his *How to Win Friends and Influence People*; this motivational book would be a best seller for the next two years and lead to seminars, classes, and a Dale Carnegie Institute. It has sold in the millions and remained in print ever since its 1937 publication.

1938: Admiral Richard E. Byrd (1888–1957), an aviator and pioneering polar explorer, wrote *Alone*, ninth on the year's list, a harrowing account of his solitary 1934 vigil in Antarctica.

1939: John Gunther returned at no. 3 with *Inside Asia*, a disturbing region given Japan's expansionist policies, and Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) contributed no. 7, *Mein Kampf* [My Battle], a complete translation of the text originally written in 1925–1926 and first issued in the United States as an abridged edition in 1933. Hitler's personal, meandering rant confirmed many of the fears expressed in Gunther's *Inside Europe* just three years earlier.

1940: In the shadow of World War II, Americans enjoyed *I Married Adventure*, by Osa Johnson (1894–1953), wife of explorer Martin Johnson (1884–1937). The couple had made numerous popular films about wild animals and exploration, and this book chronicled their adventures; escapist nonfiction, *I Married Adventure* had absolutely nothing to do with warfare and it reflected the denial about the conflict that many Americans felt. Such an isolationist stance would of course change with Pearl Harbor a year later.

In looking over the best-seller lists, it becomes apparent that the general reader neither wanted nor bought great numbers of books dealing with the Depression. Living through it apparently satisfied any need to examine the crisis. At the same time, books on history, especially an earlier America, did well, suggesting an interest in the past and how other people faced adversity.

As the Depression became less severe, the impending dangers in Europe and Asia did generate interest, especially in nonfiction. But novelists continued to crank out escapism and readers continued to buy their wares. The best-seller compilations in fiction would provide, for the most part, little indication about current events. At the very end of the decade, John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath* proved an exception.

Three of the "great American writers of the 1930s"—John Dos Passos (1896–1970), William Faulkner (1897–1962), F. Scott Fitzgerald (1896–1940)—are conspicuous by their absence, proving, perhaps, that people do not always recognize enduring literature at the time of its publication. On the other hand, three other names in that elite grouping—Thomas Wolfe, John Steinbeck, and Ernest Hemingway—make single appearances on the lists: Wolfe with Of Time and the River (1935), Steinbeck with The Grapes of Wrath (1939),

and Hemingway with For Whom the Bell Tolls (1940). If the lists as a whole suggest anything, it would be that Americans continued to read an eclectic range of books throughout the decade and that any indicators of trends or literary shifts seem virtually impossible to ascertain.

See also Aviation; Book Clubs; Food; Illustrators; Soap Operas; Western Films

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BIG LITTLE BOOKS. Before the rise of comic books late in the 1930s, two other formats for comic art also tried to capture an audience during the decade: pop-up books and Big Little Books. In 1932, Blue Ribbon Books introduced a line of imaginative publications they called pop-up books. Blue Ribbon wanted to capitalize on the large readership for newspaper comics by using the heroes of the daily strips in their products. Thanks to creative folding, the series consisted of small booklets featuring characters that would pop up from the pages when the volume was laid flat.

The pop-up books enjoyed only modest success, and lack of consumer interest immediately led publishers to other innovations, the clever Big Little Books in particular. This marketing phenomenon also came out in 1932, a product of the Whitman Publishing Company of Racine, Wisconsin. Their introductory title involved the adventures of none other than **Dick Tracy**, a police detective then appearing in the newspaper comics. It measured 35/8" wide, 41/2" tall, and 11/2" thick with cardboard covers, and contained 350 pages. The left-hand page held printed text, and the right-hand page featured a single frame taken from the comic strip. Staffers erased the traditional speech balloons—which often resulted in a butchering of the picture—and instead ran a caption across the bottom. With the exception of the garishly colored covers, everything in this first Big Little Books came in black and white, cost the consumer a dime (about \$1.50 in contemporary money), and set the standards that most succeeding volumes would follow.

An overnight sensation, Big Little Books began to be published in great numbers. Cheap to produce, they consisted almost entirely of recycled materials. The paper came from the waste that occurred when regular, full-size publications were trimmed after printing—thus accounting for the tiny page size—and the illustrations consisted of copies taken from already-existing **comic strips**. The books had few editorial costs, with the text adapted from the speech balloons of those same comics. About the only original part of a Big Little Book involved its colorful cover, and the illustration adorning it more often than not consisted of a reproduction, not an original work of art. The cheap paper pages, glued directly to the cardboard covers, provided little durability, and Big Little Books gained a reputation for falling apart after just a few readings.

At only a dime, however, they garnered a lot of readers, and Whitman alone eventually issued over 400 separate titles. Other publishers soon created their own lines. Dell

had "cartoon story books" and "fast-action stories," while Engel-Van Wiseman boasted its "five-star library." Fawcett Publications entered the fray with "dime action books." Goldsmith Publishing, looking to other media, had the "radio star series." Lynn Publishing advertised its "Lynn books," and in a confusing play on words, Saalfield Publishing Company introduced "little big books." Another handful of small publishers, at one time or another during the 1930s, also introduced variations on the Big Little Book concept. In 1938, industry leader Whitman changed their product line's name to "Better Little Books" and "Big Big Books" in an attempt to differentiate themselves from their counterparts. Regardless of publisher, print runs for most titles averaged 250,000 to 350,000 copies, and readers usually obtained them in five-and-dimes or chain and variety stores. In time, inflation hit the publishers and most titles went to 15 cents (about \$2.15 today) in the latter years of the decade.

Initially, the majority of the Big Little Books consisted of reprints from leading newspaper strips like *Dick Tracy*, *Flash Gordon*, *Buck Rogers*, *Little Orphan Annie*, *The Gumps*, *Tarzan*, and various Walt Disney characters. Within a short time, however, they came to include illustrated novels and plays, such as *Moby-Dick*, *Treasure Island*, A *Midsummer Night's Dream*, and many others, along with radio favorites, including *The Lone Ranger*, *Gang Busters*, *The Green Hornet*, and *Jack Armstrong*. Shirley Temple (b. 1928), Jackie Cooper (b. 1922), Jane Withers (b. 1926), Will Rogers (1879–1935), Tom Mix (1880–1940), and other then-current movie stars enjoyed their own Big Little Books stories, some of which tended toward biography, while others drew inspiration from their films. Even news events served as a source for stories. Admiral Richard E. Byrd's (1888–1957) expedition to Antarctica in 1934 prompted a "Little America" volume. Regardless of subject, children and adolescents soon built "libraries," some quite extensive, of these popular, inexpensive volumes.

With time, the novelty of Big Little Books began to wear off. The popularization of comic books in the late 1930s took many readers away. Similarly priced at a dime, but featuring color throughout and in a magazine format, many of the newer comic books contained new, original adventures, not reprints of newspaper strips. But Big Little Books nonetheless hung on; World War II brought about a brief resurgence (paper shortages, however, shrank them to under 300 pages), and there have been sporadic attempts to repopularize the genre ever since the 1940s.

See also Blondie; Illustrators; Magazines; Movies; Newspapers; Science Fiction; Youth

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BLONDIE. One of the most popular **comic strips** of all time, *Blondie* first began appearing in **newspapers** in 1930. Cartoonist Murat "Chic" Young (1901–1973), like most artists in his profession, struggled for several years to find a winning combination of picture and story. During the 1920s, Young tried several strips, none of which

attracted much attention. Finally, in the fall of 1930, he convinced King Features syndicate to take on *Blondie*, what those in the trade called a "girlie strip." In its original format, *Blondie* chronicled the light-hearted adventures of a pretty young woman-Blondie Boopadoop—played out against a backdrop of parties, **fashion**, and general silliness.

For the Roaring Twenties, such an approach might have worked, but Young's timing was bad. With the onset of the Great Depression, the world of 1930 hardly resembled that of preceding years, and newspaper readers showed little interest in the humorous activities of a flapper (or "gold digger," in the language of the 1930s) and her friends. Young realized, given the times, that changes had to be made to *Blondie* if the comic strip stood a chance of surviving.

During her life as a stereotypical party girl, Blondie enjoyed the attentions of numerous suitors. One of her beaux bore the name Dagwood Bumstead, and Young eventually singled him out to be more than a boyfriend. The son of a fabulously wealthy industrialist, Dagwood fell in love with Blondie—but at the risk of losing his family fortune. Because of his parents' resistance to the match, Dagwood went on a 28-day hunger strike in January 1933. Each day, Young would conclude a strip with cliff-hanger endings—"how much longer can Dagwood go on?"—and the ploy won unprecedented reader involvement. Letters poured in, and *Blondie* overnight became a popular favorite. Of course, love conquered all, Dagwood won his battle (but lost his inheritance), and he and Blondie married in February 1933, the depth of the Depression for most Americans.

Young took a chance when he so abruptly changed his strip, but it proved an astute move. The newlyweds began their married life with virtually nothing except hope and humor. As they settled into the normal patterns of middle-class living, Dagwood and Blondie became the favorite cartoon couple for millions of daily newspaper readers, and by decade's end *Blondie* stood as the most popular comic strip in the nation.

Over the years, Young chronicled the Bumsteads' life in loving detail. A host of characters came to populate the strip, and fans looked forward to them all. Dagwood labors faithfully for the irascible Mr. Dithers; Blondie, for the most part a caring and patient wife, cannot resist a sale at Tudbury's, a local department store. Their best friends, Herb and Tootsie Woodley, live next door; Mr. Beasley delivers the mail; they acquire a dog, Daisy; and—most important of all—the Bumsteads become parents in the spring of 1934 with the birth of their first child, Alexander, or "Baby Dumpling." Although the self-imposed censorship that then existed in the comics did not allow Blondie to appear pregnant, readers knew she was expecting, and everyone rejoiced when the Baby Dumpling finally arrived.

This portrait of American normalcy never overtly referred to the Depression or other topical events, and yet the strip detailed American life in the 1930s. Readers saw themselves reflected in the little day-to-day activities of this typical family. Alert to the growing popularity of *Blondie*, King Features allowed its leading strip to be merchandised in a variety of ways. Coloring books, dolls, cards, **jigsaw puzzles**, cosmetics, clothing, and trinkets of every description carried the images of Dagwood and Blondie, and reprints of the strip appeared in **Big Little Books**.

Hollywood joined the craze in 1938 with *Blondie*, and canny studio executives at Columbia Pictures knew the one-word title gave more than enough information to

potential audiences. The movie stars Penny Singleton (1908–2003) as Blondie and Arthur Lake (1905–1987) as Dagwood. An immediate success, it led to three more pictures in 1939 (Blondie Meets the Boss, Blondie Takes a Vacation, and Blondie Brings Up Baby), and then 24 additional Blondie pictures between 1940 and 1950. Every one features Singleton and Lake, two actors who built their careers around a comic strip. A bit late in realizing the comic potential of Blondie, network radio nonetheless finally added a comedy show based on the couple in 1939; it would run until 1950, and Singleton and Lake reprised their movie roles in the series.

One of the enduring images to emerge from *Blondie* involves Dagwood raiding the refrigerator to put together a huge sandwich made from anything he can find. Those episodes even contributed a phrase to the language: Dagwood sandwich. Today's popular "submarine" owes a great deal to Dagwood's inventiveness, and the thick, multi-ingredient sandwich has permanently entered the culture. In the meantime, *Blondie* goes on under new artists, still one of the most popular comic strips in existence.

See also Food; Movies; Radio Networks

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BOOK CLUBS. The precise origin of book clubs (i.e., commercial organizations that sell books to members) cannot be traced to an exact place or time. But in the late 1920s, the founding of two major book clubs in the United States revolutionized the way Americans bought books. The country's high literacy rate at the time (90+ percent) assured a high number of potential readers and buyers.

Easy accessibility and low prices had already contributed to the wide distribution and readership of **newspapers**, **magazines**, and advertisements. Books presented a different story. In addition to economic conditions, educational levels, and amounts of leisure time, locations influenced people's ability to obtain books. Only those who lived near public libraries, bookstores, or some large department stores could readily acquire books from a broad range of titles.

Direct subscription services, available since the 1800s, gave people a way to purchase books, but they provided few choices. Door-to-door agents sold encyclopedias, dictionaries, or sets of books bought on an installment plan. Sets usually consisted of volumes by one author, such as Mark Twain (Samuel Langhorne Clemens, 1835–1910) or a collection of classics, such as Dr. Charles William Eliot's (1834–1926) Five-Foot Shelf, also known as the Harvard Classics.

During the 1920s and 1930s, E. Haldeman-Julius (1889–1951) and his wife Marcet (1887–1941), through mail-order publishing, successfully sold millions of Little Blue Books, cheap, miniature 3½-by-5-inch volumes with semistiff covers. These usually consisted of reprints of literary titles as well as a smattering of self-improvement, amusement, fantasy, horror, and other genres. Harry Scherman (1887–1969), a writer, businessman, and book lover, along with colleagues Robert Haas (active 1910s, 1920s, & 1930s) and Maxwell Sackheim (1890–1982), had experimented in 1916 with the mass distribution

of books through mail orders, selling old classics they called the Little Leather Library. Their business quickly fizzled, but Scherman remained convinced that Americans from all walks of life wanted to read good and current literature. That posed the question of how to make the purchase of books easy and affordable, especially at a time of increasing competition from **radio** and **movies** for the use of leisure time.

Scherman found the answer in 1926, when he incorporated the now-famous Book-of-the-Month Club (BOMC), an organization that provided yet another means for selling books on a national scale through the mail. In addition, it boasted some unique features—membership, several titles to select from, bonus books, and an editorial board composed of literary experts who determined the choices. By joining, members committed themselves to the purchase of four books a year from an offering of one new book a month. Bonus books became available after a member purchased a required number of books.

Scherman initially did not send promotional materials directly to potential members; he instead attracted those already buying books as well as new consumers through heavy mass advertising in weekly book review sections of newspapers and in magazines such as *Literary Digest* and *Atlantic*. The club's first selection, *Lolly Willowes* (1926), written by Sylvia Townsend Warner (1893–1978), an English writer, went to 4,750 members at a price of \$3.00 (about \$34.00 in today's dollars) plus postage. For an initial selection, *Lolly Willowes* did not come cheap, but it apparently did well enough to encourage everyone involved in the venture.

During its first year, BOMC featured five authors, including Edna Ferber (1885–1968) with Showboat (1926) and Ellen Glasgow (1873–1945) with The Romantic Comedians (1926). The approach worked well; membership in BOMC approached 100,000 subscribers by 1928. Holding true to its original commitment to provide variety, to introduce new books as well as some classics, BOMC offered selections by such diverse writers as Willa Cather (1873–1947), Robert Frost (1874–1963), Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings (1896–1953), John Steinbeck (1902–1968), Carl Van Doren (1885–1950), and Thornton Wilder (1897–1975) during the 1930s. Even former president Herbert Hoover (1874–1964) contributed a title, The Challenge to Liberty (1934); it appeared as a selection that same year. Margaret Mitchell's (1900–1949) best seller Gone with the Wind (1936) made the list almost immediately upon publication. Pearl S. Buck (1892–1973) had the honor of the highest number of club appearances during the decade with four books between 1931 and 1939, including The Good Earth as her initial offering. At the end of its first full year of operation, BOMC had surpassed \$1 million in net sales which, with the exception of the Depression years, steadily grew thereafter.

The Literary Guild, conceived in 1927, just a few months after BOMC, had Samuel W. Craig (active 1920s and 1930s) and Harold K. Guinzburg (active 1920s and 1930s) as its founders. It operated in a manner similar to BOMC by employing subscriptions, monthly offerings decided by a review committee, and a required number of purchases, along with bonus books when members qualified. The club mailed its first selection, *Zola and His Times* (1928), by Matthew Josephson (1899–1978), to 5,732 members. Like its rival Book-of-the-Month Club, the Literary Guild claimed a growing membership. It presented conventional books of various kinds—fiction, biography, **travel**, romance, mystery, and classics—with many of its selections achieving noteworthy reputations.

During the late 1920s, the book club idea spread and many smaller, specialty clubs formed. They tended to be organized in fields such as religion, history, mysteries, and

children's books. In 1929, the Literary Guild created the Junior Literary Guild, a children's division. Its success either eliminated or absorbed most of the other children's clubs then in existence. Following the already established adult format, children joined as members and received membership pins and a monthly magazine, *Young Wings*.

Book clubs during the 1930s used the mails to deliver selections to a large number of communities which had no other literary outlets. Initially the book trade business saw the emergence of these clubs, especially BOMC and the Literary Guild, as price-cutting schemes to undermine the livelihood of booksellers. But bookstores continued to operate in the black and eventually cooperated by collecting and processing subscriptions for their erstwhile competitors.

The Depression brought with it troubling times to both publishing and book clubs. Overstocked warehouses, along with a movement by publishers to sell reprints for one dollar (about \$14.50 in current dollars) or less, and an accompanying loss of club members, caused considerable concern among book club executives. Many of the smaller clubs went out of business, and even the well-established BOMC and Literary Guild felt the need to introduce a variety of pricing schemes. For example, instead of bonus books, members received discount coupons toward their next purchase. Some groups temporarily dropped the membership requirement; anyone could buy a book through a club. Marketing to public libraries increased and some clubs acquired the member lists and inventories of others. At the same time, the more daring tried new ventures. The Literary Guild launched its own Dollar Book Club, and Robert M. McBride (active 1920s & 1930s) founded the Laugh Club, a group that distributed six books of humor a year at figures below retail price.

Despite the challenges presented by the Depression, the Book-of-the-Month Club and the Literary Guild remained fairly stable and actually flourished in the second half of the decade. By 1935, membership in BOMC had risen by 50 percent, gained significantly again in 1936, and by 1939 exceeded 300,000 subscribers. The Literary Guild enjoyed comparable success, and smaller clubs, usually in special fields, reappeared.

See also Best Sellers; Education; Leisure & Recreation; Mysteries & Hard-Boiled Detectives; Youth

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BOWLING. An ancient sport, bowling strove for recognition and respectability during the early years of the twentieth century. Most communities boasted a bowling alley or two, but unlike today's glossy, totally automated complexes, boys set the pins by hand, crouched in tiny cubbyholes, hoping no stray balls or pins would come crashing into

them. Often located in old, run-down buildings, and lacking the niceties so taken for granted today, such as computerized scoring and pleasant eating facilities, the downtown alleys of the 1930s tended to be male enclaves and placed bowling on the shadowy fringes of family recreation and entertainment.

Despite the disreputable connotations some associated with the sport, the American Bowling Congress (ABC), a national federation of small, local groups, had been formed in 1895 in an attempt to bring about national standards for the game. A women's branch, the Women's National Bowling Congress (WNBC), came into being in 1916. As the sport grew, both in numbers and acceptance, it received significant media coverage in the 1930s. **Newspapers** in particular devoted large amounts of space to players' detailed averages and scores. In 1934, New York City served as host to the International Bowling Association's (IBA) annual tournament, a competition that featured the best bowlers from around the world.

Regionally, churches, schools, offices, and industries all sponsored leagues, and this kind of mass participation diminished some of the criticism leveled at the game. Still, not until after World War II and the rise of huge suburban shopping complexes with brightly lit alleys as part of their allure, did bowling receive the respectability it had so long sought.

Although no famous names dominate bowling during the 1930s, Fioretta McCutcheon (1888–1967), or "Mrs. Mac," did her share to advance bowling for women. A latecomer to the game, she had won enough matches by 1930 to be recognized as an outstanding bowler. She toured throughout the decade, and accomplished 10 perfect 300 games during that time. She retired in 1939, whereupon she began to teach in New York City, opening Mrs. McCutcheon's School of Bowling.

Joe Norris (1910–2001), nicknamed "the Boy Wonder of Bowling," also gained some publicity in the 1920s and 1930s, especially as a team player. His groups consistently won tournaments they entered, and Norris received recognition for his superlative style. Throughout the decade, team and league play slowly grew in popularity.

Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer released an unusual bowling film—MGM labeled it an "oddity"—titled *Strikes and Spares* in 1934. Put together by producer-director-writer-actor Pete Smith (1892–1979), the creator of innumerable films about various sports, it consisted of tricks and stunts performed by Andy Varipapa (1891–1984), a noted bowler who had established his name by performing pranks and gag shots around the country.

Several inventors had designs for automatic pin setters, or pinspotters, in the 1930s, but the Depression and World War II delayed their installation. In the period immediately preceding the war, bowling increasingly received favorable publicity in newspapers and magazines, and plans had been laid to build newer, nicer bowling centers. But most of those ideas and plans would have to wait until the fighting had ended and the nation returned to a peacetime footing.

See also Comic Strips; Leisure & Recreation; Movies

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BOXING. The 1930s witnessed a remarkable interest in boxing, especially in the heavy-weight division. A pole apart from any other sport, boxing has always been a bruising, bloody contest. Its marketing would suggest that the audience for this spectacle consisted primarily of red-faced men puffing on cigars, derbies propped on their heads; clearly, its promoters did not make appeals to women, although women could usually be found scattered among the spectators.

Americans have long been of two minds about professional prizefighting: supporters view the sport as a demonstration of the "manly art of self defense," a choreographed dance between two opponents that employs both science and brawn. Those opposed read no poetics into it but instead see it as legalized mayhem, even slaughter. Both sides garnered support for their arguments during the thirties, a time when professional boxing regularly made headlines.

For most Americans, "boxing" translates as heavyweight boxing. The other divisions—featherweight, lightweight, welterweight, middleweight, etc.—mean little and therefore receive only cursory attention. And, in a kind of musical chairs, the heavyweight crown rested uneasily on a whole series of heads until 1937.

The antics began in 1930, when a German boxer named Max Schmeling (1905–2005) gained the heavyweight title after the referee disqualified the reigning champion, the American Jack Sharkey (1902–1994), on a foul. Two years later, Schmeling lost to Sharkey in a 15-round rematch. Sharkey, however, regained his crown only briefly; Primo Carnera (1906–1967) of Italy knocked him out for the title in 1933 and became the second non-American to hold the championship since 1906. But Carnera's reign quickly ended when Max Baer (1909–1959) gave him a frightful drubbing in June 1934.

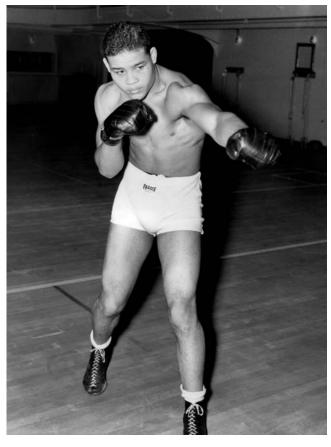
Throughout his career, Baer enjoyed considerable popularity. Dubbed the "Clown Prince of Boxing" for his antics in and out of the ring, he provided a refreshing change from the dour line of contenders and champions preceding him. World events had by this time also influenced attitudes about fighters, and Baer, who happened to be Jewish, gained a measure of crowd respect by wearing a Star of David on his trunks. This custom began when he fought Schmeling in 1933 in a nonchampionship bout and defeated him, saying that his victory represented a defeat for anti-Semitism, Nazis, and Hitler in particular. But Baer's time in the limelight proved fleeting.

A veteran boxer named James J. Braddock (1905–1974), who had suffered through an up-and-down career, somehow gained a title shot against Baer. Another crowd favorite, Braddock for many represented the hapless working man of the Depression, a fellow buffeted by fate, but one who survives life's hard knocks. A 10 to 1 underdog, Braddock in 1935 pulled off a major upset by defeating Baer in 15 rounds, making him, in the words of famed journalist Damon Runyon (1884–1946), a "Cinderella Man."

In the midst of the heavyweight title passing from hand to hand, two important events took place that would profoundly influence ring history. First, promoters staged a non-championship bout in 1936 that involved, once more, Max Schmeling. This time he faced a rising young American boxer named Joe Louis (1914–1981). Schmeling floored Louis and clearly seemed in line to regain the title. But he would be denied the opportunity; through a series of deals and agreements, the very kind of thing that gives boxing a shady reputation, reigning champion Braddock refused to meet Schmeling in the ring. And so the second event saw Joe Louis facing Braddock and getting a shot at the crown. Louis won the 1937 fight, making him the world's new heavyweight champion.

Joe Louis, by now nicknamed "the Brown Bomber," became an immensely popular champion. He reigned, undefeated, from 1937 until his 1949 retirement, defending his title 25 times, more than any other heavyweight champion. In comparison, Baer and Braddock defended their titles only once apiece, and each lost when they did so. From early in his career, Louis seemed invincible; the press dubbed his hapless opponents "Bum of the Month." But of all his victories, none proved sweeter than his defeat of Schmeling in a much-ballyhooed 1938 rematch that also had the championship at stake. Across the United States, people touted the encounter as the "good" Louis versus the "bad" Schmeling.

For both fighters, the bout involved significant national pride and politics, especially for the challenger. Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) had come to power in Germany, and Schmeling's handlers talked of him as the "hope of the Aryan race." The Nazi propaganda machine spewed out reams of racist hate in the days preceding the fight, and it added mightily to the excitement pervading the match, one that incidentally established the power of



A 1936 shot of heavyweight champion Joe Louis (1914–1981), nicknamed the Brown Bomber. (Courtesy of Photofest)

radio as a sports broadcasting medium. More than half the radio owners in the U.S.—over 22 million people—listened in as sportscaster Clem McCarthy (1882–1962) described how Louis pummeled his opponent. For his part, the quiet Louis typified much that was good about America in an era of segregation in most sports, and hopes ran high. Once in the ring, and in front of 70,000 fans, Louis flattened Schmeling just two minutes into the first round. A clear knockout: the referee called the fight and the nation breathed a collective sigh of relief. Louis's decisive victory salvaged American honor, plus it silenced many race-baiters and Nazi sympathizers.

Although few Americans ever attended a prizefight, considerable public interest surrounded the sport during the Depression era. Hollywood found staging and filming a match an easy thing to do, and over two dozen fight movies played theaters during the 1930s. The opening of the decade saw *The Big Fight*, starring "that shufflin' laughmaker, Stepin Fetchit" (1902–1985), a popular black comedian unfortunately forced by race to take on many stereotypical roles. Joe E. Brown (1892–1973) lent his comedic talents to *Hold Everything* (1930), and Wallace Beery (1885–1949) and Jackie Cooper (b. 1922) made the justly famous *The Champ* in 1931. Even comedian Charlie Chaplin (1889–1977) tried his hand at a boxing episode, a hilarious one in his 1931 *City Lights*.

James Cagney (1899–1986) continued his action films with 1932's Winner Take All, returned to the ring with The Irish in Us (1935), and then made a third boxing picture with City for Conquest in 1939.

An emerging Spencer Tracy (1900–1967) plays a bit part in *Society Girl* (1932). That same year saw Douglas Fairbanks, Jr. (1909–2000) in *The Life of Jimmy Dolan*, a feature that also included a young John Wayne (1907–1979) in a small role as a prizefighter. In 1933, real-life boxer Max Baer, living up to his reputation as something of a playboy, shared the lead in *The Prizefighter and the Lady* with Myrna Loy (1905–1993). Baer displays some acting abilities in the picture and would go on to appear in almost 20 additional movies.

Other movies include *Police Call* (1933), which despite its title, stands as a B-grade boxing epic, along with *Kelly the Second* (1936) and *The Kid Comes Back* (1937). Another boxing picture, *Conflict* (1936), based on a Jack London (1876–1916) short story, has the distinction of starring John Wayne in another role as a boxer instead of a cowboy. *Kid Galahad* (1937) headlines an all-star cast—Edward G. Robinson (1893–1973), Bette Davis (1908–1989), Humphrey Bogart (1899–1957)—and proved a box office success. Similarly, *Cain and Mabel* (1936), a pugilistic comedy with Clark Gable (1901–1960) and Marion Davies (1897–1961), and *The Crowd Roars* (1938), with the unlikely casting of romantic lead Robert Taylor (1911–1969) in the role of a fighter, showed that boxing pictures could draw audiences to theaters.

Cartoonist Ham Fisher's (1900–1955) popular comic strip character Joe Palooka receives featured status in *Palooka* (1934), as well as in two shorts, *For the Love of Pete* (1936) and *Taking the Count* (1937). Boxing films with primarily black casts include *Spirit of Youth* (1937), which stars Joe Louis as himself, and *Keep Punching* (1939), featuring light heavyweight Henry Armstrong (1912–1988). Finally, *They Made Me a Criminal* (1939) stars John Garfield (1913–1952), and a screen adaptation of playwright Clifford Odets' (1906–1963) *Golden Boy* (play, 1937; movie, 1939) features William Holden (1918–1981) in a star-making role. Both pictures take a serious look at the fight business, focusing on more than just the knockouts and mayhem in the ring. Boxing may not have been universally liked, but during the 1930s it certainly emerged as a significant component of American popular culture.

See also Comic Strips; Newspapers; Race Relations & Stereotyping; Stage Productions

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"BROTHER, CAN YOU SPARE A DIME?". A few people, mainly New Yorkers, first heard "Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?" in a minor and short-lived Broadway revue titled *Americana* (1932; 77 performances). On stage, the relatively unknown Rex Weber (active 1930s) sang the lyrics, written by E. Y. "Yip" Harburg (1896–1981), with music by Jay Gorney (1896–1990).

The melody derives from a lullaby Gorney, who came to the United States in 1906, had heard as a child in his native Russia. For his part, Harburg had lost a small appliance business with the onset of the Depression, and turned to music for work. He would later say that he overheard other unemployed citizens, on street corners, asking, "Can you spare a dime?" as he walked to his job. The lyrics thus originated with the straits in which many found themselves, adding a real poignancy to the piece.

Although not many theatergoers saw Americana, millions of listeners eventually heard the Gorney/Harburg song via recordings and radio broadcasts. Bing Crosby (1903–1977), an increasingly popular crooner of the day, recorded the tune for Brunswick Records just three weeks following the show's opening in October 1932 (it would close in December 1932). Shortly thereafter, Rudy Vallee (1901–1986), at the time better known than Crosby, cut a version for Columbia Records. This rendition includes an unusual spoken introduction by Vallee in which he mentions that "Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?" may sound "a bit out of character" for him, noted as he was for more romantic numbers. The two interpretations vied for listeners and buyers, and both recordings received considerable air play, a fact that greatly enlarged the audience. Entertainer Al Jolson (1888–1950) also sang it in late 1932 on his popular radio show carried by the National Broadcasting Company (NBC radio), exposing still more people to the trenchant lyrics. Together, these three vocalists, almost never associated with lyrics even vaguely social in content, made the intensely topical "Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?" one of the top 20 songs of 1932.

By and large, the American public did not want musical reminders about the Depression, but "Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?" serves as the exception that proves the rule. Despite its grim story of a man—farmer, construction worker, veteran, or everyman—suffering through the crisis, it touched a nerve and became a classic that continues to attract listeners today.

Other songwriters and lyricists attempted to allude to the Depression, and a few good numbers have come down from the era. But most of their efforts have ended up as forgotten, curiosity pieces. Tunes like "There's No Depression in Love" (1931; music by Dan Dougherty [1897-1955] and lyrics by Jack Yellen [1892-1991]) and "Are You Makin' Any Money?" (1933; words and music by Herman Hupfield [1894–1951]), went nowhere. Yellen had earlier contributed the lyrics to another song frequently associated with the Depression, "Happy Days Are Here Again." Written in 1929 in collaboration with composer Milton Ager (1893–1979), it had been part of the score for an MGM musical titled Chasing Rainbows, released in 1930. Although the picture has since been forgotten (apparently, no complete prints exist anymore), "Happy Days Are Here Again" enjoyed renewed life with Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) and his rise to the presidency with the Democratic Party. The melody became the party's theme song during the 1932 presidential campaign, promising as it did better times ahead. Not truly a Depression-era song, since Ager and Yellen had composed it prior to the market collapse, it nevertheless emerged as a political anthem for the period, and even today loyal Democrats occasionally revive it for election battles.

"Life Is Just a Bowl of Cherries" (1931), written by Ray Henderson (1896–1970) and Lew Brown (1893–1958), also spoke to the era. Audiences first heard it in *The George White Scandals of 1931*, a periodic Broadway revue. The popular Ethel Merman (1908–1984) performed it on stage, and its optimistic lyric played well in those difficult years.

On a less upbeat side—more in keeping with the mood established by "Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?"—would be "Remember My Forgotten Man"; it comes from a Hollywood musical, Gold Diggers of 1933, that features music by the songwriting team of Harry Warren (1893–1981) and Al Dubin (1891–1945). The lyrics refer to the "forgotten" veterans of World War I and their attempts to win bonuses promised by the government. That same movie also boasts "The Gold Digger's Song (We're in the Money)," a silly little ditty sung by Ginger Rogers (1911–1995) that sarcastically challenges "old man Depression" and the lack of money most citizens faced. Neither composition, however, achieved hit status and remained simply as parts of the musical score for a popular picture.

Out of the thousands of popular songs written during the early 1930s, only the smallest handful considered the darker dimensions of the economic collapse. Of those, "Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?" stands out from all the others, a powerful indictment of the neglect and confusion spawned by the crash.

See also Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers; Jazz; Jukeboxes; Movies; Musicals; Political Parties; Radio Networks; Swing

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BUSES. Americans have always treasured their mobility. Most citizens would have preferred to **travel** by personal automobile during the Depression years, but cost and operational expenses prevented many from doing so. Commercial buses, however, provided a cheap alternative mode of **transportation**. The term "bus" derives from "omnibus," meaning, roughly, "for all," and in its original form enjoyed some usage in the horse and buggy era. With the coming of motorized transport, the shortened "bus" came to designate a large motor vehicle designed to carry passengers, usually for a fare and over a scheduled route.

The 1920s and 1930s witnessed the slow demise of streetcars and trolleys, once the mainstays of public transportation. Since buses did not have to follow fixed routes, such as those established by rails or overhead power lines, buses began, gradually, to take their places. Names like ACF (American Car & Foundry), Fageol, Fixible, General Motors, Kenworth, Mack, Reo, White, and Yellow Coach took the lead as manufacturers, and smaller companies appeared and disappeared, often absorbed by larger ones.

In 1926, with intercity bus services proliferating, Russell's Official National Motor Coach Guide became a valuable aid for travelers and ticket agents. Published annually, it contained intercity bus schedules for most of the United States and Canada; it grew out of Russell's Guide, a detailed book of train schedules dating back to the late nineteenth century.

By the mid-1920s, over 6,500 companies provided bus transportation, most of them small operations with only one route. More and more, buses traveled outside the city

limits to suburbs and neighboring communities, eating away at previous railroad monopolies. As buses moved in, railroad branch lines shut down, eliminating many local stops. For distances up to about 150 miles, buses eventually proved as popular as rail service. After 1935, however, both buses and railroads had to acknowledge a new competitor: commercial air travel. With the development of economical airliners, routes exceeding 150 miles in length became hotly contested among buses, rail, and air.

One area where buses had virtually no competition involved the transportation of schoolchildren. The school bus grew up in the 1920s and flourished in the 1930s. To cut costs in straitened times, communities closed traditional one-room schools, and buses transported their pupils to consolidated ones. A bit of historic Americana began disappearing as rural districts relied on buses and country life underwent a profound change.

Bus service advanced from short intercity runs to the first truly transcontinental service in 1928 when a bus for the Yelloway line traveled from Los Angeles to New York City in 5 days and 14 hours. In March 1929, the Minnesota-based Hibbing Transportation Company, known then as the Motor Transit Corporation, bought Yelloway and soon changed its name to the Greyhound Corporation. The new company then launched its first nationwide advertising campaign, urging cross-country travelers to "take the bus." Its full-page, four-color advertisements ran in national magazines such as the Saturday Evening Post, but the Depression hit the Greyhound Company hard and its profits turned into losses. In 1932, General Motors assumed some of Greyhound's debts, a move that kept the company on the road and also gave the automaker greater access to the bus business.

In search of elusive profits and riders, the cross-country bus industry tried various innovations to turn red ink into black. For example, Pickwick Stages, and later Greyhound, offered night coaches, or sleeper service. They employed double-decker buses in which the top level provided an observation area and the lower deck contained sleeping berths. The big bands of the thirties, always on the road, found the sleepers to be perfect for their lengthy tours, although the ruts, potholes, and curves of many a dilapidated highway discouraged sleep. The sleepers intrigued other potential passengers, but few became regular users, making the specially equipped buses economic liabilities. By 1934, the sleepers had fairly well vanished.

Meanwhile, buoyed by new routes and increasing numbers of riders, Greyhound introduced the 37-passenger Super Coach, advertising the vehicle as ideal for families, not just individual travelers. Toward the end of the decade, General Motors built 500 elegant cruisers for the company, calling them Silversides because of their distinctive exterior paneling. Raymond Loewy (1893–1986), one of the most celebrated industrial designers of the decade, created the Streamlined motifs and unusual fluted aluminum strips that set these buses off from their competition.

Greyhound had received an important boost in 1933 when it became the official carrier to Chicago's Century of Progress Exposition. The New York World's Fair repeated the gesture in 1939. In both instances, Greyhound devised special "fair buses." For the New York extravaganza, the company even created a separate subsidiary line, Exposition Greyhound Lines. Each bus measured 45 feet long and 9 feet wide and could transport 160 passengers through the fairgrounds. It proved an ideal advertising ploy; the Streamlined buses introduced millions of Americans to the latest in comfort and convenience of public transportation. That same year, Greyhound organized a large display of their

super coaches at San Francisco's ongoing Golden Gate Exposition, thus promoting bus travel on both coasts.

Except for the darkest days of the Depression, the 1930s produced handsome profits for Greyhound lines, and their success helped in creating a transportation first: in 1935, more people rode buses than trains, a trend that had been developing since early in the decade. With ridership up, representatives from several independent motor coach companies in 1936 formed an association to assure continuing profitability. They worked together to enable passengers to transfer freely among association members as their travels took them from one company's territory to another's. This association called itself Trailways and linked 40 motor coach companies. Trailways participants gave Greyhound some organized competition.

The bus industry, particularly Greyhound, received some helpful publicity from the movies. One of the biggest hits of the decade, 1934's *It Happened One Night*, starred the popular Clark Gable (1901–1960) and Claudette Colbert (1903–1996). The comedy tells a story about an on-again, off-again trip from Florida to New York City, and portions of it take place in a Greyhound bus. Cinematographers shot many of the scenes inside a typical coach, giving movie audiences exposure to this form of travel.

Other bus-oriented pictures include Cross Country Cruise (1934) and Fugitive Lovers (1934); both involve characters taking long bus trips. Visually, the films introduce audiences to the concept of viewing beautiful scenery without the stress of driving. Cross Country Cruise enjoyed a long run at the Orpheum Cinema in San Francisco, and for the entire time Greyhound parked a huge sleeper—open for inspection—outside the theater. Fugitive Lovers, another comedy, stars Robert Montgomery (1904–1981) traveling cross-country with none other than the zany Three Stooges, a trio of funnymen then breaking into the movies.

The decade's end, however, brought mixed messages concerning the bus industry. Over 1,800 companies operated 12,200 buses, a significant drop from 1931. Much of this decrease resulted from mergers and acquisitions and the closure of smaller companies. Comfort and services had improved and for the first time more people rode buses than they did streetcars and trolleys. This encouraging news had been brought about, not just by consumer choice, but because large corporations like General Motors, Mack Truck, Firestone Tire & Rubber, Phillips Petroleum, and the Standard Oil Company of California bought street railroads in a number of major cities and replaced streetcars with buses. Thus the bus industry had more riders, but somewhat by default, and after World War II it would never compete with the automobile.

See also Automobiles; Aviation; Design; Douglas DC-3; Education; Fairs & Expositions; Screwball Comedies; Streamlining; Swing

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CALDWELL, ERSKINE. The once-controversial author of 25 novels, some 150 short stories, and a number of nonfiction books, Erskine Caldwell (1903–1987) was one of the most widely read American writers of the twentieth century, although he had to wait a number of years to reach that position. He wrote his most enduring works during the 1930s, the peak of his creativity. They eventually sold well over 80 million copies, were translated into dozens of languages, and have been adapted for stage and screen.

Born near Moreland, Georgia, a tiny rural town southwest of Atlanta, Caldwell grew up amid poverty, although he himself came from a modest middle-class family. His father, a minister deeply interested in social problems, especially among the poor, took young Erskine with him on visits to communities in the Southeast where he would attempt to lend assistance to the destitute. This exposure to the needy stirred his conscience and influenced his subsequent writing.

In 1925, while a student at the University of Virginia (he never received a college degree), he published an essay on rural Georgia; its acceptance in a literary magazine led him to continue writing. Various pieces, mainly from little presses with small followings, kept him going, and finally caught the eye of F. Scott Fitzgerald (1896–1940), one of the leading authors of the day. Fitzgerald recommended Caldwell to the legendary Maxwell Perkins (1884–1947), his editor at Charles Scribner's Sons and mentor to some of the era's finest writers.

With such high-powered backing, Caldwell bore a heavy responsibility to produce, which he did. In 1931, Scribner's released American Earth, a collection of short stories. Following its mainly positive reception, Caldwell rocked the genteel literary establishment with a 1932 novel titled Tobacco Road. A forthright tale of abject poverty in the Deep South, it mixed gritty detail with a generous helping of realistic sex and violence, and plunged Caldwell into a controversy about the merits of his fiction, one that would continue throughout the 1930s and beyond. Traditionalists and apologists for the South argued his work should be deemed obscene; some demanded his books be pulled off shelves and that he be censored.

These opinions, however, did not reflect the feelings of all his readers—many saw him as a literary bright light in dreary times. While the arguments raged, playwright Jack Kirkland (1901–1969) staged a version of *Tobacco Road* on Broadway. Its unparalleled box office success would suggest that the Caldwell critics constituted a minority voice.



Erskine Caldwell (1903–1987), author of *Tobacco Road* (1932) and *God's Little Acre* (1933). (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

The play went on stage in December 1933 and ran for a record 3,182 performances (or seven and a half years). Just as enthusiasm for the play began to wane, Hollywood released a motion picture adaptation in 1941. Directed by John Ford (1894–1973), close on the heels of his 1940 film version of novelist John Steinbeck's (1902–1968) *Grapes of Wrath* (1939), another book and movie about rural poverty, the film capitalized on the previous picture's success.

In 1933, Caldwell followed *Tobacco Road* with—some would say—an even more scandalous book, *God's Little Acre*. The sex (or salaciousness, depending on point of view) exceeded in explicitness anything found in its predecessor. Once again cries for censorship and widespread book bannings followed its release, and a number of critics argued that Caldwell ranked not far above a pornographer. No playwrights rose to take on the challenge of converting the story to some form of acceptable drama. The movie industry, reluctant to violate any tenets of the *Hollywood Production Code* then in effect, held back from filming *God's Little Acre* until 1958, a full quarter-century after its initial publication.

In the meantime, he published more short stories during the mid-1930s, many dealing directly with rac-

ism as well as poverty. Caldwell's social conscience grew increasingly agitated in the later years of the decade: he saw a soulless industrialism grinding down workers as the South moved from an agrarian society to one with more emphasis on factories and cheap hourly labor.

Two additional novels, Journeyman (1935) and Trouble in July (1940), came out during this period but lacked the power and the commercial success of his earlier work. He met photographer Margaret Bourke-White (1904–1971) in 1936. They agreed to collaborate on a book containing Caldwell's text and Bourke-White's photographs, a nonfiction work about conditions in the Depression-era South. Their efforts resulted in You Have Seen Their Faces (1937), a blending of Caldwell's observations about the grinding poverty and injustices people suffered during these years and Bourke-White's remarkable black-and-white photographs that provide the visual proof.

Modern Age Books of New York originally published the work, since documentary photography, especially under the auspices of the New Deal's Farm Security Administration (FSA), had come into vogue as a means of chronicling current events. *Life* magazine, a new concept in periodicals, featured photojournalism and offered its premier issue on newsstands in the fall of 1936. A stark photo of a Montana dam taken by Margaret Bourke-White appeared on its cover. With Caldwell enjoying considerable fame for his writing and Bourke-White well established as a photographer, the pairing virtually assured brisk sales. Over the course of their enterprise, the two decided to wed, tying the knot in 1939. Devotion to their professions, however, brought the marriage to an end after only three years.

Caldwell continued to publish, but his greatest accomplishments lay behind him. The paperback revolution—the ready availability of virtually any recent book in a cheaper paperbound edition—occurred at about the time of World War II. Although Caldwell's novels and collected short stories had done reasonably well during the 1930s, their sales set no records and he seldom made the **best seller** lists. With the advent of inexpensive paperbacks, coupled with garish, often lurid, covers, books like *Tobacco Road* and *God's Little Acre* took off. Often promising or at least suggesting more than they could deliver, they made publishing history.

The sales of Caldwell's fiction soared, and he made far more money in royalties in the decades following the war than he ever did during the 1930s. This kind of success further distanced many literary critics from him, since they equated huge sales with mediocrity. Not until late in his life did he receive the critical recognition that had been denied him during his most productive years. Today, Erskine Caldwell has sold more titles than almost any other American writers, living or dead.

Despite all the controversy that swirled around him, perhaps no writer of the decade, with the possible exception of John Steinbeck, better captured the suffering of rural Americans during the Great Depression. His naturalistic depictions of the dehumanizing effects of illiteracy and cultural deprivation, coupled with relentless poverty, both financial and spiritual, offended many, perhaps because they carried more truth than those readers were willing to acknowledge.

See also Magazines; Movies; Race Relations & Stereotyping; Stage Productions

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CANDY. Candy ranks among America's favorite foods, and during the 1930s, just about everyone could find 5 cents to spend on this special treat or at least a penny for cheaper versions of some brands (about 78 cents and 16 cents in contemporary money). Innovators like the Hollywood Candy Company and the Klein Chocolate Company offered 3-cent bars (about 47 cents today). The national craving for candy seemed insatiable and the industry strove to satisfy everyone's sweet tooth. To attract attention, some Sperry Candy Company bars sported unusual names—Chicken Dinner, Club Sandwich, and Denver Sandwich. These bars contained candy, not chicken or other nonsweets, but supposedly they provided a satisfying and filling meal substitute.

During the 1930s, low sugar prices allowed manufacturers to produce and sell copious quantities of candy and prompted Americans to consume the most sugar per capita in their history. At the same time, the industry welcomed the discovery of a new synthetic coating for candy bars. First used in 1934 by the Hollywood Candy Company on its Zero candy bar, this coating stayed harder in hot weather than traditional milk chocolate coverings and boosted the potential profitability of the candy business.

Despite all these advantages, the industry briefly endured lean times at the beginning of the Depression. To lure customers in those cost-conscious years, the Curtiss Candy Company proclaimed that "Baby Ruth makes a light lunch more invigorating than a heavier meal; a way to make lunches more delightful, and save money, too." The advertising worked; candy sales picked up as the decade progressed, convincing confectioners to retain their current products and even to introduce a number of new, sweet concoctions as illustrated in the chart below.

Candy and the 1930s

Year Introduced	Popular Name	Manufacturer
1930	Small versions of Mr. Goodbar, Hershey Milk Chocolate, & Hershey Honey-Almond Milk Chocolate (They were available for a penny apiece from vending machines.)	Hershey Chocolate Company
	Dip; Buy Jiminy (Dip and Buy Jiminy sold well for a few years and were then phased out.)	Curtiss Candy Company
	Zagnut	Clark Candy Company
	Snickers	Mars, Inc.
1931	Tootsie Pops	Sweets Company of America
	Bing Bar	Palmer Candy Company
1932	3 Musketeers	Mars, Inc.
	Heath Bar	Heath Company
	PayDay	Hollywood Candy Company
	Red Hots	Ferrara Pan Candy Company
Circa 1932	Sugar Daddy (Name change for a 1926 candy called Papa Sucker.)	Welch's Candy Company
1933	Kraft Caramels	Kraft Foods
.934	Zero Bar	Hollywood Candy Company
	Dreams (It had the same coconut filling as Mounds but was covered with milk chocolate instead of bittersweet.)	Peter Paul Candies
	Choward's Violet Mints	C. Howard Company
Mid-1930s	Chunky (Named for Silverstein's overweight daughter.)	Philip Silverstein, now Ward- Johnson Division of Terson Company
1935	Sugar Babies	Welch's Candy Company
1936	Mars Bar	Mars, Inc.
	5th Avenue	Luden Candy Company
	Mallo Cup	Boyer Brothers
1937	Dipsy Doodle (Named after a popular 1937 tune.)	Beich Company
	Sky Bar	NECCO Company

Year Introduced	Popular Name	Manufacturer
1938	Crunch	Nestlé
	Krackel	Hershey Chocolate Company
	Peco Brittle Bar	Atkinson Candy
	Rainbow Coconut Bar	Atkinson Candy
	Mint Stick	Atkinson Candy
	Chicken Bone	Atkinson Candy
1939	Giants	Overland Candy Company

Candy bars at times alluded political issues. The Eighteenth Amendment Bar ("with that Pre-War Flavor") from the Marvel Candy Company entered the market in the early 1930s. This chocolate-covered candy with a rum-flavored center presented a tongue-incheek statement about Prohibition and the restrictions on the manufacture, sale, or **transportation** of intoxicating liquors. The repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment in 1933 ended sales of this unique sweet.

Candy, of course, comes in shapes other than a bar; jelly beans, for example, have a distinctive ovoid or egg appearance. Experts disagree as to the exact origin of the jelly bean, but many think that the jelly center derives from a Middle Eastern confection known as Turkish delight, a sweet that dates back to biblical times. In an 1861 advertisement, William Schrafft (active nineteenth century), a Boston candy maker who had recently arrived in America, urged people to send jelly beans to soldiers in the Union Army. Schrafft's advertising efforts earned the jelly bean a place among the glass jars of candies on the shelves of general stores, and by the 1930s this type of candy had become enshrined as a part of Easter festivities, a popular tradition that has continued ever since.

Other candy makers made appearances in various popular culture venues across the country. The Paul F. Beich Candy Company had children throughout the Midwest chanting its jingle, "Whiz, best nickel candy bar there iz-z". For the **Century of Progress Exposition** in Chicago (1933–1934), the Beich Candy Company manufactured the Sky Ride Candy Bar. Wrapped in blue, red, and yellow paper, with a drawing of the fair's observation towers and the skyways complete with passenger cars, it sold well during the fair but disappeared soon after the exposition closed.

In the 1930s, a cartoon series, *Nestlé's Nest*, could be found on the comic pages of Sunday **newspapers**, and the accompanying advertisements featured both *Nestlé's* Milk Chocolate and *Nestlé's* Milk Chocolate Bar with Almonds. Candy bars also had connections with **radio**. Along with several other advertisers, Walnettos, individually wrapped chews made of hard caramel containing walnut bits, occasionally sponsored *Uncle Don* (1928–1949), a popular children's program; *Dr. I. Q.* (1939–1950), a quiz show that gave away silver dollars, broadcast under the advertising banner of the Mars Candy Company throughout most of its run. The Williamson Candy Company's *Amos 'n' Andy* candy bar flourished along with the radio series of the same name; it disappeared when the show dropped in popularity.

Some celebrities and sports figures at the height of their fame loaned their names to candy bars and candy advertisements. Immediately prior to the opening of the decade, the A. G. Morse Company offered the Winning Lindy bar in honor of aviator Charles Lindbergh (1902–1974), and in the early 1930s the **Rudy Vallee** (1901–1986) candy bar recognized the popular crooner. The Johnston Company, in advertisements for Valentine's Day candy, had Vallee, "the Vagabond Lover," touting their boxed candy. On the sports side, Bob Feller (b. 1918), a popular and successful Cleveland Indians pitcher, smiled from the wrapper of a candy bar bearing his likeness. Manufactured by the Euclid Candy Company of Brooklyn, New York, it appeared in candy displays from the late 1930s to the early 1940s.

Clarence Crane, a candy maker in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1912 created a mint candy in an attempt to have a summer treat that did not melt. These round mints with a hole gave them an appearance similar to the life preservers used by ships; seeing the connection, Crane called his new candy Crane's Peppermint Life Savers. The name stuck, of course, and capitalizing on the popularity of this candy, in 1935 the familiar five-flavor Life Saver rolls appeared on the market.

A large assortment of candies and candy bars clearly satisfied America's sweet tooth during the 1930s and almost everyone had some loose change to splurge on a purchase of one kind or another. Eighty percent of the candy bars made had a chocolate covering or some form of chocolate inside; clearly, chocolate ranked at the top. Various other ingredients also went into the making of candy such as nuts, peanut butter, crèmes, caramel, and fruit. Admiral Richard E. Byrd (1888–1957), took $2^{1}/_{2}$ tons of the New England Confectionery Company's sugary wafers to the South Pole on one of his expeditions during the 1930s. He provided each of his men almost a pound a week of NECCO sweets while in the Antarctic. What better way to acknowledge America's love affair with candy?

See also Comic Strips; Desserts; Fairs & Expositions; Grocery Stores & Supermarkets; Ice Cream; Prohibition & Repeal

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CARTER FAMILY, THE. Alvin Pleasant Carter (1891–1960), always known as A. P., his wife Sara (1898–1979; born Sara Dougherty), and her cousin Maybelle (1909–1978; born Maybelle Addington) performed, recorded, and sold records under the name of The Carter Family between 1927 and 1943. Certainly not the first family band, the Carters became one of the most influential groups in country music history. Their commercial breakthrough occurred in 1927 when they cut several sides in Bristol, Tennessee, for Ralph Peer (1892–1960), a pioneering A&R (artists and repertoire) man. As a result, the trio signed a contract with the Victor Talking Machine Company, manufacturers of Victor records, one of the leading record labels of the day. The Carters no doubt felt fortunate to already have a contract in hand when the

Depression struck, a time when both the industry and many of its artists struggled economically.

A. P. had worked for many years as a fruit tree salesman and as he traveled in remote parts of western Virginia and Tennessee he collected old and unusual Appalachian folk songs. Using this rural music as a basis for the trio's programs, A. P. served as the group's arranger, as well as planning and organizing their engagements. A fiddler, he also strummed a guitar, and occasionally added his bass voice. Sara sang lead with a strong contralto and played banjo, second guitar, and autoharp. Maybelle provided the harmony line and also displayed a mastery of the guitar, banjo, and autoharp. Their utilization of vocal harmony, and Maybelle's revolutionary technique of playing solo lead on guitar instead of just rhythm, brought the most immediate and lasting recognition to the group.

Success came quickly; the threesome had sold over 700,000 records by 1930. The Carter Family's songs of love and loss, desperation and joy, captured the attention of many as the nation entered the darkest days of the Depression. Their most famous songs came from their first seven years of recording, numbers such as "Wabash Cannonball," "My Dixie Darling," "Wildflower," "I'm Thinking Tonight of My Blue Eyes," and their signature piece, "Keep on the Sunny Side."

During the economic turndown, the Carters worked sporadically. Maybelle had married A. P.'s brother Ezra (usually called "Eck," 1898–1975), and both couples stayed busy establishing their homes and raising children. A. P. and Sara eventually separated, but the trio continued to perform and record. In 1932, Peer continued his association with the Carters, and this time they contracted directly with him instead of Victor. Three years later, Peer moved from Victor to the American Recording Company (ARC) and took the Carters with him. In 1936, still under Peer's management, the trio began cutting sides for Decca Records. Most critics agree that their best overall **recordings** followed during the next two years, many of them being rerecordings of their previous Victor hits.

Their fame expanding, the Carter Family in 1938 signed a contract with Dr. John Brinkley's (1885–1941) powerful XERA radio station in Ciudad Acuna, Mexico. The Carters settled just across the border in Del Rio, Texas, in order to be close to the station's studios. A. P. and Sara, despite their marital separation, also made the move, along with their daughter Janette (b. 1923), as did Maybelle, accompanied by her children Helen (1927–1998), June (1929–2003), and Anita (1933–1999). They crossed into Mexico each day to perform two shows at the 500,000-watt station that allowed them to broadcast their music over much of the continental United States, the greatest exposure of their career.

Sara remarried in 1939, but the Carter Family continued with XERA for a second year, adding the daughters as a regular feature. After the Mexican government forced the closure of XERA, the Carters went to a much smaller station in Charlotte, North Carolina, for two years. But Sara and her husband had established a home in California and her interest in continuing with the trio waned. In March 1943, the Charlotte contract expired and the original Carter Family disbanded.

Over the course of 16 years, the Carter Family assembled a collection of some 275-plus songs—a mix of ballads, love songs, and gospel and folk music that have provided roots for much traditional American country and bluegrass music. Many country music performers, including such famous ones as Roy Acuff (1903–1992) and **Woody Guthrie**

(1912–1967), had at least one Carter song in their repertoires. When the group broke up, Maybelle continued in the music business with her daughters, performing under the name of Mother Maybelle and the Carter Sisters. Daughter June married a rising country singer named Johnny Cash (1932–2003) in 1968 and emerged as a popular country entertainer under the name June Carter Cash. Rosanne Cash (b. 1956), June's step-daughter, continues the musical dynasty as do some of the descendents of A. P. and Sara.

See also Grand Ole Opry; The National Barn Dance; Religion; Western Films

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CENTURY OF PROGRESS EXPOSITION (CHICAGO WORLD'S FAIR). Interest in fairs and expositions waned during the prosperous 1920s, but the 1930s witnessed an increase in both the number and popularity of this inexpensive means of entertainment. These events encouraged consumerism and provided many communities an opportunity to boost a Depression-ridden economy.

For the decade, Chicago's Century of Progress Exposition (1933–1934) and the **New York World's Fair** (1939–1940) rank as the most important and successful examples of major exhibitions. Sited on 427 acres of parkland along Lake Michigan, and just south of the downtown Loop, the Chicago extravaganza drew a steady stream of paying visitors. Originally scheduled to run only during 1933, its success allowed it to continue for an additional year.

The planners had a twofold intent: to celebrate the centennial of Chicago's 1833 founding and to highlight the scientific and industrial progress of the United States. Organizers rejected government subsidies and instead raised money from concession contracts, issuing of bonds, and selling certificates of membership that allowed the purchaser 10 admissions. The federal government paid for its own pavilion and exhibits, and the theme of technological innovation attracted industrial giants such as General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, and Sears, Roebuck and Company, among many others; these corporate supporters willingly covered their costs, seeing the resultant publicity as money well spent.

Planning for the fair commenced in 1927 with the intention of building temporary structures. The final scaled-down model exemplified economy and consisted of buildings following a functional but decorative **Art Deco** style of **architecture**. Some exhibitors used pylons or towers to provide a distinctive feature. For example, the Electrical Building had two 100-foot pylons framing a water gate through which visitors could arrive by boat from across the lagoon.

The **Travel** and **Transportation** Building, perhaps the most distinctive structure, featured a domed roof suspended 125 feet high by cables attached to 12 steel towers around its exterior perimeter. This provided an interior height of over 100 feet uncluttered by columns or load-bearing walls. Westinghouse and General Electric, lighting designers for



Aerial view of the Century of Progress Exposition, the 1933–1934 Chicago World's Fair. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

the fair, used both indirect and colored lighting to enhance the 23 brilliant colors tying the buildings together. People nicknamed the site "Rainbow City."

Postmaster General James A. Farley (1888–1976) officially opened the gates to the exposition on May 27, 1933. Just two days earlier, 1-cent and 3-cent commemorative stamps honoring the fair had been issued and flown to Chicago. October 2, 1933, saw the release of a 50-cent airmail stamp showing the **airship** *Graf Zeppelin* on a flight from Germany, heading toward the beckoning exposition towers of Chicago. Extremely rare, collectors continue to eagerly seek this unusual airmail issue.

True to previous exposition formats, the Century of Progress visitor could walk through gardens or beside pools with fountains and choose from a broad variety of educational and entertainment opportunities—an operating oil refinery, an automobile assembly line, a radio-controlled tractor, an early **television** receiver, a toothpaste tube—packing demonstration, or important scenes from Chicago's history. A five-acre playground called the Enchanted Island functioned as a day-care center, with each child being examined by a doctor upon entrance. The mile-long midway, featuring many amusement park rides, included Frank Buck's wild animal show, *Bring 'em Back Alive*, as well as exhibits from Ripley's *Believe It or Not!*

Dioramas have long been a common feature of fairs, but mechanized ones provided a new wrinkle on an old concept at the Century of Progress. Scenes that received particular attention included moving human figures as a part of a re-creation of an historic event and International Harvester's full-size mechanical cow that chewed its cud, blinked its eyes, mooed, and gave milk.

As a study in contrasts, many flocked to the performance tent of fan dancer Sally Rand (1904–1979), while others gathered at the more formal American art exhibit housed at the nearby Art Institute. Miss Rand, possibly the biggest hit of the fair, danced, apparently nude, behind giant ostrich fans and, as a finale, behind a huge translucent bubble. An unexpected success, she wowed the audience. The American art display included works by Thomas Eakins (1844–1916) and Winslow Homer (1836–1910), as well as James McNeill Whistler's (1834–1903) *Portrait of My Mother* (commonly called *Whistler's Mother*; 1871), and **Grant Wood**'s (1891–1942) *American Gothic* (1930). The popularity of Wood's portrait resulted in its becoming the best-known American painting of all time.

Most states and many ethnic groups celebrated their own days, which added to the festive atmosphere. Additional days also received official sanction. To commemorate the end of Prohibition, the fair provided free beer and sandwiches on November 8, 1933, and called the occasion Personal Responsibility Day. On November 10 people on relief

rolls received free admittance. Nearby Comiskey Park, home of the Chicago White Sox, became the site of the first major league All-Star baseball game on July 6, 1933.

During the first year, foreign participation consisted of many offerings, such as France presenting the "Streets of Paris," while Belgium built a model village. China, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Japan, Sweden, and Ukraine also erected pavilions, and other countries exhibited in the Hall of Nations located in the Travel and Transportation Building. These successes in attracting fairgoers brought about an increase in foreign exhibitors in 1934.

Special trains traveled to Chicago from across the continent and served to introduce the public to the first Streamliners. Once in Chicago 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 even established a speed record in 1934, reaching Chicago from Denver—a distance of just over 1,000 miles—in 13 hours, or at an average speed of 77.6 mph. Fledging airlines had nothing on the speedy railroads.

Once people arrived at the fair, transportation continued to be a popular attraction. The Sky-Ride, a 1930s version of a monorail, carried visitors 1,850 feet across the fair-grounds in cable cars 200 feet above the ground. Two 628-foot tall twin towers, named **Amos and Andy** after the main characters in the popular **radio** show of the same name, supported the ride. Greyhound had a fleet of 60 modern **buses** ready to transport visitors around the fair. Called World's Fair Greyhounds, they could accommodate 90 people (50 sitting, 40 standing).

The exposition's first season closed on November 12, 1933, then everything reopened on May 26, 1934, with some new attractions. Chrysler sponsored stock car races and Standard Oil Company replaced a film on the oil industry with a free wild animal act. But the most significant addition came with the Ford Motor Company pavilion. The wall of a rotunda within the building, created by Walter Dorwin Teague (1883–1960), well known for his industrial **design** work, showed an automobile assembly procedure. Other exhibits showcased Ford's latest technological innovations. Seventy percent of the daily fair visitors toured the Ford pavilion, making it the most popular exhibit of the year.

Immersed in contemporary surroundings that hinted at a new and exciting future, the fair had to have an impact on the average visitor. The Hall of Science, the largest and most important exhibit building, offered working models of new technological devices that supported the idea of a hopeful future. It made the comic-strip world of the popular *Buck Rogers* not so unbelievable, after all. If nothing else, the fair personified optimism in the face of economic troubles.

But the architecture accomplished even more. A \$37 million display of modernity, the fair's sparkling promenades dazzled the eye and helped to popularize architecture based on Art Deco and modernist designs, as well as machine age—based structures in the emerging **International Style** and **Streamlining**. Builders exhibited a number of single-family homes, and the futuristic ones, such as the House of Tomorrow and the Crystal House, gave visitors a hint of domestic architecture to come. In its entirety, the Century of Progress Exposition served as the perfect antidote to the dreariness of the Depression.

The largest such venture up to this time, the Chicago World's Fair ended its two-year run with a surplus of a little over half a million dollars and a final profit of \$160,000 (approximately \$2.4 million in contemporary dollars), a remarkable feat considering the

national economic crisis at the time. When it closed at the end of October 1934, over 39 million people had flocked to see its combination of opulence and tawdriness. Its success encouraged other cities such as Dallas, Texas, San Diego, California, Cleveland, Ohio, and, of course, New York City, to hold large fairs of their own.

See also Automobiles; Aviation; Circuses; Comic Strips; Education; Prohibition & Repeal; Science Fiction; Stamp Collecting

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CHILDREN'S FILMS. Child actors, performers under about 12 years of age, have always been an integral part of the film industry. Children's movies made money in the silent era, especially in comedies, and with the advent of sound in 1927, Hollywood saw no reason to tinker with success.

When considering the children's films made during the Depression era, one need look no further than the *Our Gang* comedy shorts, all 220 or them (plus one full-length feature, 1936's *General Spanky*), that ran from 1922 until 1944. Producer Hal Roach (1892–1992), a true motion picture pioneer, got the idea to create the series after watching some kids at play. In 1922, he introduced *Hal Roach's Rascals*, two-reel (roughly 20 minutes long) silent comedies that featured youngsters doing what they do best, playing, getting into mischief, and generally having fun. Roach contended—correctly—that audiences would enjoy their youthful high jinks.

For the next 20 years, new *Rascals* pictures showed at movie houses everywhere. Called *Our Gang* comedies at the time, the series officially became *The Little Rascals* in 1956 when it went to **television** and copyright concerns would not allow the use of the old name. *Our Gang*, originally silent, first utilized sound in 1929. One-reel shorts, the comedies served to flesh out theater billings as owners sought ways to lure in customers. Despite the technical changes, the kids' antics remained the same throughout the decade. George McFarland (1928–1993) took the role of Spanky in 1931 and kept it until 1942. He probably remains the best-remembered Rascal of the day, although Billie Thomas's (1931–1980) Buckwheat and Carl Switzer's (1927–1959) Alfalfa run a close second.

Often overshadowed by splashy, full-length productions with popular stars, *Our Gang* continued on its comfortable way delighting millions as it did so. The series inspired many imitators, such as *Mickey McGuire*, with Mickey Rooney (b. 1920), and *Baby Burlesks*, with **Shirley Temple** (b. 1928), but nothing seemed to equal the original.

Jackie Cooper (b. 1922), one of a number of successful child actors of the day, got his start in the *Our Gang* shorts; he played Jackie from 1929 to 1931. This exposure led to *Skippy* (1931), a full-length feature in which he plays the popular character from Percy Crosby's (1891–1964) long-running comic strip of the same name. Riding a crest of popularity, Cooper costarred with Wallace Beery (1885–1949) in *The Champ* (1931), a sentimental **boxing** picture, and received an Academy Award nomination for Best Actor at

10 years of age, the youngest ever to be so honored. *Treasure Island* (1934) teamed him with Beery again, and he even reprised his Jackie role with the *Our Gang* cast in 1937's *Our Gang Follies of 1938*, a show-within-a-show short that has the group imitating famous adult entertainers. By the following year, however, adolescence had caught up with Cooper, removing him from the roster of child actors, and *That Certain Age* (1938) matched him up with another teenager, Deanna Durbin (b. 1921), in a musical tale of youthful romance. Unlike many of his contemporaries, Cooper went on to a successful career in motion pictures in his adult years.

A number of other youthful players also charmed audiences during the 1930s. The Dublin-born Freddie Bartholomew (b. Frederic Llwellyn, 1924–1992) landed the title role in *David Copperfield* (1935), and his career soared after that. He starred in Frances Hodgson Burnett's (1849–1924) classic *Little Lord Fauntleroy* in 1936, and later won the coveted role of Harvey in a filmed adaptation of Rudyard Kipling's (1895–1936) *Captains Courageous* (1937). A string of other successes followed, including *Kidnapped* (1938), *The Swiss Family Robinson* (1940), and *Tom Brown's School Days* (1940), but by the early 1940s his career had petered out, and he disappeared from the movie scene, another victim of encroaching adulthood.

A similar fate awaited Jane Withers (b. 1926). As a child, she enjoyed major parts in Ginger (1935), Paddy O'Day (1935), Can This Be Dixie? (1936), and a few others. But, like Freddie Bartholomew, she, too, grew up and out of movies during the 1940s. She enjoyed a comeback of sorts with the rise of television, especially in commercials. Many people doubtless remember Jane Withers as "the Lady Plumber" in a series of advertisements for Comet Cleanser.

Fortunately for many young players during the 1930s, films about teens and their concerns mushroomed in popularity and so a number of former child stars stayed busy. Desperate for new faces, the studios constantly searched for a fresh crop of promising child performers, and many hopeful parents groomed their little ones to become movie stars. Despite the Depression, dancing schools flourished as kids tried to master tap and ballroom techniques. By the mid-1930s, the studios faced a glut of would-be, but unemployed, youthful actors, an ironic situation that mirrored the real world beyond the sound stages. Of the thousands of youngsters who tried out for various parts, only a tiny handful ever got on screen, and even fewer achieved any long-term success.

Of course, exceptions exist to everything, and in this case the exception could be found in a truly precocious little girl named Shirley Temple. Without a doubt she emerged as the most popular movie star of the era. Between 1934 and 1939, Shirley Temple took top billing in 13 films, and reigned as the top box-office draw of any age.

After a couple of unremarkable one- and two-reelers made at age five, along with *Baby Burlesks*, she stole the show in *Stand Up and Cheer!* (1934), her first full-length feature. In quick succession, Paramount Pictures cast her in *Little Miss Marker* (1934) and *Now and Forever* (1934). That was all it took; the boom was on. Within two years, her fan mail topped 60,000 letters a month; a huge Shirley Temple industry had moved into high gear, mass-producing an array of records, books, playthings, and clothes popularized in her movies; and her income from endorsements exceeded anything the studio paid her.

Just prior to Shirley Temple's arrival as a star, several other youngsters—mere toddlers—seemed primed to dominate in children's movies. Baby Rose Marie (b. Rose Marie Mazetta, 1923) caused a sensation as a singer at age three, making a name for

herself on various radio shows. She appeared in her first film, a short titled *Baby Rose Marie the Child Wonder*, in 1929. Several more shorts followed, along with a singing role in the full-length *International House* (1933), but by then she had reached the ripe old age of 10 and Shirley Temple's rising career had begun to blossom, eclipsing all the competition. Baby Rose Marie disappeared for some years, only to reappear on television in the 1950s.

Another "Baby," in this case Baby LeRoy (b. Ronald Le Roy Overacker, 1932–2001), made one of the youngest debuts of all. At age six months, he appeared in A Bedtime Story (1933), more of an adult comedy than a children's film. But his performance as an infant impressed Paramount Pictures, and the studio cast him in another three movies in 1933 alone. One of them, Tillie and Gus, paired Baby LeRoy with comedian W. C. Fields (1880–1946), a man notorious for his onscreen dislike of children. The two managed to get on, although Baby LeRoy often upstaged the veteran actor.

Another four pictures followed in 1934, including *The Old Fashioned Way* and *It's a Gift*, both of which team Fields and Baby LeRoy again. On screen, the child star makes the comedian's life miserable whenever the two appear together, creating a Hollywood legend about how much Fields detested him. Like most such legends, it contained some elements of truth, but overall it was an exaggeration.

In 1935, Baby LeRoy made *It's a Great Life*; it would be his final film. At age three, his movie days came to an end. If nothing else, his short career reflects the rigors of show business and the fragility of fame. An abortive comeback in 1939 never materialized because of illness. Baby LeRoy, seven years old, no longer fit his screen persona.

In the meantime, cartoons captivated children throughout the decade, climaxing in 1938 with the beautifully drawn *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*. An immediate success, it announced the dominance of **Walt Disney** (1901–1966) and his studio technicians in the field of animation.

Not all films for children featured child actors. The strictures of the Hollywood Production Code made the content of virtually any film produced during the later Depression years appropriate for young and old. A slew of rousing adventure pictures, such as Errol Flynn's (1909–1959) Captain Blood (1935) and Robin Hood (1938), any Western film with Gene Autry (1907–1998) or Roy Rogers (1911–1998), and slapstick comedies, fantasies, dance-filled musicals, heroic biographies, along with cliff-hanging serials for Saturday matinees, meant children could select from a wide range of choices, choices that went far beyond those movies made explicitly for the preadolescent set.

Never the equal, at least in box office receipts, of other movie genres, children's films nonetheless had their following, and they always entertained a guaranteed audience. The motion picture industry continued to produce these movies throughout the decade and on into the years to follow. Most of them proved ephemeral at best, but they constituted a small but vital part of Hollywood's overall output.

See also Comic Strips; Judy Garland; Race Relations & Stereotypes; Spectacle & Costume Drama Films; Teenage & Juvenile Delinquency Films; Toys; Youth

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CHINA CLIPPERS. Pan American Airways (PAA) began using flying boats—large seaplanes that take off and land on water—in the late 1920s for flights to Cuba and later to points in South America. By 1931, with the introduction of the Sikorsky S-40 seaplane, the company coined the term Pan American Clipper for its aircraft, an allusion to the speedy American sailing vessels that had plied the seas in the midnineteenth century.

Juan Trippe (1899–1981), the founder of PAA, had already established routes in the Caribbean and South America. Charles Lindbergh (1902–1974), famous for his solo flight across the Atlantic Ocean in 1927, served as a technical adviser for the airline; he flew a Sikorsky S-42, a larger version of the S-40, from Miami, Florida, to Buenos Aires, Argentina, in 1934. It accommodated up to 32 passengers and had a 1,200-mile range, not enough to make the Florida-Argentina flight without help from additional fuel tanks.

In the meantime, Trippe turned his attention to the Pacific. He needed flying boats capable of crossing thousands of miles of open sea, and he chose the Martin M-130, which employed a crew of five to eight, and carried 46 passengers. Boasting a range of 3,500 miles, the first M-130 flew a portion of the Pacific on November 22, 1935, and returned on December 6, 1935. It had gone from California to Hawaii with 111,000 letters on board, the first transpacific airmail flight. It was launched with much fanfare, and 25,000 people witnessed its San Francisco departure; 3,000 greeted its arrival at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii.

With its exceptional range, the M-130 allowed PAA in 1936 to take on the challenge of flying from San Francisco to Manila, with prearranged refueling stops at Hawaii, Midway Island, Wake Island, and Guam along the way. Christened the Philippine Clipper and cruising at 150 miles per hour, the trip took one week, stops included, whereas a steamer, sailing direct, would have taken at least 17 days.

With its flights getting closer to mainland Asia, the company renamed its fleet the China Clippers, and in 1937 they commenced passenger travel to Hong Kong, more than 8,500 miles away from the United States. In 1939, PAA purchased three Boeing 314 Flying Boats, the largest yet in its class. Boasting a top speed of 199 miles per hour, the Boeings entered service in 1939 and became the largest civilian aircraft then flying. This glamorous behemoth displayed a modern, Streamlined exterior set off by a distinctive three-fin tail assembly.

The interior, created by industrial designer Norman Bel Geddes (1893–1958), displayed the then-popular Streamlined look. It housed two interior decks, an upper for the crew and a lower for up to 74 passengers, although that number fell to 36 persons if everyone required sleeping accommodations. Luxuriously, but functionally, appointed, these aircraft offered travelers an extravagant experience, with such amenities as state-rooms and suites that included seating that converted into beds. A smoking lounge, a self-service pantry, dressing rooms, men's and women's restrooms, and a dining room that served full-course meals in a space wider than that found on a Pullman club car, finished off the Boeing Clippers.

Shortly before the outbreak of World War II, the British relented on their refueling limitations for Bermuda and Newfoundland, which meant Trippe could add a European route to the Clipper's schedule. On May 20, 1939, Pan American Airways inaugurated its first transatlantic mail service. In these huge flying boats, almost one ton of mail could travel to Europe in 29 hours. Passenger service commenced on June 28, 1939, aboard the



A China Clipper afloat, with crew and passengers disembarking. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

Yankee Clipper. Atlantic or Pacific, this luxurious means of **transportation** proved expensive. Pacific flights to Hong Kong cost approximately \$950 (or some \$14,000 in contemporary dollars) for a one-way ticket; Atlantic flights ran about \$650 (or \$9,500), sharply limiting the number of Americans able to enjoy such a grand experience.

Thanks to Hollywood, however, the public could enjoy, vicariously, the pleasure of a China Clipper flight through a 1936 Warner Brothers production of the same title. Actor Pat O'Brien (1899–1983) plays a character that starts out with a small airline. He experiences financial problems and then joins flying ace Hap Stuart, portrayed by Humphrey Bogart (1899–1957), in piloting flying boats in the Caribbean. Eventually they move to a transpacific route. The film suffers from a formulaic plot but includes footage of China Clippers, and it heightened public interest in commercial aviation.

The great flying boats disappeared after World War II, replaced by more efficient and economical land-based airplanes. For a brief moment in the 1930s, their flights to exotic locales, their fashionable passengers coddled in every way, removed air travel from the humdrum and struck a romantic chord in the hearts of many.

See also Airships; Aviation; Movies; Travel

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CHRYSLER BUILDING, THE. In 1930, New York City continued a seemingly non-stop downtown building boom. One skyscraper after another had arisen on Manhattan Island throughout the later 1920s, and each challenged previous records for height, number of stories, available office space, and amenities. Although the Depression would eventually put the brakes on this boom, construction workers still clambered over the steel girders of a number of large, ongoing projects as the new decade began.

In the city's financial district, craftsmen applied the finishing touches to the Bank of Manhattan Trust Building, sometimes referred to as 40 Wall Street. The work of architect H. Craig Severance (1879–1941), with the assistance of Yasuo Matsui (1883–1956), its backers felt confident that the new structure would become the world's tallest building. The title had been long held by Cass Gilbert's (1859–1934) venerable Woolworth Building, built in 1912, which was 792 feet tall with 60 floors.

Severance and his crew knew that a new midtown structure, the Chrysler Building, would be a competitor for the coveted designation, but they felt confident that 40 Wall Street would tower over all others. Toward the end of 1929, they claimed the title, announcing that their almost-finished building measured, when counting a hastily added flagpole, 927 feet. It boasted 71 stories.

But any joy they felt proved short-lived. At Lexington Avenue and 42nd Street, the architect behind the unfinished Chrysler Building had a surprise up his sleeve. William Van Alen (1882–1954) realized his initial **design** for the Chrysler Building would make it about the same height as 40 Wall Street. And so he constructed and cleverly concealed a 185-foot spire, or "vertex," within the skyscraper's crown. To Severance's dismay, Van Alen hoisted his spire in November 1929. As it slowly climbed toward the sky, the Chrysler Building achieved a record-breaking height of 1,048 feet, successfully claiming the title of "world's tallest." In so doing, it even eclipsed the 1889 French Eiffel Tower, which measured 1,024 feet. Van Alen's design claimed the title both for a regular building and for any other kind of man-made structure.

Severance's 40 Wall Street and Van Alen's Chrysler Building received their finishing touches in 1930. Just a few blocks from the new champion, at Fifth Avenue and 35th Street, yet another contender had been taking form. In 1931, less than a year after the race between Severance and Van Alen, the **Empire State Building** would open its doors, an engineering marvel that reached 1,252 feet into the sky, a new record holder, and one that would remain unchallenged for the rest of the decade.

William Van Alen had been a partner with H. Craig Severance from 1914 to 1924. The two architects, however, suffered a falling out and went their separate ways. In 1928, a developer had commissioned Van Alen to design an office structure on the site where the Chrysler Building would eventually arise. Following some financial problems on the part of the original developer, automotive magnate Walter P. Chrysler (1875–1940) acquired the land. He saw potential in Van Alen and kept him on, commissioning the architect to design something more spectacular than what had originally been

envisioned. A colorful personality, Chrysler wanted a statement, a building that would reflect both his and his company's success, and he got his wish.

One of the most beloved buildings in a city that boasts a remarkable collection of outstanding skyscrapers, the Chrysler Building employs the then-fashionable decorative motifs of **Art Deco**, but it also possesses an individuality that goes beyond stylistic trends. Van Alen clad the tower in Nirosta (also called Enduro), a chromium and nickel precursor to stainless steel, a material that endlessly shimmers, and then he used the symbols of automotive manufacturing to honor his patron. Shiny Chrysler Motor hubcaps and radiator caps embellish the facades; patriotic eagles modeled after Chrysler hood ornaments serve as nontraditional gargoyles. At night, strategically placed lighting illuminates the entire structure, a beacon of success. In all, it bespeaks an optimism about a modern, technological age, one in which **automobiles** (preferably Chrysler products) will play a major role. The encroaching Great Depression might diminish some of the glitter for awhile, but like most great architecture, the Chrysler Building transcends time. For later generations, the Depression may have become a hazy memory, but Van Alen's masterpiece remains fresh and new.

See also Architecture; International Style; Streamlining

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CIRCUSES. The first circus to entertain American audiences opened in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in the spring of 1793. Within a few years, companies large and small played the larger cities and took their extravaganzas to the far reaches of the country, traveling by river boat, wagon train, and rail. By the 1920s, a variety of circuses, such as Ringling Bros. and Barnum & Bailey, Sells-Floto, Sparks, Hagenbeck-Wallace, John Robinson, and the Christy Brothers, performed to capacity crowds. The shows consisted of cowboy and equestrian performances, interspersed with animal displays and acts, acrobatic high-wire daredevils and thrills, and juggling acts. Clowns bounced around the sawdust rings with their antics, and sideshows offered the opportunity to see sword-swallowers, fire-eaters, knife-throwers, and various other "freaks."

The onset of the Depression dealt a heavy blow to circuses everywhere. Upkeep and transportation were costly and even with tickets only 25 cents (roughly \$3.00 in contemporary dollars), attendance dropped drastically. Smaller companies went bankrupt and larger ones had to cut back on the length of the season, as well as the number of shows and performers. The circus parade, once as important as the show under the tent, changed. Instead of marching down Main Street in all their glory, circuses now stole into town in the dead of night without a barker, a band, or colorfully dressed people and animals. On the practical side, this tactic eliminated free entertainment for all those along the way and perhaps added a few to the paying crowd.

Circuses appealed to audiences for several reasons. The **food**, such as sandwiches, **soft drinks**, and **ice cream**, offered almost as much pleasure as the entertainment. Of all the concessions, **candy** perhaps served as the most prominent temptation; many circuses featured a concession wagon devoted just to candy and staffed by a candy butcher. A rash of new 1930s candy bars helped boost sales and increase profits.

Of course, the amazing, breathtaking thrills of the center ring remained the primary attraction. The Hagenbeck-Wallace Circus, owned but not controlled by Ringling Bros., filled this requirement with one of the most popular acts of the time, wild animal trainer Clyde Beatty (1903–1965). In 1928, Beatty set a record by performing with 28 lions and tigers in one cage; he broke that record in 1929 and went on to handle his largest number in 1930—40 jungle-bred lions and tigers of both sexes.

Ringling Bros. had not presented wild animal acts in its shows since 1924, stating expense, danger, and public concerns about cruelty to animals as reasons. Because of Beatty's growing popularity, circus officials made an exception and scheduled him for appearances in "the Greatest Show on Earth" in New York City and Boston, Massachusetts, in 1932.

In a dress rehearsal early that year, a tiger knocked Beatty to the ground and bit him deeply in the thigh. Radio and newspapers repeatedly ran stories about the incident and Beatty's fight to recover. Six weeks after the attack, his life spared, Beatty left his wheel-chair and resumed working with his animals. Audiences welcomed his remarkable return in time for the opening of the 1932 season, with repeat performances planned for 1933 and 1934. By overcoming fear in times of extreme adversity, Beatty immediately became a symbol of hope for the country just as President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) had exhorted people to do in his 1933 inaugural address when he said, "we have nothing to fear but fear itself."

In addition to circus work, Beatty portrayed himself in the movie *The Big Cage* (1933), based on a book by the same name that he wrote with Edward Anthony (active 1930s). Both the book and the film reveal the dangers and thrills of training wild animals. Throughout the decade, Beatty continued with his circus act and movie career, and he graced the cover of *Time* magazine on March 29, 1937.

Tom Mix (1880–1940), the popular star of countless **Western films**, left Hollywood in 1929 and joined the Sells-Floto Circus as a cowboy celebrity. Universal Studios lured him back to the **movies** in 1932, but 10 films later, he bought a half interest in the Sam. B. Dill Circus. The name changed to the Sam B. Dill Circus and Tom Mix Wild West Show until 1935, when Mix assumed full ownership after Dill died. Under the new title of the Tom Mix Circus, the show ran until 1938, when it closed down, another victim of the times.

Because of the Depression, heavy unemployment occurred across the arts. As did many actors and actresses, circus performers found themselves without work. As part of President Roosevelt's New Deal, provisions of the Works Progress Administration (WPA; 1935–1943; name changed to Work Projects Administration in 1939) included assistance for individuals associated with the performing arts. Under the aegis of the WPA, the Federal Theatre Circus Program came into being. It ran from 1935 to 1939, the only government-operated circus in American history. It hired 375 performers a year to give free shows, primarily for hospital patients and the poor.

But not the WPA Circus, not new candy bars, and not breathtaking acts such as Clyde Beatty could pull circuses out of their Depression slump. Labor unrest, expenses, and strikes caused some shows to close during the last years of the decade. Also, Americans, listening to their radios and attending movies, had become more sophisticated in their entertainment requirements. Potential audiences felt that circuses did not live up to the spectacles of the costumes, lighting, and **music** coming from their receivers and Hollywood.

At the height of this challenge, two notable events helped to stabilize one particular circus: Ringling Bros. In 1938, they purchased an eight-year-old disfigured gorilla named Gargantua (1930–1949), better known through an incredible publicity campaign as Gargantua the Great. Facial scars, the result of an accident when young, gave him a nasty sneer. Well over five and a half feet in height, weighing 550 pounds, and possessed of his frightening expression, Gargantua easily filled the bill as "the world's most terrifying living creature" and "the most fiendishly ferocious brute that breathes," descriptions that made almost everyone desirous of seeing him. Warner Brothers immediately recognized similarities between Gargantua and the title ape in their 1933 hit, *King Kong*. The studio rereleased the film, a move that provided a financial boost to Warner Brothers and Gargantua's owners.

That same year, Ringling Bros. featured a show built around Frank Buck (1888–1950), creator of the Dallas Zoo in the 1920s, author of a 1930 best seller, *Bring 'em Back Alive*, and an animal supplier for circuses. Buck had already participated in four movies, so people knew about him. The circus program described his opening act as "Nepal," portraying it "in fantasy, splendor, and exotic opulence the royal welcome to 'Bring 'em Back Alive' Frank Buck by the Maharajah of Nepal and his native court." It worked; business for Ringling boomed for the rest of the decade. Buck, who had exhibited a Jungle Camp at the **Century of Progress Exhibition** in Chicago in 1934, also benefited: following his Ringling Bros. appearance, he repeated the Jungle Camp at the 1939 **New York World's Fair**.

Although the 1930s witnessed the introduction of some significant pieces of circus history, the decade also bade farewell to many shows. Those that survived, such as Ringling Bros., did so with difficulty. The American circus no longer occupied the upper tiers of popular entertainment; it had been replaced by the easy illusions of mass media.

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CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS (CCC). Inaugurated on March 4, 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) almost immediately began numerous social initiatives designed to lessen the effects of the Depression on families and individuals. Within the first 100 days of his administration, the federal government implemented several programs under an umbrella called the New Deal. One, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), personally designed by the president, focused on placing groups of 150 to 200 single, unemployed young men in centers, or camps, to improve public land and conserve natural resources. Congress passed the bill on the last day of

March 1933 and Roosevelt signed it five days later. The CCC inducted its first corpsmen within two days of his signature.

To succeed, this program depended on cooperation among several federal agencies. Robert Fechner (1876–1939), the first CCC director until his death, and his deputy, James J. McEntee (active 1930s and 1940s), who served as director from 1939 until the program's end in 1942, ably worked toward this end. The coordination started with the Department of Labor. Through state and local offices, it established quotas, developed effective recruitment posters, and selected and enrolled young men on relief between the ages of 18 and 25. The age requirements changed in 1935, with a new range of 17 to 28.

The U.S. Army played a vital role in establishing the first CCC camps, erecting and equipping barracks, feeding and clothing the men, and maintaining discipline. Whenever possible, officials assigned enrollees to projects within their home state. The bulk of the recruits resided in the East, but many work sites were in the West. The army therefore mobilized the nation's **transportation** system in order to move thousands of men from induction centers to camps. Two other government agencies, the Departments of Agriculture and Interior, had the responsibility for planning, organizing, and supervising the actual work performed.

Despite some controversy, the CCC was an instant success. It distinguished itself as the first federal effort to eliminate racial discrimination; Roosevelt's bill contained an amendment stating "that no discrimination shall be made on account of race, color, or creed." But many Southern states ignored the provision and refused to select blacks. Although officials showed little interest in challenging this violation, blacks gradually succeeded in enrolling throughout the country. By 1937, black enrollees accounted for about 9 percent of the corpsmen, a percentage close to the black population of the United States. Some lived in integrated camps, mostly in New England; others resided in camps for blacks only, mainly in the South.

At the CCC's inception, criticism arose concerning the army's involvement and the military atmosphere found in the camps. Columnists presented the pros and cons of this and other aspects of the program in many news articles. At the same time, local **news-papers** featured announcements about CCC activities, human interest stories about the young men from their communities who had enrolled, and reports on the work and the personnel in nearby camps. In retrospect, the CCC easily emerged as President Roosevelt's most popular initiative.

Within weeks after the signing of the bill that founded the CCC, the organization had inaugurated its own press and published a national weekly, *Happy Days*. The newspaper ran from May 1933 to August 1942. Roosevelt's political theme song, "Happy Days Are Here Again" (1930; **music** by Milton Ager [1893–1979], lyrics by Jack Yellen [1892–1991]), inspired the name. Over the years of its publication, this newspaper recounted the many facets of the CCC story, provided a way for government and CCC officials to report progress and offer observations, educated readers on a number of topics such as how to get a job, gave corpsmen an opportunity to describe their hopes and dreams, experiences and opinions, and even supplied a forum to have their poems printed. *Happy Days* also encouraged the establishment of local newspapers or newsletters at all the camps; eventually more than 5,000 publications circulated among residents with many camps exchanging their various editions.

Shortly after enlistment began in April 1933, recruits found themselves transferred from induction centers to work sites at the rate of almost 9,000 a day. Thus, by July some 300,000 men resided in 1,520 camps. In addition to room, board, healthy outdoor work, and medical services, each man received at least \$30 a month (approximately \$465 in contemporary dollars), with an average of \$25 (about \$390) sent home to his family. Some enrollees advanced to leadership positions and received increased compensation. Not only did these financial benefits help the corpsmen and their relatives, the communities close to camps experienced enough increase in business to prevent the failure of many small enterprises. Also, foresters, construction foremen, and supervisors gained employment as instructors with the program, giving an economic boost to their lives. Eventually, camps existed in all the states as well as in Hawaii, Alaska, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands. The CCC peaked in 1935 with 500,000+ men in over 2,500 camps.

Enrollment in the CCC was for a minimum of six months, but it could be renewed for up to two years, an option that many selected. Early in the history of the program, procedural modifications took place. American Indians, many of whom lived in deplorable economic conditions, eventually became eligible and joined. Also, President Roosevelt issued an executive order allowing for the enrollment of veterans of the Spanish-American War and World War I, a step that enlisted older men, another group struggling with the hardships of the Depression.

The addition of a training and **education** component strengthened the benefits of the program, both for the enrollees and the nation. A little over 100,000 illiterate men learned to read and write; 25,223 received eighth-grade diplomas; 5,007 graduated from high school; and 270 earned college degrees. With the CCC's emphasis on schooling and self-improvement, members received training in vocational skills such as typing, first aid, supervision, journalism, forestry, carpentry, masonry, and so on.

In the public mind, the CCC dealt primarily with reforestation, and the corpsmen, referred to as "Roosevelt's Tree Army," did indeed plant about 2 million seedlings. But the program undertook many other tasks as well. The building of facilities in national, state, county, and metropolitan parks set recreational development in the United States ahead by at least a decade. Hiking trails, picnic shelters, swimming pools, fireplaces, restrooms, and camp sites added to the nation's leisure and **travel** possibilities. In 1937, the CCC initiated construction of the Appalachian Trail, a hikers' path that runs for over 2,000 miles from Georgia to Maine. Two popular scenic highways, the Blue Ridge Parkway (1935–1987) and the Natchez Trace Parkway (1937–2005), also had their beginnings with the CCC.

The group's accomplishments were varied: the preservation and restoration of historical sites, the construction of 97,000 miles of fire roads, the building of 41,000 bridges and 3,470 fire towers. Irrigation ditches performed erosion control and ultimately saved more than 20 million acres. The CCC protected natural wildlife habitats, particularly in wetlands. Stream and pond improvements included stocking fish and building over 3 million small dams. When necessary, the CCC participated in fighting natural disasters.

By 1936, America had emerged from the worst of the Depression and looked forward to a degree of renewed prosperity. Roosevelt wanted to cut spending, which brought some uncertainty to various New Deal programs. The CCC continued to be supported financially, but new polices and procedures slowed the enrollment process. Also with war clouds hanging over Europe, many corpsmen resigned either to enlist in the armed forces or take the many new jobs developing in the United States.

By late summer of 1941, the declining number of applicants and increased withdrawals had reduced the Corps to fewer than 200,000 men, a far cry from its peak times. In light of deteriorating world events, Congress had undertaken a review of all federal agencies to identify those essential to a possible war effort. The lawmakers recommended that the Civilian Conservation Corps be abolished, and it ceased to exist on July 1, 1942.

See also "Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?"; Leisure & Recreation; Musicals; Race Relations & Stereotyping

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COFFEE & TEA. In the nation's colonial years, high importation and production costs limited the consumption of tea and coffee. But with growth and prosperity, more and more Americans added those beverages to their diets, and tea became the more popular of the two. Events and inventions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, however, moved the coffee industry forward and, by the 1930s, coffee had surpassed tea in popularity.

During Prohibition, speakeasies had pushed coffee as a sobering drink for those who consumed too much illegal alcohol. Other establishments suggested coffee as a nonalcoholic alternative to liquor and beer, with the result that coffeehouses and lunch counters proliferated, particularly in larger cities. At this same time, Americans began expressing a preference for simpler meals; a light midday lunch at luncheonettes and soda fountains usually meant a request for soup and a sandwich, along with a cup of coffee or tea. Some people even made do with a breakfast consisting of a quick cup of coffee.

The tea industry capitalized on the growing practice of light meals in public establishments by providing quiet settings called tearooms. In order to please everyone, they also offered coffee. Because of their intimate atmosphere, tearooms enjoyed a special appeal for women and families. Many of these businesses used historic buildings or quaint, refurbished houses as their locations, an approach that peaked in popularity in the 1920s. Tearooms continued into the Depression, but many had to close when economic hardships allowed fewer people to eat out. "Tea parties," small gatherings held in the home in the 1920s and 1930s, provided an easy way for women to visit. Dainty sandwiches and sweets complemented the tea—served piping hot in winter and iced on the porch or veranda in summer.

The national shift from tea to coffee became apparent following World War I. The U.S. per capita consumption of coffee hovered around 10 to 11 pounds in 1918, and by 1923 had risen to 13 pounds, a level maintained throughout the 1930s. A national survey conducted in 1939 indicated that a high percentage of American families—adults and children—drank coffee. By 1941, per capita consumption had risen to 15.9 lbs. Heavy

advertising throughout the 1930s, especially on **radio**, by both American coffee roasters and Latin American coffee plantations, influenced this growth.

Despite the positive outlook, the stock market crash of 1929 dealt a blow to the coffee industry and caused a brief drop in consumption. Small firms went out of business and some old family businesses sold out to corporations both before and after the crash. Chase and Sanborn, founded in 1878, became a part of Standard Brands in 1929, and Maxwell House Coffee, founded in 1892, joined General Foods in 1928. Several other major brands—for example, the Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Company's (A&P) Eight o'Clock, Red Circle, and Bokar coffees, and rival Jewel Coffee—suffered brief declines in their revenues.

As an illustration, Maxwell House saw profits of nearly \$3 million a year on sales of 50 million pounds before the crash. Profits dropped to virtually nothing on sales of only 39 million pounds three years later. In desperation, the managers at General Foods considered several ways to rescue the floundering Maxwell House, ideas that included a cut in the retail price and a smaller advertising budget. With fewer funds for ads, the company made a daring move for the time, applying the entire reduced budget to radio. Prior to the Depression, most major coffee firms had invested primarily in print advertising, especially newspapers.

Radio provided coffee advertisers a vital, growing medium. As early as March 1924, A&P had sponsored *The A&P Gypsies*, first on a New York City radio station and then, from 1927 until the fall of 1936, on both the Blue and Red Networks of the National Broadcasting Company (NBC radio). Recognized as one of radio's most distinctive programs, *The A&P Gypsies* featured exotic **music** with a nomadic motif and A&P gained a reputation as one of America's leading chain grocery stores.

A&P also participated in Chicago's Century of Progress Exposition (1933–1934) with a 2,000-seat amphitheater featuring the A&P Carnival and numerous other performances. The company sponsored a canopied boardwalk with tea dances and free tea and coffee samples. Throughout the 1930s, A&P continued to employ a combination of print and radio advertising. From October 1935 through 1937, the chain sponsored the long-running (1931–1952) *Kate Smith Hour*, with Kate Smith (1907–1986) singing a variety of music three times a week.

Other radio outlets that allowed coffee promotion included *The Maxwell House Show Boat*, a musical variety program that ran on NBC radio from October 1932 until October 1937. For two of those years, 1933–1935, it ranked as the most popular radio show in the country. Realistic sound effects included the surging water from a paddle wheel and the scream of a steam whistle, causing thousands of listeners to believe the production involved a real steamboat; many people would gather in the towns on the banks of the Mississippi the show had scheduled to visit, hoping to get a glimpse of the studio-created showboat. Ever mindful of the importance of advertising, in 1935 Maxwell House, in addition to its radio advertising, offered a new twist by presenting in its print ads little vignettes about its coffee in the form of popular **comic strips**.

Not to be outdone, Chase & Sanborn Coffee sponsored *The Original Amateur Hour* with host Major Edward Bowes (1874–1946) on NBC radio from March 1935 until September 1936 (the show itself ran from 1934 until 1945 with network changes). The *Amateur Hour*, which became something of a national rage during the mid-1930s, traveled from city to city featuring local talent while also focusing attention on Chase &

Sanborn's sponsorship. A skinny baritone by the name of **Frank Sinatra** (1915–1998) got his start on this show in 1935 as part of the Hoboken Four, a winning quartet. Many other famous entertainers likewise saw their careers blossom with Major Bowes, and Chase and Sanborn profited from the show's remarkable popularity.

By the end of 1935, Major Bowes' Original Amateur Hour had passed The Maxwell House Show Boat to become the top-ranked program on radio. With success and the offer of a higher salary, Major Bowes found a new sponsor, the Chrysler Corporation, in September 1936. Ventriloquist Edgar Bergen (1903–1978) and his dummy Charlie McCarthy took over the Chase and Sanborn Hour. The popularity of Bergen and McCarthy forced The Maxwell House Show Boat off the air during the last days of 1937. In the midst of all this, the American public had definitely come to link certain brands of coffee with many well-known stars and vice versa.

Decaffeinated coffees—Kaffee-Hag in Germany, Sanka (sans caffeine) in France, and Dekafa, from the U.S. pharmaceutical firm Merck & Company—had first appeared on the market in the early 1900s, but they did not receive heavy promotion until the 1930s. These decaffeinated variations strove to instill the notion that regular, caffeinated coffee could be unhealthy and that their brands offered the same pungent aroma and flavor, but without the caffeine. Despite the advertising campaigns, decaffeinated coffees gained only a small foothold in the overall market.

A new coffee product appeared on grocery shelves in 1938 when Nestlé, a Swiss firm, introduced Nescafé, an improved instant coffee. The first instant brew had been sold around 1910 in a product called Refined Coffee. It consisted of a powder made from dried, condensed coffee particles and required the addition of boiling water, just like Nescafé. But Refined Coffee failed to catch on, whereas Nescafé appealed to a small but growing group of consumers.

Soft drinks also cut into the coffee market during the 1930s. They capitalized on the seasonal aspect of coffee—and sales did drop from winter to summer even with advertisements for iced coffee. In addition, a significant number of people around the nation had switched to Coca-Cola as a breakfast beverage.

Against a backdrop of economic depression and varied competition that included negative advertising, it took technology to advance the coffee business. Many households switched from making coffee with a percolator, first invented in 1829 with an electric version available in the 1930s, to either a drip method or a vacuum coffeemaker. To accommodate these new appliances, many coffees were sold in different grinds for different methods. A&P even guaranteed freshness by allowing the customers to grind the coffee beans at the time of purchase. In 1933, Italy and France introduced the first automatic espresso machines, making way for what would become, in the twenty-first century, an American fad.

Eastern Air Transport (later called Eastern Air Lines), in order to attract passengers, advertised the availability of coffee on its flights, as did rival Pan American Airways. The American Can Company, a producer of vacuum cans used by coffee roasters, in 1936 hired famed photographer Margaret Bourke-White (1904–1971) to travel to Brazil and photograph coffee cultivation and harvesting. With the intent of making coffee attractive to school-age children, American Can included these photographs in free educational packets distributed to over 700,000 students.

The 1939–1940 **New York World's Fair** offered a singular opportunity to the coffee industry: the fair celebrated Coffee Day on August 31, 1939. In response, Standard

Brands hosted the world's longest coffee bar, one that served only Chase & Sanborn. At the same time, an open-air theater offered Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy; the pair entertained guests and plugged Standard Brands coffee.

But not everyone supported coffee's growing popularity. Some health enthusiasts such as John Harvey Kellogg (1852–1943) lectured on the harmful effects of the caffeine in coffee. C. W. Post (1854–1914), a former patient at Kellogg's sanitarium in Battle Creek, Michigan, had begun to manufacture Postum, a grain-based coffee substitute, in 1895. By 1924 sales had declined and, during the 1930s, General Foods employed a cartoon character, "Mr. Coffee Nerves," in hopes of increasing the popularity of Postum. "Mr. Coffee Nerves" tried to disrupt people's lives with caffeine, but always found his efforts thwarted because his victims consumed Postum. General Foods, however, saw their own goals thwarted when Postum sales did not increase.

The Wander Company pushed another health drink, Ovaltine. Made of eggs, barley, and malt extract, it attempted to woo coffee drinkers. From April 1931 to January 1940, Ovaltine sponsored *Little Orphan Annie* on the NBC radio network. It proved a most successful marriage. *Annie*, based on the immensely popular comic strip character created by Harold Gray (1894–1968) in 1924, came to radio as a serial in 1930; it would remain on the air until 1942.

Little Orphan Annie, instantly popular with children, pioneered the distribution of premiums. Listeners could save the labels and seals from containers of Ovaltine and earn decoders, compasses, badges, and shake-up mugs. All that for listening to an exciting serial and drinking lots of Ovaltine. For the nine years Ovaltine sponsored the red-haired heroine, they were flooded with requests for the various premiums that could be had for a handful of labels and maybe a dime (roughly \$1.50 in contemporary dollars). Seldom, in advertising, have a product and a fictional character meshed so well. Today, the Ovaltine premiums have become expensive collectibles.

The tea industry struggled to keep pace with the success of the coffee business. Despite the lowered prices of the mass-marketed black teas and the convenience of premeasured tea in bags, by the 1930s national tea consumption had declined. But a new custom of drinking iced tea had developed, a habit that perhaps saved the tea industry in America. With Prohibition, the popularity of iced tea grew as Americans sought alternatives to illegal beer, wine, and liquor. Iced tea recipes began appearing in cookbooks, especially those relating to Southern cooking. Many cooks, however, complained of problems brewing a consistently tasty pitcher without cloudiness. In July 1938, *Good Housekeeping*, a popular, influential magazine, apologized to its readers for not addressing these problems earlier and earnestly reported that their testing indicated that a cold water method tasted best and prevented clouding.

Many tea and coffee drinkers felt that additives enhanced the taste and pleasure of drinking both beverages. From colonial days through the 1930s, sugar served as an important addition to coffee and tea, hot or cold. For coffee, the cheap sweetener made the bitter brew more palatable, and for tea, it masked the somewhat inconsistent flavor of loose tea leaves. During the Depression, the use of sugar in foods and beverages soared simply because of affordability. By the 1940s, over two-thirds of all tea consumed contained sugar.

Few people in the United States added milk or cream to coffee before 1800. By the 1930s, however, the use of either in these beverages had become commonplace, with

cream being preferred. Adding a slice of lemon to tea started in the 1800s and became more popular when, in 1869, transcontinental railroads made fresh citrus fruit affordable throughout the country.

The American thirst for coffee, clearly the beverage of choice in the 1930s, had built slowly. The repeal of Prohibition in 1933 and the legal return of **alcoholic beverages** to the marketplace did not measurably hurt coffee sales. Nor did the Depression do great harm. Well advertised and entrenched in the public mind, coffee continued to sell—as a beverage to accompany meals, as a drink for taking a break, as a sobering agent when too much alcohol had been consumed, and as a stimulant when driving. Coffee had become a staple of American life.

For American songwriters and lyricists, both coffee and tea found a place in the nation's popular music. Examples would include "You're the Cream in My Coffee," with music by Ray Henderson (1896–1970), and lyrics by Buddy DeSylva (1895–1950) and Lew Brown (1893–1958), which came along in 1928 as part of the Broadway musical Hold Everything. The great Irving Berlin (1888–1989) penned "Let's Have Another Cup o' Coffee" in the depths of the Depression for the musical Face the Music (1932). In 1934, "Coffee in the Morning, Kisses at Night" featured music by Harry Warren (1893–1981) and lyrics by Al Dubin (1891–1945); it delighted audiences in the movie Moulin Rouge. The following year, Al Hoffman (1902–1960), Al Goodhart (1905–1955), and Maurice Sigler (1901–1961) combined their talents for "Black Coffee," a musical comment on the associations with coffee and feeling blue.

Tea had its day also. Broadway's *No*, *No*, *Nanette* (1925) featured the standard "Tea for Two," with music by Vincent Youmans (1898–1946) and lyrics by Irving Caesar (1895–1996) and Otto Harbach (1873–1963). Sammy Fain's (1902–1989) music and Pierre Norman (1895–1952) and Irving Kahal's (1903–1942) lyrics distinguished "When I Take My Sugar to Tea"; it promptly became a hit after being heard in the **Marx Brothers** film *Monkey Business* (1931). "Tea on the Terrace," a Sam Coslow (1902–1982) effort, played on radios and **jukeboxes** in 1937.

See also Aviation; Education; Food; Grocery Stores & Supermarkets; Magazines; Music; Musicals; Prohibition & Repeal; Radio Networks; Restaurants; Serials

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COLUMBO, RUSS. Born in Camden, New Jersey, Russ Columbo (b. Ruggerio de Rudolfo Columbo, 1908–1934), along with Bing Crosby (1903–1977) and Rudy Vallee (1901–1986), formed for the era a triumvirate of leading crooners. Before emerging as a vocalist, Columbo had played violin professionally while still in his teens. A strikingly handsome man, cut in the mold of film idol Rudolf Valentino (1895–1926), Columbo emerged as a minor Hollywood personality in the late 1920s. He landed several uncredited roles in forgotten pictures like *Dynamite* (1929), *The Wonder of Women* (1929), and Street Girl (1929). Sometimes his voice can be heard, dubbed over another actor's.

Columbo's good looks, coupled with an ability to write **music** and sing, finally got him noticed, and he won a handful of movie contracts that went beyond uncredited walkons. Although nothing memorable resulted, *Broadway through a Keyhole* (1933) and *Wake Up and Dream* (1934), gave him a chance to do some acting. A 20-minute short, *That Goes Double* (1933), allowed him to both act and sing. In addition to playing a dual role, Columbo performs in this picture two of his biggest hits, "Prisoner of Love" (1931; music by Russ Columbo and Clarence Gaskill [1892–1947]; lyrics by Leo Robin [1895–1984]) and "You Call It Madness (but I Call It Love)" (1931; words and music by Russ Columbo and Con Conrad [1891–1938]). Despite the placement of these popular songs, *That Goes Double*, perhaps by virtue of being a short, did little to advance his career in **movies**.

In one of his early uncredited film roles, Columbo appears with Gus Arnheim (1887–1955) and his orchestra in a musical short titled Gus Arnheim and His Ambassadors (1928). Columbo served as a vocalist with the band, a group that also happened to have Bing Crosby and the Rhythm Boys as performers. When Crosby took the stage, Columbo obviously listened attentively, and elements of Crosby's early crooning style color his work. Listeners of the day claimed to be unable, at times, to tell them apart on radio or recordings. Since the two shared a bandstand, Crosby also had to know about Columbo. In fact, Crosby later starred in a full-length feature called Going Hollywood (1933). A big-budget production, it costars Marion Davies (1897–1961), with Raoul Walsh (1887–1980) as director. During the course of the film, a singer named Henry Taylor (1907–1969) performs "You Call It Madness (but I Call It Love)" in direct imitation of Columbo's hit recorded version.

Although Columbo spent considerable energy trying to ignite his sputtering film career, it never really burst into flame. His singing, however, attracted considerable attention. Around the beginning of the decade, Columbo befriended composer Con Conrad, a man who envisioned bigger things for the vocalist. Conrad became Columbo's agent and manager, and the two cowrote "You Call It Madness (but I Call It Love)" in 1931. At about the same time, Columbo and composer Clarence Gaskill, along with noted lyricist Leo Robin, had written "Prisoner of Love." Thanks to radio and records, these two songs, along with Conrad's ceaseless efforts to promote his client, catapulted the singer to fame.

On the strength of his music, Columbo enjoyed a stint with the National Broadcasting Company (NBC radio) from 1931 to 1933, the network's attempt to pit him against Crosby, who then appeared on the rival Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS radio) network. Wags promptly dubbed the competing radio shows "the Battle of the Baritones." A contract with RCA Victor recordings also came along that resulted in several more hits, including "Lies" (1931; music by Harry Barris [1905–1962], lyrics by George Springer [active 1930s]) and "Too Beautiful for Words" (1934; words and music by Russ Columbo, Bernie Grossman [1885–1951], and Jack Stern [1896–1985]). People started to tout Columbo as a star crooner, someone who could rival, maybe surpass, anyone then on the scene. But the "Romeo of Radio," "Radio's Revelation," the "Vocal Valentino," as publicity agents would have it, died in a mysterious 1934 shooting incident when only 26 years old. Although his death brought him more fame and notoriety than he had enjoyed in life, the media circus soon pulled up stakes and his name disappeared from the news.

At the time of his demise, Columbo had just finished filming *Wake Up and Dream* (1934). The singer has the lead, and it appeared that his film career had been resuscitated and he

might be headed for real movie stardom. But *Wake Up and Dream*—a cheaply made back-stage musical—established no box office records despite the furor over his death, and it has quietly disappeared from any discussion of American motion pictures of the 1930s.

Columbo's singing, however, has endured and can still be found in recorded compilations of the decade's music. He projected an erotic quality into his breathy, intimate manner of vocalizing, much more so than did his primary rivals Crosby and Vallee. His legacy consists of just a few outstanding recordings and some mediocre movies; the promise of his life went unfulfilled. For a brief moment, he actually stood shoulder to shoulder with the two best vocalists of the decade. In a final irony, Bing Crosby served as one of the pallbearers at his funeral, a ceremony attended by thousands of mourners.

See also Musicals; Radio Networks; Songwriters & Lyricists

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COMIC BOOKS. The combined success of newspaper comic strips and Big Little Books in the early 1930s hastened the birth of the modern comic book. During the earlier years of the century, sporadic attempts had been made to reprint popular newspaper comics in booklet form. Although some did well, and a few publishers even printed them in color, there existed no concerted effort within the industry to popularize comic books. One company, Cupples and Leon (or C&L), led the limited field until well into the 1930s, creating collections of such favorites as *Little Orphan Annie*, *Bringing Up Father*, *Joe Palooka*, and *Dick Tracy*. By the standards of the time, their publications tended to be expensive, running from 25 to 75 cents an issue (approximately \$3.50 to \$10.50 in contemporary dollars). Cupples and Leon withdrew from comic reprints in 1934, an unfortunate move, because comic books were poised to become a successful medium in the years to follow.

The 1933 publication of *Funnies on Parade*, a giveaway that featured several popular cartoon characters then running in daily papers, had further popularized the concept pioneered by Cupples and Leon. A one-shot publication, *Funnies on Parade* led other publishers to consider similar collections, but not necessarily for free.

The following year, 1934, Famous Funnies appeared on newsstands. This periodical, generally accepted as the first modern comic book, carried a cover price of a dime (about \$1.50 in contemporary dollars) and contained 64 pages, mainly of Sunday newspaper reprints. It did well, and other publishers quickly accepted both the price and the length, thus creating the standards for all comic books in the years ahead.

As word of the success of *Famous Funnies* grew, competition entered this new market. In 1935, Dell Publishing issued *Popular Comics*, another reprint series. Within a couple

of years, titles like the Funnies, the Comics, Comics on Parade, Super Comics, King Comics, Ace Comics, Tip Top Comics, and Crackajack Funnies had joined the fray. Most of these newcomers offered a mix of newspaper reprints and new, original material, and they all contained bright, garish color. A unique, popular art form had been born.

By 1938, the combined sales of comic books reached a staggering 2.5 million yearly copies. To meet this demand, publishers continued to use previously run newspaper strips, they adapted and illustrated the plots of numerous B Westerns then playing theaters, and they even raided the files of Big Little Books for material. Their wisest move, however, lay in hiring competent cartoonists and allowing them to create a host of new series that existed for comic books only.

These "All Original! All New!" comic books boasted many veteran cartoonists from the newspaper strips and **illustrators** from the **pulp magazines** that then flourished, individuals who had been granted free rein to use their imaginations in this upstart industry. One of the first comics in the genre, the aptly named *New Fun*, debuted in 1935. As it became established, its title changed to *More Fun*, but the content remained original material. Most of the artists' names were relatively unknown in the profession—Tom McNamara (1886–1964), Leo O'Mealia (1884–1960), Creig Flessel (b. 1912), Tom Hickey (b. 1910), and many others—but they did competent work and established a readership for *New Fun*. Their stories tended to run between four and eight pages, and, despite the title, most issues contained a mix of adventure and humor.

Close on the heels of *New Fun* came *New Comics* late in 1935, which then metamorphosed into *New Adventure Comics*, and finally into *Adventure Comics* in 1938. *Detective Comics* came along in 1937, reflecting in part the newspaper popularity of *Dick Tracy*. Filled with action and suspense, the stories read like illustrated versions of pulp fiction. Two young men, writer Jerry Siegel (1914–1996) and artist Joe Shuster (1914–1992), could be found on the roster of cartoonists contributing to these innovative comic books. Working as a team, their early creations only hinted at where they would eventually go in the industry, but they typified the eager newcomers moving into comic-book art.

In the early 1930s, Siegel and Shuster had created a character they called "Superman," but the concept languished and the two cartoonists took on other assignments to make ends meet. Finally, *Action Comics*, accurately sensing that readers liked larger-than-life heroes, decided to give **Superman** a chance in the June 1938 issue. The cover shows Superman single-handedly lifting a car, but his name remains conspicuously absent, and the publishers buried the story within the comic book. The issue sold reasonably well (an original copy has today become a priceless collectible), and in 1939 the first solo Superman comic rolled off the presses.

Soon after that pioneering issue of Action Comics, other oddly costumed crime fighters began appearing on the pages of the adventure comics. A comic book called Funny Pages featured the Arrow in the fall of 1938. Written and drawn by Paul Gustavson (1916–1977), the Arrow turned out to be a skillful archer who went around in a shapeless shroud in order to hide his identity.

At about the same time, *The Green Hornet*, a popular afternoon **radio** serial premiered in 1936 (it would run until 1952). This radio hero—based on the Lone Ranger of both radio and later comic fame—has a secret identity, wears a distinctive outfit, and has access to sophisticated weaponry. With *The Green Hornet* clearly in mind, artist Jim Chambers (active 1930s) drafted the Crimson Avenger for *Detective Comics* in 1938.

A twin to the radio serial, the Avenger also wears a mask and a flowing cape. Little did these artists realize they had initiated a new trend in comic books.

Not to be caught missing what appeared a sure bet, *Wonder Comics* introduced Wonder Man in May 1939, but his comic life proved short. The publishers of Superman claimed copyright infringement, and promptly quashed the new hero. But *Detective Comics*, already the owners of Superman, in 1939 felt free to introduce the Batman (the publishers soon dropped the "the") by cartoonist Bob Kane (1915–1998). Certainly a rival to Superman, Batman possessed no superhuman traits, relying instead on his superb physical skills. Soon, a small army of other characters with amazing attributes appeared: Captain Marvel, Captain America, Bulletman, Minute-Man, the Flame, the Blue Beetle, Spy Smasher, Wonder Woman, along with a number who remain justly forgotten. They began appearing in this burgeoning branch of the comic-book business in the late 1930s. Most would not achieve any real fame until the early 1940s, but their roots remain firmly planted in the 1930s.

Despite the rocketing popularity of this new breed of caped and masked superheroes, many publishers stayed with tradition, mixing reprints and original materials. The content taken from the **newspapers** covered the whole gamut of series, from the humorous *Smokey Stover*, *Smitty*, and *The Katzenjammer Kids*, to the **serials**, *Little Orphan Annie* and *Little Annie Rooney*, **the Gumps**, and *Winnie Winkle*, to the adventurous **Tarzan** (who appeared in several different comics), *Dick Tracy*, *Smilin' Jack*, and **Terry and the Pirates**.

Collectively, comic books, Big Little Books, and comic strips created a new national literature. Most comic books, particularly those featuring superheroes, treated the Depression as irrelevant. Legions of sociologists and critics have commented on the roles of such characters in American lives and fantasies, but most of their learned commentaries concern World War II and after, not the breadlines and unemployment of the earlier 1930s. As war engulfed Asia and the clouds of an almost certain new world war threatened Europe, the superheroes found a place battling the Axis and domestic spies. Comic books appealed to a broad audience; they played on basic American themes; and they proved enormously successful. Little Orphan Annie and Dagwood had made it through the Depression, and Superman and his super cohorts would see to it that the country made it through World War II.

See also Blondie; Western Films

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COMIC STRIPS. Everyone, it seemed, read the daily newspaper comics during the 1930s. About two-thirds of all adults followed their favorite daily characters in the papers, and the number rose still higher for the colorful Sunday comics. The popularity of "the funnies" stood at an all-time high, and most American papers reserved at

least a full page for the exploits of *Blondie, Dick Tracy, Flash Gordon, the Gumps, Krazy Kat, Apple Mary*, and innumerable others. Only in the last 60 years or so has the American comic strip received any critical acclaim, complete with museum retrospectives extolling the work of various cartoonists. This important visual art form enjoyed the attention of an audience of millions during its Depression-era heyday. Most members of that enthusiastic following usually viewed the comics as little more than daily doses of humor and adventure, a mindless respite from the grim realities of the time. As is the case with so much popular culture, only in hindsight do people appreciate the worth of an artist or a movement.

According to a *Fortune* magazine poll done in 1937, the 10 leading newspaper strips were ranked as follows, with no. 1 being the most popular:

- 1. Little Orphan Annie (created in 1924 by Harold Gray [1894–1968])
- 2. Popeye [correct title: Thimble Theater] (created in 1919 by Elzie Segar [1894–1938])
- 3. Dick Tracy (created in 1931 by Chester Gould [1900-1985])
- 4. Bringing Up Father (created in 1913 by George McManus [1884–1954])
- The Gumps (created in 1917 by Sydney Smith [1877–1935]; carried on by Gus Edson [1901–1966] after Smith's death)
- 6. Blondie (created in 1930 by Chic Young [1901-1973])
- 7. Moon Mullins (created in 1923 by Frank Willard [1893-1958])
- 8. Joe Palooka (created in 1930 by Ham Fisher [1901-1955])
- 9. Li'l Abner (created in 1934 by Al Capp [1909-1979])
- 10. Tillie the Toiler (created in 1921 by Russ Westover [1886–1966])

Because a number of these strips had their beginnings some years earlier, readers had gained a familiarity with many of them by the onset of the Depression and doubtless felt comfortable following their favorite characters. In addition, audiences obviously liked to be amused: 8 of the 10 front-runners are humorous strips, thus supporting the old name of "funnies." Only *Little Orphan Annie* and *Dick Tracy* present more dramatic plots and, with their exaggerated villains and events, most readers knew better than to take them too seriously.

A fictional narrative in visual form, comic strips provide individual pictures, or frames, to create episodes. These episodes can occur daily, as in a gag-a-day series like *Blondie*, or they can take weeks or months, as in a serial adventure such as *Dick Tracy*. In many ways, a comic strip can be compared to a piece of motion picture film. A movie likewise contains individual photographs that take on meaning only when run through a projector at the proper speed. Walking into the middle of a movie and then exiting before it ends would hardly be a satisfactory way to watch films. Similarly, an individual episode of any comic might not be particularly funny or enlightening. But when read on a daily basis, the stories begin to cohere and the characters take on distinctive personalities. Most of the more successful strips of the 1930s did a good job of keeping the audience both entertained and satisfied.

Generally speaking, the decade's comic strips fall into three subject categories: (1) traditional daily humor series, (2) serial, or continued, stories, and (3) adventure comics. The old-fashioned humor comics do not overtly refer to the Depression, but instead provide daily laughs and simple solutions to any problems that might occur.

Growing out of the humorous strips of the 1920s, serial comics tend to retain much of the lightheartedness of that earlier genre, but the stories often become long and

involved, focusing on people and relationships. Frequently designed to appeal to women, they also borrow from radio soap operas, a format then enjoying enormous popularity. The Depression gets reduced to a distant, external threat that the ordered person or group can defeat with relative ease.

The final category, adventure strips, stands as a product of the 1930s, and they demonstrate the clearest response to the times. With realistic drawing as their hallmark, the adventure comics describe a disordered world, but reiterate the ideas that all problems can be remedied, that no disturbance is interminable.

A sampling of the leading American newspaper comic strips of the 1930s would include the following (this annotated list omits the 10 favorites mentioned above; the identified cartoonists are those most associated with particular strips during the 1930s):

Representative Humorous Comic Strips of the 1930s

Title	Running Dates	Creators with Birth & Death Dates	Comments
Felix the Cat	1923–1967	Writing: Pat Sullivan (1885–1932); drawing: Otto Messmer (1892–1983)	Although Sullivan took much credit for <i>Felix</i> , Messmer did almost all the writing and drawing.
Fritzi Ritz	1922–1968	Ernie Bushmiller (1905–1982)	Given the popularity of Fritzi's niece, in 1938, this strip became known as Fritzi Ritz and Nancy. Soon thereafter the title shrank to Nancy.
The Inventions of Professor Lucifer G. Bitts	1907–1948	Rube Goldberg (1883–1970)	A single-panel cartoon, the zany devices portrayed in the series gave rise to the popular expression "a Rube Goldberg invention."
The Katzenjammer Kids	1897–present	Rudolph Dirks (1877–1968) & Harold H. Knerr (1882–1949)	This strip originated with cartoonist Rudolph Dirks, but ownership problems caused him to leave the successful series in 1914. Harold H. Knerr then took it over, a position he held throughout the 1930s.
The Captain and the Kids	1914–1979	Rudolph Dirks (1877–1968)	Dirks, after losing <i>The Katzenjammer Kids</i> , proceeded in 1914 to create <i>The Captain and the Kids</i> , a virtual twin to "the Katzies." From 1914 on, the two competing strips ran at the same time, with some papers carrying one, and others featuring its competitor. In retrospect, the two are almost indistinguishable.
Krazy Kat	1910–1944	George Herriman (1880–1944)	

Title	Running Dates	Creators with Birth & Death Dates	Comments
Mutt and Jeff	1907–1983	Bud Fisher (1884–1954)	
Polly and Her Pals	1912-1958	Cliff Sterrett (1883-1964)	
Reg'lar Fellers	1917-1949	Gene Byrnes (1889–1974)	
Skippy	1925–1945	Percy Crosby (1891–1964)	
Smitty	1922–1974	Walter Berndt (1899–1979)	

Representative Serial (or Continuity) Comic Strips of the 1930s

Title	Running Dates	Creators with Birth & Death Dates	Comments
Apple Mary	1934–1938	Martha Orr (1908–2001)	This series carried on, after 1938, as Mary Worth (1939–present) with different artists and writers.
Barney Google	1919–present	Billy DeBeck (1890–1942)	By the end of the 1930s, this strip had become Barney Google and Snuffy Smith because of the popularity of Snuffy. Today, it has evolved into a daily gag series known only as Snuffy Smith.
Betty	1920–1943	Charles Voight (1887–1947)	
Boots and Her Buddies	1924–1969	Edgar Martin (1898–1960)	
Dixie Dugan	1929–1966	Writing: J. P. McEvoy (1895–1958); drawing: J. H. Striebel (1892–1962)	
Freckles and His Friends	1915–1973	Merrill Blosser (1892–1983)	An early example of a teen-age strip that survived for several generations.
Gasoline Alley	1918–present	Frank King (1883–1969)	One of the few strips in which characters aged with the passage of time.
Little Annie Rooney	1929–1966	Writing: Brandon Walsh (1883–1955); drawing: Darrell McClure (1903–1987)	The melodramatic plot involving an orphan and her faithful dog comes primarily from the success of the rival strip <i>Little Orphan</i> Annie, but other precedents can be found. Both series enjoyed success during the Depression years.
Somebody's Stenog	1916–1941	A. E. Hayward (1885–1939)	
Winnie Winkle the Breadwinner	1920–present	Martin Branner (1888–1970)	

Representative Adventure Comic Strips of the 1930s

Title	Running Dates	Creators with Birth & Death Dates	Comments
Buck Rogers in the 25th Century	1929–1967	Writing: Phil Nowlin (1888–1940); drawing: Dick Calkins (1895–1962)	For most readers, this strip served as their introduction to science fiction.
Dan Dunn	1933–1943	Norman Marsh (b. 1910)	A virtual look-alike for the more popular <i>Dick Tracy</i> , the two detective strips ran concurrently during the 1930s.
Flash Gordon	1934–1993	Alex Raymond (1909–1956)	
Prince Valiant	1937–present	Hal Foster (1892–1982)	
Scorchy Smith	1930-1961	Noel Sickles (1910-1982)	
Secret Agent X-9	1934–present	Writing: Dashiell Hammett (1894–1961); drawing: Alex Raymond (1909– 1956)	Hammett wrote the continuity for the strip only until 1935; Ray- mond ceased drawing it late that year and the series was taken on by others.
Smilin' Jack	1933–1973	Zack Moseley (1906-1993)	
Tarzan	1929–present	Hal Foster (1892–1982)	Foster drew <i>Tarzan</i> until 1931; he came back to do Sunday panels only until 1937. Rex Maxon (1892–1973) then drew the dailies. Burne Hogarth (1911–1996) picked up Sundays in 1937.
Terry and the Pirates	1934–1973	Milton Caniff (1907–1988)	. ,
Wash Tubbs	1924–1988	Roy Crane (1901–1977)	

Generally speaking, comic strips reinforce American values and beliefs. One of the purest forms of popular culture, the comics had embarked on one of their most expansive and innovative periods during the 1930s. Visually, comic strips assist readers in their perceptions of the world. Abstraction in any academic sense is absent from the frames of a typical newspaper strip. The dark, threatening frames of *Little Orphan Annie* and *Dick Tracy* suggest that one cannot be too careful; danger lurks around every corner. But strips like *Blondie* and *Gasoline Alley* provide a brighter, cheerier vision. Within the family, safe in a home, there lies security. Tracy and Annie seldom enjoyed this kind of security; they had to operate in a cold, uncaring environment, separated from home and family. Clearly, the loner faces more risks in American society.

By using the mass medium of **newspapers**, comics relied on simple graphics to tell their stories. They proved inexpensive, they had wide distribution, and millions read them simultaneously. By aiming at the largest possible audience and practicing daily repetition, they created a familiarity and acceptance rarely found in any other mass medium.

See also Big Little Books; Comic Books; Hillbillies; *Life & Fortune*; Magazines; Movies; Serials; Superman

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CONTRACT BRIDGE. A card game that claims roots to the ancient game of whist, bridge has evolved from an early variant called auction bridge to its current contract format. By the mid-1920s, the auction concept had been successfully challenged by players who preferred what they saw as a more scientific approach to the entire game. Four players sit at a table and each is dealt 13 cards; the couples facing one another become partners, and they have to collaborate by "bidding" their hands, an attempt to inform one another of the relative value of individual cards they hold. One partnership outbids the other and thereby establishes a "contract" of how many tricks it expects to take. If this sounds confusing, it should. Bridge stands among the most difficult of all card games, and it requires a mastery of the rules, along with intense concentration, for teams to be consistently victorious.

Ely Culbertson (1891–1955), an expert player, tirelessly promoted contract bridge, writing what he called *The Contract Bridge Blue Book*, a best-selling primer that first came out in 1930. Starting in 1929, for many years he also edited *Bridge World*, a periodical devoted to the game. Culbertson encouraged players to follow his strategy of "honor tricks" for evaluating the strength of the dealt hands, and his advice took the nation by storm. In 1931, as a coup de grâce for the auction system, he teamed up with one of his supporters in a tournament conducted in New York City against two of the best auction players. Called "the Battle of the Century" among aficionados, Culbertson and his partner won decisively.

With that well-publicized victory, contract bridge took off in popularity, eclipsing all other card games. Elaborate scoring procedures, complete with extra points and penalties, became standard elements of the contest. The more arcane the rules and scoring, the better people seemed to like them. Tournaments, often involving numerous teams and countless contracts, added to the acclaim bridge already enjoyed. Even in the darkest days of the Depression, the sales of playing cards actually rose, with some 50 million decks a year being purchased during 1930–1932. By 1931, over 500,000 individuals had signed up to take bridge lessons at YMCAs, parks, and anywhere else that offered them. Conservative estimates said that 20 million people played the game. To serve this interest, over 1,000 newspapers carried syndicated articles on improving play, and manufacturers rushed to market various shuffling devices, along with scorepads, table covers, and anything else they thought might appeal to the bridge-playing crowd.

During this heady time, some of the more prominent bridge tournaments had the unique distinction of being broadcast, hand by hand, play by play, over **radio**. In hushed tones, experts explained rules and strategies, along with critical appraisals, to enthusiastic, unseen audiences. As bridge mania grew, Culbertson found himself accepted as the leading authority on the game, and eager players snatched up his how-to books. They sold steadily for years, and even received annual updates. He made several film shorts

that explained the basics of the game, and these played in theaters across the land, an added feature that went along with newsreels, cartoons, and previews. The decade also saw Culbertson writing a daily syndicated column that ran in hundreds of newspapers. Complete with diagrams detailing the cards held by each player, it showed readers how to play sample hands, both offensively and defensively.

In the latter half of the 1930s, a rival bridge expert rose to challenge Culbertson's media dominance. Charles H. Goren (1901–1991), a lawyer by education, published Winning Bridge Made Easy in 1936. In this book, he touted his "point count system," a direct challenge to Culbertson's "honor tricks" approach. In short order Goren had legions of followers, and he would soon assume the title of "Mr. Bridge." By the end of the decade, and for many years thereafter, Goren ruled as the last word on strategy and play. Culbertson, never as competitive as Goren, retired from active tournament play in 1935, perhaps correctly sensing his reign was coming to an end. He did, however, continue to publish his books and columns, and many fans clung to the Culbertson system of play. In the meantime, Goren's syndicated newspaper columns, at the expense of those penned by Culbertson, drew an avid readership, and another of his books, Contract Bridge Complete, emerged as the authoritative bible for most players. Regardless of which system one followed, by the end of the 1930s, contract bridge stood unchallenged, the nation's most popular card game.

See also Best Sellers; Fads; Leisure & Recreation

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CRIME. Throughout the first third of the twentieth century, statistics tracking crime in the United States show a gradual rise. An increase in violent acts, in particular homicide, caught both public and media attention, and many became convinced the nation was engulfed in a wave of lawlessness. In 1900, the death rate by murder had been 1.2 persons per 100,000 population. By 1930, it had climbed to 8.8 per 100,000, and then jumped to 9.7 per 100,000 in 1933, the statistical high point. After that, a sharp decline ensued, so that 1940 witnessed a rate of 6.3 per 100,000. (As a point of reference, in 2005 the rate stood at 5.5 per 100,000.) Certainly the public's concern was justified. Although the perceptions of a runaway "crime wave" contain a measure of exaggeration, perceptions often exceed reality.

Many of the crime-related problems of the 1930s saw their origins in the preceding decade, especially with the 1920 ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution and the passage of the Volstead Act that same year. Together, these measures forbade the manufacture or sale of **alcoholic beverages** and became the law of the land—Prohibition—a law doomed to failure almost from the start. Citizens found many ways to purchase and consume alcohol, assisted by countless people eager to supply their needs. With much of the population defying Prohibition, illicit bars and speakeasies flourished, and importers and distributors operated outside the law, often with the assistance of professional criminals. The unintended result was that liquor-connected crime spread across the nation, reaching a crescendo of sorts in the late 1920s and early 1930s.



A newspaper headline of the era underscores public interest in crime. (Courtesy of Photofest)

Although much of this illegal activity involved battles between rival criminal organizations, innocent citizens occasionally got caught in the crossfire, which both alarmed people and aroused curiosity about lawbreakers and their ways.

Mired in what seemed an endless economic crisis, people looked for diversions from their problems. Many escapes presented themselves: fads, jigsaw puzzles, games, sports, radio, movies, newspapers, magazines, mysteries—harmless pastimes all. But underlying the Depression there existed a worry that American institutions like hard work, thrift, and respect for the law were being eroded. This concern manifested itself in a morbid curiosity about the actions of those gangsters who so dominated the news media in the early 1930s. No longer just robbers or kidnappers or murderers, people dubbed the publicized lawbreakers of the early 1930s "public enemies," individuals out to destroy the traditional values of society.

Fanned by an endless series of sensational news accounts provided by an occasionally fawning, and other times frenzied, press, the actions of a handful of criminals-gangsters-racketeers took on a near-legendary quality. Basking in virtual celebrity status and capturing the nation's imagination, these outlaws with romanticized names became Robin Hoods for some and for others murderers who toted Tommy guns and shot down innocent citizens. Almost daily, it seemed, bank robberies, shootouts, and other illegal acts filled the front pages of the nation's **newspapers**. The criminal numbers, however, shrank, thanks to tireless pursuit by law enforcement agencies.

Between 1933 and 1935, the following high-profile cases were resolved, usually by death: "Machine Gun" Kelly (1900–1954), captured in 1933; John Dillinger, "the Mad Dog of the Midwest" (1903–1934), shot and killed in 1934; "Baby Face" Nelson (1908–1934), shot and killed in 1934; "Pretty Boy" Floyd (1904–1934), shot and killed in 1934; Bonnie and Clyde (Bonnie Parker, 1910–1934; Clyde Barrow, 1909–1934), shot and killed in 1934; and "Ma" Barker (1880–1935), shot and killed in 1935. By late 1934, the crime wave had crested; it quickly ebbed, dropping 50 percent between 1933 and 1940. Any admiration for colorful criminals virtually disappeared in those years, replaced by a new respect for those agencies that had brought the crime wave under control.

As they awaited the restoration of order, individual citizens, powerless to stop such outrages, might see parallels in crime and the seeming inability of the nation's institutions to do much in the face of an economic collapse. In the darkest days of the Depression, public perceptions could easily equate law and lawlessness with order and anarchy. These disparate elements, in the eyes of many, swung back and forth, and the outcome remained in doubt. Or so much popular culture of the time would have it.

Movies of the era often celebrate the rise of criminals, disciplined, tough, self-made men who overcome obstacles and achieve success. Little Caesar (1930), The Public Enemy (1931), and Scarface: The Shame of a Nation (1932) constitute a trilogy of successful gangsters who "made it" in the underworld. They might die in the final reel, but until then they dominate the action, pictures of cocksure success, strutting across the screen. These swaggering characters and the public's continuing interest in them fostered gangster films, a new genre of motion pictures. These and many other movies vilify bankers and businessmen, greedy exploiters who steal from the poor and make the rich richer. Usually the law, such as it is, appears bumbling and often corrupt; officers capture the bad guys almost by chance.

These films lack staunch defenders of tradition, men who respect and represent American ideals. Without such heroes, the gangsters usurp these roles, becoming by default distorted models of success. Novels and **pulp magazines**, on the other hand, provided the detective character—unafraid, knowledgeable, ready to match wits or bullets with any and all villains. Often portrayed as a virtual vigilante, one who sometimes acts outside the confines of legal niceties because he cannot depend on standard law enforcement, this fictional figure flourished in much contemporary literature. In the guise of *Dick Tracy* and his ilk in the **comic strips** and innumerable private investigators in mystery stories, such a character lacked a real-life counterpart. Then, in the mid-1930s, life imitated art and provided someone who could fill the role.

Franklin D. Roosevelt's (1882–1945) 1933 inauguration signaled a time of profound change in American life: Prohibition, the source of income for so many gangsters, had been repealed; the New Deal promised to return the country to prosperity and full employment; and J. Edgar Hoover (1895–1972), the director since 1924 of the little-known Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), would rise to be the crime fighter around whom the nation could rally. But Hoover reached that lofty position because of the campaign against crime launched by Roosevelt's newly appointed attorney general, Homer Stille Cummings (1870–1956).

Cummings orchestrated a series of actions that changed the face of federal law enforcement in the United States. With his blessing, Congress in 1933 greatly expanded the powers of the FBI with the Lindbergh law, so named because of the tragic kidnapping and murder of aviator Charles Lindbergh's (1902–1974) infant son. In 1934, several bills collectively called

the crime control laws broadened the Lindbergh provisions, made bank robberies and kidnapping federal crimes, and granted federal agents the right to carry arms. As a concrete symbol of the government's intent to confront and punish criminals, Cummings oversaw the construction of Alcatraz Prison, a forbidding, maximum security fortress erected in 1933– 1934 on a rocky island in San Francisco Bay. From a distance, citizens could take comfort that the worst of the worst would be confined there. Al Capone (1899–1947) had the distinction of being among the first residents of "the Rock."

Thanks to Cummings's efforts, Hoover and his cadre of men began to replace the outlaws that had so fascinated and frightened the nation. Their implacable hostility toward all criminals led many to believe that crime cannot pay, that gangsters deserve their fates, a significant turnaround in national attitudes in a brief span of time. The stern federal agent, well-trained, incorruptible, and ready to do battle, gradually replaced the arrogant thug. The best possible representation of this new law officer showed up on the nation's movie screens in 1935 with the film *G-Men*. A Warner Brothers effort, the picture stars James Cagney (1899–1986), the same actor who just four years earlier had given life to *The Public Enemy* as a murderous criminal. Cagney remains murderous, but he now serves the law, so his killer instincts can be forgiven. A mix of vigilante, *Dick Tracy*, pulp detective, and disciplined federal officer, the movie G-man fights on the front lines in the war on crime.

The purveyors of mass entertainment, always alert to commercial success and shifts in popular attitudes, from the mid-1930s onward shifted their focus away from the criminal. They featured instead the government agent, along with the honest cop on the beat and the upright lawyer who bests his sleazy rivals in previously crooked courts. Titles like *Public Hero #1* (1935), *Show Them No Mercy!* (1935), *Let 'em Have It* (1935), and *Public Enemy's Wife* (1936) blazed on marquees, the lure being action, but the theme revolved around a crime-fighting government agent. Sometimes presented in a breathless documentary style that took pains to show the inner workings of law enforcement agencies, these films, along with similar radio shows, eased around any objections about gratuitous violence by using mayhem in the service of melodrama. Such an approach appeased critics, and the image of the "lawless thirties" evolved into an era that respected justice and playing by the rules, even if guns occasionally still had to be drawn. In addition, the FBI and its leader, J. Edgar Hoover, received recognition—either by name or by association—as the architects of this successful war on crime.

By the conclusion of the decade, law enforcement emphases had moved away from the native criminal element and turned toward the threats of subversion by dissidents and foreign nationals. Axis spies, evil Nazis, and barbaric Japanese replaced the romanticized Capones, Dillingers, and Kellys that had preoccupied so many just a few years earlier. In the space of a decade, public unease about a perceived crime wave had been replaced by a confident attitude that the government, in the form of Hoover and the FBI, had crime under control and now guarded the country from both within and without.

See also Alcoholic Beverages; Hollywood Production Code; Lindbergh Kidnapping; Little Caesar; Mysteries & Hard-Boiled Detectives; Prohibition & Repeal

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CROSBY, BING. A native of Tacoma, Washington, Harry Lillis Crosby (1903–1977) would eventually emerge as the most popular male vocalist of the decade. Childhood friends bestowed on the young Crosby the lasting nickname of "Bing," and soon his proper names had been forgotten. In 1920, he enrolled in Gonzaga University, a Jesuit school in Spokane, and began to play the drums (or "traps") in a local band, the Musicaladers, led by Al Rinker (b. Alton, 1907–1982). In addition to performing, Crosby listened almost ceaselessly to music, spending countless hours with every radio broadcast he could find, as well as hanging out at record stores spinning and memorizing the latest discs.

After a handful of paying jobs with the Musicaladers, Crosby found the lure of show business irresistible and dropped out of college his senior year to join forces with Rinker. During the group's performances, Crosby would frequently sing, usually through a megaphone, as did numerous vocalists then. Electronic amplification and quality microphones still lay in the future, but his singing nonetheless provided a hint about the direction his career would take.

Dwindling engagements led to the breakup of the Musicaladers in 1925. Working primarily in local theaters, Crosby and Rinker polished a new act that featured the hits of the day, along with a healthy mix of **jazz** and blues. Later that same year, the pair set off for Los Angeles and fame and fortune. Once situated, they dusted off their routine and secured a succession of vaudeville jobs in the lively show business scene that characterized southern California.

Good luck came their way when the enormously popular bandleader Paul Whiteman (1890–1967), a man always on the lookout for talent, heard about them. A meeting was arranged, and in 1926 Rinker and Crosby found themselves part of Whiteman's extensive organization, a giant step in their careers. Late in that year, they made their recording debut in Chicago with the orchestra and then went on tour with Whiteman and wound up in New York City. In the process, Crosby met or knew the work of many important musicians, such as Louis Armstrong (1901–1971), **Duke Ellington** (1899–1974), and Bix Beiderbecke (1903–1931), individuals who would have a significant influence on his artistic growth as a vocalist. He also associated with movie and radio stars and in the process built a network of friends that would also contribute to his flowering as a show business personality.

Later in 1926, Crosby and Rinker met another young musician, Harry Barris (1905–1962), who happened to be a good pop songwriter. The three formed an instant rapport, and out of that came the Rhythm Boys, the name a variation on the Happiness Boys, a popular radio duo noted for mixing music with patter. Whiteman immediately took notice, installed the trio in his orchestra, and even landed them several recording contracts. In time, Crosby took more and more solos, becoming the lead voice in the threesome. Barris contributed a number of original compositions to the group, including the popular "Mississippi Mud," a trifle he penned in 1927. As the 1920s drew to a close, and with the Great Depression just beginning to be felt, Crosby, the Rhythm Boys, and Whiteman continued their relationship, but economic realities would soon change everything.

By the early 1930s, Crosby had secured a place for himself as a popular vocalist, albeit in the context of the Rhythm Boys. The advent of electric amplification and improved condenser microphones allowed him to sing softly—instead of belting out a number, as

many singers did at the time—and intimately caress the lyrics. Utilized by Crosby and several of his contemporaries, especially **Rudy Vallee** (1901–1986), this singing style was dubbed "crooning," and the name stuck. Throughout the remainder of the decade, Bing Crosby would stand out as the greatest crooner of them all. In the meantime, Whiteman gave the Rhythm Boys remarkable freedom; they could record and perform independently when not tied to commitments with the orchestra.

Whiteman's long-anticipated film, *King of Jazz*, opened in the spring of 1930. Innumerable production delays had postponed its release, but it served to introduce Bing Crosby to a national moviegoing audience. Influential in the long run for its visual artistry, in the short view of things, *King of Jazz* did poorly at the box office, a victim of the public rejection of the film musical, a rejection that would not change until 1933 and the release of *42nd Street*. When Universal Studios rereleased the picture in the footsteps of *42nd Street*'s success, it did much better and Crosby enjoyed top billing, a reflection of his growing fame. An anthology-type movie that showcases individual songs and performers, *King of Jazz* proved an important steppingstone for Crosby.

Shortly after the movie's 1930 premiere, the Rhythm Boys amicably split with Whiteman. Poised to go out on their own, they appeared in some forgettable films and played equally forgettable venues. The trio signed with popular bandleader Gus Arnheim (1887–1955), cut a number of **recordings**, appeared on his radio show, and received featured billing with the aggregation. Crosby's voice dominates these performances, and marks his inevitable emergence as a soloist. One of Arnheim's musicians listened to Crosby attentively; **Russ Columbo** (1908–1934), destined to become another of the decade's leading crooners, appreciated Crosby's efforts and incorporated much of his style into his own performances. In early 1931, Crosby scored the first big hit of his own with "I Surrender, Dear" (music by Harry Barris, lyrics by Gordon Clifford [1903–1968]). That success led Crosby to break with the group in 1931 and become a solo performer; he would never look back.

Most male vocalists in the popular field at that time tended to be tenors, but Crosby possessed a warm baritone. In addition, he displayed skill with many different kinds of lyrics and rhythms. After breaking up with the Rhythm Boys, Crosby signed with Brunswick Records, the true beginning of his career. Jack Kapp (1901–1949) led the label, and he encouraged Crosby at every turn, serving as mentor and friend. One of the first tunes Crosby cut for his new employer, "Just One More Chance" (music by Arthur Johnston [1898–1954], lyrics by Sam Coslow [1902–1982]), quickly became a hit, the first of dozens he would record throughout the decade. No other singer came close to him, not then nor in the 1940s. At 28 years of age, he had no equals among male vocalists.

By 1932, Bing Crosby had emerged as a force in popular music. He performed in every genre, from Western songs, such as "The Last Round-Up" (1933; words and music by Billy Hill [1899–1940]), to Christmas carols like "Silent Night" (1935; traditional), and everything in between. Since much of his background with Whiteman and the Rhythm Boys involved jazz and blues, he had come to know numerous black performers. Racial segregation ruled the day on radio and in the recording studio, so almost never did white performers work alongside their black counterparts. Crosby, however, changed this imbalance somewhat when in 1931 he recorded "Dinah" (written 1924; music by Harry Akst [1894–1963], lyrics by Sam M. Lewis [1885–1959] and Joe Young [1889–1939]) with the Mills Brothers, a black vocal quartet that had long been popular,

but never in conjunction with white artists. An instant hit, "Dinah" demonstrated how silly such restrictions were, but its success had little impact on industry practices. Undeterred, Crosby cut a couple of sides with Duke Ellington and his orchestra early the following year, along with another session with the Mills Brothers.

With songs like "I Found a Million-Dollar Baby in the Five and Ten-Cent Store" (1931; music by Harry Warren [1893–1981], lyrics by Billy Rose [1899–1966] and Mort Dixon [1892–1956]), "Try a Little Tenderness" (1933; music and lyrics by Harry Woods [1896–1970], James Campbell [active 1930s], and Reg Connelly [1896–1963]), and the poignant "Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?" (1932; music by Jay Gorney [1896–1990], lyrics by E. Y. Harburg [1896–1981]), Crosby made direct references to the Depression. The last song has emerged as a symbol of the economic calamity, a credit to Crosby's rendition. Most of his output, however, remained more romantic than topical, including such best sellers as "It's Easy to Remember" (1935; music by Richard Rodgers [1902–1979], lyrics by Lorenz Hart [1895–1943]), "Sweet Leilani" (1937; music and lyrics by Harry Owens [1902–1986]; an Academy Award winner for the year, from the movie Waikiki Wedding), and "What's New?" (1939; music by Bob Haggart [1914–1998], lyrics by Johnny Burke [1908–1964]).

In 1934, in a convoluted transaction, Jack Kapp left Brunswick and formed a new label called Decca, a name associated with an established English recording company. Kapp brought Crosby, and a number of other Brunswick stars, with him, and proceeded to make American Decca a force in the industry. Other artists flocked to the fledgling company and by decade's end, one-third of all the singles sold in the United States boasted the Decca label. During the 1930s, Crosby alone recorded more than 2,600 titles, and his name consistently topped any lists of hits.

In his later recordings, Crosby lowered his pitch slightly, dropped some of the vibrato, and branched out into other genres. He gradually moved away from straight crooning and even injected some humor into the style with "Learn to Croon" (1933; music by Arthur Johnston, lyrics by Sam Coslow), a tune that almost denies that style of singing. By the mid- to later 1930s, people might still refer to Bing Crosby as a crooner, a singer of sad or saccharine ballads, but his easygoing manner took those things in stride, and his banter, always a part of his personality, laughed off his troubles.

With his growing success in recordings, the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS radio) offered Crosby his own show in 1931. At first called *Fifteen Minutes with Bing Crosby*, the series went through name and sponsor changes, but he stayed with the network through 1935. While there, he took "Where the Blue of the Night (Meets the Gold of the Day)" (1931; music by Fred E. Ahlert [1892–1953], lyrics by Roy Turk [1892–1934]) as his theme song. For the next 40 years, the tune would be associated with him and few other singers would even attempt it.

At the beginning of 1936, Crosby made a switch to the rival National Broadcasting Company (NBC radio), where he took over *The Kraft Music Hall* from Al Jolson (1886–1950). Already a successful show during Jolson's tenure, it soon became a Thursday night ritual for millions of radio listeners, and Crosby would remain with it until 1946. He had moved from radio crooner to radio star.

In a bow to the stupendous impact of radio, Paramount Pictures in 1932 released a film titled *The Big Broadcast*. Rather than fighting the networks, Hollywood decided to borrow some of the medium's biggest names and capitalize on their popularity. The picture

features numerous radio stars—Kate Smith (1907–1986), George Burns (1896–1996) and Gracie Allen (1895–1964), bandleaders Vincent Lopez (1895–1975) and Cab Calloway (1907–1994), and many others—but Bing Crosby shares top billing with actor Stu Erwin (1903–1967), a significant breakthrough. During the early 1930s, Crosby had already worked in a succession of Mack Sennett (1880–1960) two-reelers, short films that usually mixed music and comedy. Along with his radio work and recordings, these movies allowed people to recognize his face as well as his voice. *The Big Broadcast* proved a box office success at a time when most musicals did not do well and ensured that Crosby would soon land more roles and become a top-flight movie star, eventually appearing in over 25 full-length features by the end of 1940.

Crosby's movie work includes a handful of first-rate vehicles—College Humor (1933), We're Not Dressing (1934), Mississippi (1935), Sing, You Sinners (1938)—but most stand as amiable mediocrities, pleasant time wasters that capitalize on his casual crooning style. Probably only the most die-hard Crosby fans can recall Too Much Harmony (1933), Two for Tonight (1935), Double or Nothing (1937), or Paris Honeymoon (1939), typical products of his popularity. Sustained by wafer-thin plots, the movies give Crosby ample opportunity to sing and do some acting. The pictures fared reasonably well, and demonstrated how different media—radio, recordings, and film—can interconnect.

In the process of becoming a multimedia star, Crosby and the people around him created a persona, that of the easygoing, likable guy, someone of inherent modesty and enduring optimism. For the Depression years and the war years following, this image appealed to millions. He represented fair play, and his audience trusted him. Something of a playboy in his earlier years, he changed with the times, serving as a beacon of decency for many. Crosby, an astute businessman, in reality had to practice his air of casualness, and few people realized how powerfully he influenced show business and the fortunes of many in the industry.

See also Race Relations & Stereotyping; Radio Networks; Songwriters & Lyricists

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D

DESIGN. The outward appearance—mass, shape, finish—of a wide range of products underwent significant change during the 1930s. The decade opened with the angularity and applied ornamentation of **Art Deco** serving as the last word in modernism; it closed with the sinuous curves and sleek surfaces of **Streamlining** leading the way. Between 1929 and 1940, momentous shifts occurred in American design, from humble home appliances to airliners, from pencil sharpeners to complex machines.

On a symbolic level, the public witnessed these ongoing changes through popular culture. Since millions of Americans went to the **movies** weekly, art directors and set designers made them visually aware of the very latest ideas in **architecture** and interior decoration. **Fred Astaire** (1899–1987) **and Ginger Rogers** (1911–1995) would dance their way through nine movie **musicals** during the 1930s, but what a difference between the quaintly old-fashioned look of *Flying Down to Rio* (1933), the first of the series, and the later sleek modernity of *Carefree* (1938).

The set designs for Hollywood movies reappeared in swank cocktail lounges and elegant nightclubs in many of the nation's larger cities. A white lacquered piano, its traditional curves amplified by the absence of any applied decoration, might be the centerpiece, and the bar could be polished black Bakelite (a popular plastic of the day) with chrome highlights. Even the crystal stemware would reflect the latest in avantgarde design. It all represented modernism, the new instead of the old, and it had its place in fantasy and glittering **restaurants** and night spots. Despite this celluloid and occasional commercial reinforcement, the American home remained a bastion of tradition, and it would be many years before these expressions of modernity found wide acceptance in most people's domestic lives.

A case in point: chromed tubular steel, shiny plastics, glass curtain walls, and luxurious accessories characterize the bathrooms—when seen at all—in many films. Given Hollywood Production Code restrictions, these sumptuous pleasure palaces always lack visible toilets, and they exist mainly in the imagination, a far cry from the cramped, utilitarian spaces that served the same purposes in most homes.

For most people, especially during a time of economic unrest, a typical middle-class home mixed the old with the new (but not too new), a sprinkling of colonial, Victorian, utilitarian, and maybe an occasional Art Deco or Streamlining accent. Maroon, mauve, cream, tan, and Depression green, a medium gray green particularly favored for kitchens,

led the way for interior colors, with blues and peach popular for accents. Flowered draperies and wallpapers could be found in most rooms, along with patterned linoleum or rugs. In a bow to the movies, a daring homeowner might have an end table constructed of chromed tubing and black lacquered surfaces, but most of the furniture would be bulky and traditional. A large easy chair or two dominated the living room, and occasionally bore the name "Bumstead." Dagwood Bumstead, the main character in Chic Young's (1901–1973) newspaper comic strip *Blondie*, enjoyed lounging in such a chair, and furniture makers capitalized on the series' popularity. As an economy measure, thrifty owners placed slip covers, frequently in bold flower prints, over these pieces.

Knickknacks abounded: mantel clocks, decorative lamps, and smoking accessories allowed for some innovation in design. The room itself might be traditional, but the added touches could incorporate Art Deco and Streamlining motifs. Stylized nude figurines, along with tropical fish and jungle birds, and maybe greyhounds and whippets, provided some leeway in expressing one's modernism. And, since Prohibition ended in 1933, cocktail sets in chrome and Bakelite could also be found in some homes.

In a reaction against the boxy, angular appliances of the late 1920s and early 1930s, both General Electric and Sears, Roebuck offered Streamlined refrigerators by the middle of the decade. To accompany them, combined hutch and work areas made of enameled steel, along with similar eating tables, became the vogue. A big cookie jar also emerged as a design item in the American kitchen. Their shapes ranged from replicas of Aunt Jemima to stylized clowns and penguins; no matter what form it took, homemakers deemed the cookie jar an important component of the well-furnished kitchen.

"Depression glass," so desired by contemporary collectors, signified cheap, mass-produced glass kitchenware carried by every dime store in the country. An entire service of four place settings could then be had for about \$2 (roughly \$30 in contemporary dollars), and extra tumblers cost just pennies. Depression glass (also called "tank glass") came in many colors, but pink, burgundy, amber, and several distinctive greens proved the most popular. Frequently offered as a premium at numerous events because of its low cost, "dish night" at a neighborhood theater meant Depression glass would be the prize.

Fiesta Dinnerware, a line of table settings that has never gone out of production, first appeared in 1936. It then came in five colors and could be mixed or matched. Not as cheap as Depression glass, Fiesta became a staple of better department stores. The parent company, however, also made cheaper versions for variety stores.

In the larger world of industrial design, many individual designers rose to some fame during the decade. The firms for which they worked publicized their efforts, and gradually the names of a small coterie of industrial designers became familiar to the public. The following alphabetical list, while hardly conclusive, identifies a number of the more prominent designers active during the 1930s:

Norman Bel Geddes (1893–1958). His highly influential book *Horizons* (1932) articulates many of the precepts that underlie Streamlining during the 1930s. His fertile imagination foresaw Streamlined ocean liners, futuristic aircraft, multilane highways, and vast airports. Bel Geddes also worked as a Broadway set designer, creating inventive backdrops for a number of plays. On the consumer side, he conceived memorable cocktail sets, furniture and accessories, appliances and radio cabinets, including several Philco models and the 1940 Emerson Patriot. A number of his bolder ideas

appeared in the Futurama exhibit he designed for the New York World's Fair in 1939.

Donald Deskey (1894–1989). Best known for the lavish interiors he designed for New York's Rockefeller Center (Radio City) in 1932, Deskey also worked with carpeting, furniture, and exhibited widely in the nation's top museums.

Henry Dreyfuss (1904–1972). Once employed by Norman Bel Geddes for theatrical work, Dreyfuss also designed numerous useful objects. His 1937 Thermos bottle has become a classic, instantly recognizable. In 1938, he created the iconic Big Ben alarm clock for Westclox, but his talents also went into such areas as utensils, toasters, and even the china and stationary for the New York Central's 20th Century Limited (1938), a Streamlined train of the day.

Paul Frankl (1887–1958). European by birth, Frankl brought a continental sensibility to design that relied less on mass production and machine aesthetics than did the work of his American counterparts. His primary fame rests with his Skyscraper furniture, first introduced in 1927. These pieces reflect, in miniature, a modern tall building. Complete with setbacks and a strong verticality, they emphasize the connections that often exist between the monumental and the mundane.

Raymond Loewy (1893–1986). Probably the best known of the decade's bumper crop of industrial designers, Loewy first came to public attention in 1929 with his sleek, somewhat Streamlined duplicating machine for the Gestetner Duplicating Company. Several Westinghouse radio cabinets followed, and in 1934 he displayed a complete office suite at the Metropolitan Museum's industrial design show that helped transform thinking about the modern office. Highly productive, no assignment was too big or too small. Loewy designed the Hupmobile automobile in 1934; several buses for Greyhound followed, and his appliances, especially the Sears, Roebuck Coldspot refrigerator, remain classics of the era. He pioneered Streamlining in several ships, and his S-1 locomotive (1937) for the Pennsylvania Railroad became a prototype for sleek, fast trains.

Eliel Saarinen (1873–1950). Best remembered as an architect, the Finnish-born Saarinen first pursued his profession in Europe. He moved to the United States in 1923 and broadened his interests to include furniture and associated accessories. He displayed an influential dining room at the Metropolitan Museum's 1929 show on architecture and industrial arts. In 1934, he constructed what he called "a lady's room" for another Metropolitan Museum exhibition. In both shows, he displayed such items as furniture, glassware, serving combinations, and silver services.

Walter Dorwin Teague (1883–1960). Teague initially attracted attention in 1930 with his Baby Brownie camera housing for Eastman Kodak; he also designed the Bantam Special camera for the company in 1936. A versatile designer, for several years he created the distinctive housings for Bluebird radios manufactured by the Sparton Radio Company (1933–1936). Glassware and textiles also bore his mark, as did several modernistic Texaco gas stations. He ended the decade with credit for both the Ford Motor Company and the National Cash Register buildings at the New York World's Fair (1939–1940).

Russel Wright (1904–1976). A colleague of Norman Bel Geddes in theater design, Wright moved into metal household items, such as spun aluminum, at the onset of the 1930s. He designed serving sets and flatware, but ceramics and

earthenware captured his attention several years later. He introduced American Modern dinnerware in 1937, and it went into mass production in 1939; its pleasing, minimally Streamlined shapes caused American Modern to remain a consistent seller until 1957 when the company discontinued it. Wright also created the popular Modern Living line of casual furniture; a break with the tradition of heavy, formal furniture pieces, the line brought him considerable renown.

See also Automobiles; Aviation; Century of Progress Exposition; China Clippers; Chrysler Building; Douglas DC-3; Empire State Building; Fairs & Expositions; Food; International Style; Photography; Prohibition & Repeal; Stage Productions; Frank Lloyd Wright

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DESSERTS. Americans enjoy desserts, and not just **ice cream** and apple pie. During the 1930s, foods containing sugar, a cheap commodity, flourished. But cakes, always popular in the United States, proved a challenge to make because milk and eggs were costly commodities. The Depression cake, unique to this decade, addressed this dilemma. Depression cakes consist mainly of sugar—lots of sugar, given its low price—flour, spices, and water or coffee, but no eggs or milk. Remarkably, the cakes actually taste good.

Fried cakes—today, people call them doughnuts (or donuts)—have been around for centuries. They achieved notoriety during World War I when Salvation Army women served American soldiers dough that had been cut into strips, twisted into crullers and fried. The soldiers, already referred to as "doughboys," cheered the arrival of these doughnuts and, by playing on words, soon called these women "doughnut girls" or "doughgirls." The war ended in 1918, but not the popularity of doughnuts. When he served as assistant secretary of the navy, **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945), later to become the nation's president during the Depression, reputedly ate six doughnuts at one sitting while at a naval air station in France.

New York City has the distinction of being the home of the first doughnut company, the Doughnut Corporation of America, founded in 1921. The firm's first retail outlet, the Mayflower Shop, opened on Times Square in 1931 and flourished. People attending the 1933–1934 Century of Progress Exposition could see doughnuts produced by machine. Declared the most popular food at the event, a doughnut, sugared or glazed, cost less than a nickel (about 75 cents in contemporary money). That same year, in the hugely successful film *It Happened One Night*, rugged newspaperman Clark Gable (1901–1960)



Two typical recipes from the 1930s; these "Depression cakes" call for sugar but use no expensive ingredients such as eggs or milk. (Photograph by Nancy Blackwell Marion)

teaches runaway heiress Claudette Colbert (1903–1996) how to dunk a doughnut in coffee. Two additional **movies** from the 1930s employ doughnuts in their story lines. *Broadway Melody of 1936* (1935) contains a number of scenes with actors eating and dunking doughnuts, and *Doughnuts and Society* (1936) revolves around two women who share a partnership in a doughnut shop.

In 1937, Vernon Rudolph (1915–1973) started a doughnut enterprise by selling a yeast-raised doughnut to grocery stores in Old Salem, a part of Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Given his location, people stopped by his factory, wanting to buy hot, fresh doughnuts. Rudolph quickly changed his wholesale business, which he called Krispy Kreme, to include direct sales to customers. In time his little Krispy Kreme enterprise would become one of the leading doughnut chains in America.

Toll House cookies, another 1930s creation, came from the kitchen of Ruth Wakefield (c. 1903–1977), a dietitian and lecturer on food. Along with her husband, she opened the Toll House Inn located in a facility halfway between Boston and New Bedford, Massachusetts, a place where passengers had once paid tolls and changed horses as they traveled between the two cities. Mrs. Wakefield baked for guests staying at her Toll House Inn and her creations met with considerable approval.

In a 1937 experiment, Wakefield chopped a chuck of semisweet chocolate into pieces and stirred them into the dough of a Butter Drop Do cookie mix. Her efforts resulted in a sweet cookie she named for the inn, the Toll House cookie. Today, most people call Wakefield's invention a chocolate chip cookie. Betty Crocker in 1939 featured this new treat in her radio series Famous Foods from Famous Eating Places. Success led to an immediate agreement between Wakefield and food giant Nestlé to print the recipe on the wrapper of the Nestlé Semi-Sweet Chocolate Bar. Capitalizing on good sales, Nestlé also began offering chocolate morsels in convenient, ready-to-use packages.

The famous Girl Scout cookies had their earliest beginnings with some Scouts who in 1917 sold cookies as a way to finance their activities. By 1922, a publication from national Girl Scout headquarters provided a cookie recipe that, if used by troops across the country, would standardize this fund-raising project. For the remainder of the 1920s and on into the early 1930s, Girl Scouts in different parts of the country baked and sold this simple cookie. In the mid-1930s, the Greater Philadelphia Girl Scout Council and the Girl Scout Federation of Greater New York introduced commercially baked sugar cookies. Shortly thereafter, the national headquarters began a process that licensed commercial bakers to manufacture sugar cookies that could be sold by Girl Scouts across the country. By 1937, some 125 Scout councils participated in this national effort.

Baking at home satisfied both the American sweet tooth and the Depression pocketbook. Old favorites took on fresh looks and new products appeared on the market, many retaining their popularity well beyond the Depression.

See also Candy; Coffee & Tea; Grocery Stores & Supermarkets

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DICK TRACY. The creation of cartoonist Chester Gould (1900–1985), Dick Tracy has the honor of being the first realistic detective comic strip, debuting in 1931. The 1930s witnessed an upsurge in violent crime, and various popular media, from movies to radio, reflected this rise. Newspaper comics, until this time a place for humor, romance, and fantasy, soon followed suit. Gould's innovative series—originally called Plainclothes Tracy by the artist—had attracted the eye of Captain Joseph Medill Patterson (1879–1946), the colorful head of the Chicago Tribune–New York News syndicate. The Tribune-News group led the way with action and adventure comic strips throughout the decade, and Patterson himself suggested using the gangland term "Dick" (meaning a detective), and dropping the more prosaic "Plainclothes."

Gould, who had struggled for years to come up with a salable series, decided he would create an adventure series that depicted police procedures with some measure of accuracy. Hardly the greatest cartoonist in terms of artistic skills, he nonetheless drew action-packed frames that attracted the reader's eye. His square-jawed hero represents a stern, unforgiving approach to law enforcement, a character not the least reluctant to employ lethal violence if he thinks the situation calls for it. In many of the breathless stories that Gould would spin for the next 46 years, Tracy has to kill his adversaries, usually in an explicit shoot-out. Readers loved this new approach to the "comics," reflecting as it did the sensational tabloid headlines of the era. Since Chicago had the unfortunate reputation of being the center of organized crime in America, it seemed only appropriate that the nation's first comic strip that focused on the police and their endless battles with an array of villains should have the support of the influential *Tribune*.

Employing a unique visual style that combines humorous caricatures with hard-edged realism, *Dick Tracy* soon emerged a 1930s favorite. The rat-a-tat-tat of machine guns, high-speed car chases, and cliff-hanging suspense became hallmarks of this new breed of comic art, and hundreds of **newspapers** carried the series. Gould's villains often tend toward the grotesque, although one of his first, "Big Boy," was clearly modeled on Chicago's own Al Capone. More characteristic, however, would be "The Blank," an apparently faceless man who almost kills Tracy several times in a 1937 episode. When finally subdued, "The Blank" turns out to be a criminal by the name of Redrum ("murder" spelled backward) and his disguise involves cheesecloth stretched over his face. Villains such as Flattop, Flyface, Measles, Rhodent, and a host of other miscreants would later populate the strip, but during the 1930s Gould, still exploring this new territory, satisfied himself and his readers with less bizarre types.

Sprinkled amid all the action is Tracy's on again-off again romance with Tess Trueheart and his relationship with Junior, his ward and protégé. No woman ever exhibited more patience than Tess, but Tracy, the action-oriented male, seems to find fighting crime his primary interest, relegating Tess to a background role. Junior, introduced in 1932, often takes up a disproportionate amount of the detective's time. An orphan, Junior epitomizes the mischievous "kid" (also Tracy's frequent name for him) so popular in movies then, a well-meaning adolescent who gets into predicaments that usually require Tracy's aid if they are to survive. The inclusion of the soap opera–like romance, along with Junior's antics and the exaggerated villains, gave *Dick Tracy* an appeal to a broad-based audience.

From 1934 on, radio networks began carrying a serial featuring the stalwart detective. It remained on the air until 1947 and the demise of virtually all dramatic programming. Further testimony to the popularity of Gould's creation occurred when Hollywood produced several cheaply made *Dick Tracy* serials during the later 1930s. In 1932, Tracy had the honor of being the first comic character to appear in a Big Little Book. Taken from his newspaper strip exploits, this pioneering publication did well enough that over 20 subsequent Tracy adventures were added to the growing list of titles, including one consisting of stills taken from a 1937 movie serial and another based on a radio script. The success of the **Big Little Books** led, in the late 1930s, to the issuance of a number of **comic books** that also featured the hawk-nosed character.

Although the narrative in *Dick Tracy* occasionally becomes a soapbox for Chester Gould's strict law-and-order sermonizing, most of the time the artist allows the stories

themselves, coupled with his stylized black-and-white graphics, to satisfy any ideological points he might want to make. With Hollywood turning out **gangster films** by the dozen, network radio producing dramas and serials celebrating law enforcement, and hard-boiled detective novels selling briskly, the 1930s provided fertile soil for cartoonists who wanted to move in that direction. As the decade progressed, a number of other detective strips, including *Dan Dunn* (1933–1943; a blatant Tracy imitation in all ways), *Red Barry* (1934–1938), *Secret Agent X-9* (1934–1996), *Radio Patrol* (1933–1950), *Don Winslow of the Navy* (1934–1955), and *Charlie Chan* (1938–1942), appeared in newspapers around the country. None, however, ever equaled the success of *Dick Tracy*.

See also Federal Bureau of Investigation; Mysteries & Hard-Boiled Detectives; Soap Operas

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DIONNE QUINTUPLETS. On May 28, 1934, a remarkable multiple birth took place in remote northern Ontario, one destined to make overnight celebrities of the Dionne quintuplets. Oliva (1904–1979) and Elzire Dionne (1909–1986), the parents, lived in Corbeil, Ontario, Canada, a tiny hamlet near Lake Nipissing and the town of North Bay. A poor, French-speaking farm family, they had not anticipated quintuplets when the five girls—Emilie, Marie, Yvonne, Annette, and Cecile—were born two months prematurely. Each baby averaged just under two pounds at birth, and many thought they would not survive. But survive they did, much to the relief of a world increasingly aware of them.

Almost from the time of their birth, the "quints," as the press immediately dubbed them, became front-page news. For a Depression-weary populace, they served as a ray of sunshine amid mostly gloomy reports about the world in general. In fact, they ignited a media frenzy for pictures, feeding schedules, health updates, clothing choices, and any other tidbits to satisfy a public hungry to know everything about them. The only other happening of the time that equaled this kind of press fervor would be the **Lindbergh kidnapping**, a tragic episode that began with the **crime** in 1932 and culminated with the 1935 trial and subsequent execution. Both stories covered years—the intense coverage of the quints would last until the 1940s—and both, in their own ways, achieved a level of popular attention that most news events can never hope to equal.

Until that time, no quintuplets had lived beyond infancy, so the five Dionnes made medical history. Delivered by two local midwives, the care of the quints soon became the responsibility of Allan Roy Dafoe (1883–1943), an Ontario physician who made the girls his special cause.

Dafoe told provincial officials that, given their poverty and the burdens of raising so many infants of the same age, the elder Dionnes made unfit parents. The Ontario



The Dionne quintuplets at a swimming pool. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

government agreed and placed Dr. Dafoe in charge of their well-being. This situation would endure until 1944, when the Dionnes regained custody of their daughters. In the meantime, Dafoe received funding to build the Dafoe Hospital and Nursery, or "Quintland" or "Dionneville" as some called it. Located next door to the Dionne home, it developed into a state-run viewing area that exploited the novelty of living quintuplets.

Terrified that the infants would contract infectious diseases, Dafoe kept them visible but in virtually sterile isolation. Until they were nine, they spent most of their waking hours separated from the curious crowds that flocked to "Quintland" to catch a glimpse of these young celebrities. In a large viewing area the doctor had designed, the girls could play, and the public viewed them from behind gauze curtains. Through much of their early development, they therefore could see shadowy movement and hear muffled voices through the veils, but their exposure to the real world remained incomplete. The artificiality of this arrangement and the absence of any normal upbringing carried a heavy cost in emotional scars suffered by all five throughout their lives.

Because of ceaseless press coverage of every activity the quintuplets engaged in, the public took them to its heart, but at the cost of making them specimens in a glass jar. In the mid-1930s, the peak years of their popularity, upward of 6,000 people a day trekked up to Corbeil for a glimpse of this phenomenon. Before their childhoods had ended, over 3 million visitors had been to their remote home.

A shrewd businessman, Dafoe quickly sensed the money to be made from such a marketable property as five identical sisters. With the support of provincial officials, he struck

deals with major manufacturers for product endorsements. The money would go into government coffers. Since the girls were too young to endorse anything themselves, it fell to Dafoe and the Ontario bureaucracy to work out the financial arrangements. Large corporations, many from the United States, where the quints enjoyed as much popularity as they did in Canada, rushed to have their blessing. The Colgate-Palmolive-Peet Company (today Colgate-Palmolive), a large producer of toiletries, ran innumerable advertisements showing the fivesome, all smiles, with an accompanying text that breathlessly told how much they liked Colgate Dental Crème (the older term for toothpaste) and Palmolive Soap. Other firms dutifully lined up: Carnation Milk, Quaker Oats, Karo Syrup, Body by Fisher, Lysol disinfectant, along with doll makers, candy makers, silversmiths, photographers, tourist agencies, and countless others.

The "Quintuplets' Lullaby," featuring words and music by Canadian composer Gordon V. Thompson (1888–1965), enjoyed brief popularity during the mid-1930s, as did just about anything else associated with the five. But their fame was fleeting; by the time they reached adolescence, the girls no longer received much press coverage and a new generation had found other personalities to admire. In 1954, Emilie died of an apparent epileptic seizure. Marie suffered a blood clot to the brain and died in 1970; her sister Yvonne followed in 2001 after a bout with cancer. Today, Annette and Cecile reside quietly in Canada, but from 1934 until the early 1940s, they lived under a government-sanctioned microscope, and lost irrevocably any chance at experiencing a normal childhood.

As a footnote to the Dionne story, the provincial government of Ontario in 1998 paid the surviving quintuplets some \$4 million (Canadian) as compensation for their treatment under official auspices when young.

See also Advertising; Fads; Newspapers; Toys; Youth

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DISNEY, WALT. Born in Chicago, Illinois, as Walter Elias Disney (1901–1966), his family moved first to a farm in Missouri in 1906, and then to Kansas City, Missouri, in 1910. While still a teenager, Disney joined the Red Cross and drove ambulances in Europe during 1917–1918. He left the ambulance service in 1919 and, because of some prior schooling in art, dreamed of a career as a commercial artist. In 1920, Disney formed a partnership with another young man, artist Ub Iwerks (1901–1971), the first of several important collaborators in realizing his dreams.

The two set up a business venture that failed. From there, Disney, Iwerks, and another promising artist, Fritz Freleng (1906–1995), created Laugh-o-Grams, a company specializing in short cartoons. It created some imaginative animations, but a lack of business left the fledgling concern bankrupt.

In 1923, at the behest of his older brother, Roy Disney (1893–1971), Walt moved to Burbank, California, and, working out of the proverbial garage, established Disney Brothers Studios. Although he could not draw well, Disney possessed a fertile visual imagination. He would sketch out his unending ideas, and staff artists, particularly Iwerks in these early years, brought them to cartoon fruition.

The team created Oswald the Lucky Rabbit in 1927; Oswald bore many resemblances to the later Mickey Mouse, and enjoyed some early popularity. Unfortunately, Universal Studios owned the rights to Oswald and held on to them when a falling out among the principals occurred. Unable to draw Oswald anymore, Disney and Iwerks created a new animal character, an intelligent mouse that would make cartoon history. That mouse bore the name Mickey. He made his debut in early 1928 in a short called *Plane Crazy*, a silent cartoon. Disney saw the possibilities of adding sound to his productions and followed *Plane Crazy* with the sound-enhanced *Steamboat Willie* that same year.

Disney himself provided the voice of Mickey, a job he continued to perform until 1947. An instant success, *Steamboat Willie* launched the newly named Walter Disney Productions into a remarkable number of short animated features. Mickey, however, would remain the all-time favorite, and between 1928 and 1940, the amiable rodent starred in 110 cartoons.

With Mickey Mouse riding high, Disney created Silly Symphonies in 1929, a series of creative cartoons that explored the limits of the animated medium. The first effort, titled Skeleton Dance, captivated audiences. Initially, Disney produced these films in black and white, but in 1932, intrigued by the new Technicolor processes being developed, he began releasing them in color, starting with Flowers and Trees. The move vastly improved their public appeal, and in time 75 Silly Symphonies reached the screen before being discontinued in 1938. Virtually everyone in Hollywood admired their artistry, and Disney collected an unprecedented seven Academy Awards in the Best Short Subject (Cartoons) category during the 1930s.

Most of Disney's cartoon work, both print and animated, remained resolutely nontopical throughout the Depression era, although that neutrality would change radically with World War II. Well-known faces might occasionally be caricatured or familiar landmarks might appear, but his work espoused escapism, humor, and whimsy; little or nothing about the Depression and its effects appears. One of his *Silly Symphonies*, however, struck a nerve during those troubled days. In May 1933, just a few months after **Franklin D. Roosevelt**'s (1882–1945) inauguration as President, the Disney studios released *Three Little Pigs*.

On the surface, this 10-minute cartoon tells the story of Fifer Pig, Fiddler Pig, and Practical Pig. Threatened by (Big Bad) Wolf, the pigs scurry home. The wolf blows down Fifer's straw house, as he does Fiddler's flimsy stick one. But Practical Pig's sturdy brick house resists the wolf's attacks. The song "Who's Afraid of the Big Bad Wolf," with music and lyrics by Frank Churchill (1901–1942) and Ann Ronell (1905–1993), shortly became a big hit, and many attribute its success to the message they saw as implicit throughout both the cartoon and the **music**: with a mix of hard work and practicality, people can beat the Depression; even with the "wolf" at your door, if you're prepared, he can't get in. It may not be what Disney and his staff had intended, but many took its imagery that way. In the darkest days of the Depression, *Three Little Pigs* and its accompanying song seemed just the tonic the nation needed.

Although the studio concentrated most of its efforts on movie cartoons, it did not ignore other media. When the 1930s began, Disney and Iwerks went their separate ways, although the artist would rejoin Disney in 1940. In the meantime, Disney had hired Floyd Gottfredson (1905–1986) in 1929. In Iwerks' absence, Gottfredson took over a new Mickey Mouse newspaper comic strip that debuted in 1930, a job he would hold until 1975. In time, Gottfredson created Mickey's print persona, one that millions of readers would come to know through the popular strip.

While Mickey Mouse became identified with Disney enterprises, one of the Silly Symphonies, a short called The Little Wise Hen (1934), introduced a new character, Donald Duck. A popular addition, he reappeared in a later 1934 Mickey Mouse cartoon, The Orphan's Benefit. He soon showed up in several more, and finally in 1937 came Don Donald, the irascible duck's first solo effort. A year later, Donald's nephews, Huey, Dewey, and Louie, made their debuts. Over 50 Donald Duck cartoons played theaters by 1941, and he sometimes eclipsed Mickey in popularity.

Beginning in 1935, Donald occasionally had bit parts with Mickey in the latter's well-established comic strip. Just as had occurred with other animated cartoons, Donald got a syndicated daily strip of his own three years later. From then until 1969, it would be drawn by Al Taliaferro (1905–1969). Although a comic book featuring Donald Duck appeared in England in 1937, none would be published in the United States until 1942. Carl Barks (1901–2000), a cartoonist often associated with Donald Duck, joined Disney in 1935, and he worked on many of the animated cartoons of the mid-1930s and later. His greatest fame, however, would come in the 1940s and the enduring popularity of Donald Duck comic books.

As his cartoons and **comic strips** grew ever more polished, and with Mickey Mouse and Donald Duck achieving tremendous popularity, Disney began envisioning a full-length animated feature. Working with all his staff, he planned a retelling of the legend of Snow White, a Grimm brothers fairy tale. During the Christmas holidays of 1937, he unveiled the fruit of that planning: **Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs**, an instant hit.

Emboldened by the positive reception given *Snow White*, Disney soon had other movies on the drawing boards. *Pinocchio* and *Fantasia* both came out in 1940, and *Dumbo* in 1941. Preliminary work had also commenced on another classic, *Bambi*, destined to reach theaters in 1942. Although he continued to churn out short cartoons and comic strips, Disney recognized, at the end of the 1930s, that his company's future rested with full-length feature films.

In any discussion of Walt Disney and his life, it becomes necessary to note many of the people who aided him on his path to success. But their contributions would be worth little without his genius for storytelling, his eye for character, and his shrewd business sense. He might not draw or plot as well as his many artists and writers, but Walt Disney parlayed the skills of others into the greatest popularity that cartooning has even seen.

See also Newspapers

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DOUGLAS DC-3. For the decade, no airplane better summarizes the changeover from wood and canvas, struts and wires, than the Douglas DC-3. First introduced by the Douglas Aircraft Company in a slightly different version as the DC-1 in 1933, this all-metal, Streamlined craft heralded the arrival of modern aerodynamics and technology to the field of **aviation**.



First manufactured in 1936, the DC-3 dominated commercial aviation throughout the decade. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

This transformation in aircraft design commenced when a competitor, the Boeing Airplane Company, introduced a somewhat similar passenger airplane a few months before its rival unveiled the DC-1. The Boeing 247 came off the assembly lines in February 1933. A Streamlined, two-motor, all-metal monoplane, the 247 possessed impressive statistics: it could fly at about 160 miles per hour for 800 miles, and it carried 10 passengers, although a cramped interior proved a drawback. Just four months later, the Douglas Aircraft Company unveiled a new airliner of its own, the DC-1.

Douglas manufactured only one prototype. Satisfied with its safety and performance, engineers rushed into production its successor, the DC-2, an airplane that exceeded the Boeing 247 in virtually all specifications. In the meantime, United Airlines, a carrier with corporate connections to Boeing and anxious to obtain a modern passenger plane, ordered all of the company's initial production run. Since that meant Boeing could not guarantee prompt delivery of 247s to other airlines, the commercial carriers looked elsewhere, turning their attention to Douglas.

The DC-2 featured a completely enclosed fuselage built as a single shell, or monocoque, and passengers and crew rode in a quiet, spacious cabin at speeds undreamed of until then. The DC-2 could cruise at almost 200 miles per hour—faster than most

military planes of the day—and stay aloft for some 2,000 miles, much farther than other commercial craft. Most telling, perhaps, the DC-2 carried 28 passengers, 18 more than Boeing's 247 model. Almost from the start, orders flooded into the Douglas offices, with the result that approximately 200 DC-2s would be built between 1933 and 1936. Boeing could never approach that level of success, manufacturing only 75 of their 247s.

By late 1935, executives from American Airlines began talking to Douglas designers about a modified version of the DC-2, an airplane capable of flying nonstop from New York City to Chicago. For longer flights, especially at night, they wanted to provide onboard sleeping arrangements for their customers. The idea of berths grew out of passenger train **travel**, where accommodations for sleeping had long been offered. The company developed the Douglas Sleeper Transport (DST) or "Skysleeper," as promoters called it, a dual-purpose airplane. By day, the DST would carry, as before, 28 passengers; at night, it boasted specially designed seats that folded together to make horizontal, bed-like arrangements for 14 patrons. At the rear of the cabin separate men's and women's dressing rooms, with toilets, allowed privacy. In order to accomplish all this, Douglas created a larger DC-2, calling the new model a DC-3.

DST or DC-3, Douglas's improved transport plane, made its debut in the summer of 1936 and outshone any and all competition. Within a short time, the DC-3 had become the mainstay of American commercial aviation. That dominance also extended to many foreign carriers; they found, as did their American counterparts, that the DC-3 offered a standard of mechanical reliability unequalled by any other plane. Economical to fly, it seldom required repairs other than normal maintenance. In production from 1936 until 1946, Douglas built well over 10,000 DC-3s, making the two-engine monoplane the most successful airliner of all time. It also proved profitable; by 1938, DC-3s were carrying over 90 percent of all commercial air passengers in the United States. Experts estimate that at the beginning of the twenty-first century, hundreds of DC-3s remain in active service around the world, a testament to the plane's ruggedness and durability.

See also Advertising; Buses; China Clippers; Design; Streamlining; Trains; Transportation

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DRACULA. The title of a Victorian-era novel, Dracula achieved its greatest popularity as a 1931 movie. Written in 1897 by Bram Stoker (1847–1912), he claimed his book was based on legends about a fiendish Count Dracula, or Vlad the Impaler. Capitalizing on popular beliefs about vampires, the "undead," and other widespread superstitions, Stoker's novel caught the public's imagination and became a best seller. In 1927, a stage version enjoyed modest success, but not until 1931 did Hollywood belatedly discover Stoker's tale. That year Universal Studios released Dracula, based more on the play than the book; it would become a classic film.



Bela Lugosi (1882–1956) (right), as the evil count, threatens Edward Van Sloan (1881–1964) in 1931's Dracula. (Courtesy of Photofest)

Only one in a long succession of pictures about the legend of Count Dracula, director Tod Browning's (1882–1962) retelling of the Dracula legend has influenced generations of moviegoers, set and costume designers, and performers. German director F. W. Murnau (1888–1931) had overseen an expressionistic silent movie interpretation of the vampire story titled *Nosferatu* in 1922. According to Murnau, the word "Nosferatu" means a "living corpse" or "vampire," but his film bears little resemblance to its later American sound counterpart and ultimately had little effect on how audiences perceived this kind of horror.

Browning, on the other hand, had the good fortune to land Romanian-born actor Bela Lugosi (1882–1956) for the title role. Previously unknown to the general public, Lugosi had created a distinctive persona for the evil count during the 1927 stage production. Although he had played a variety of roles prior to Dracula, his performance attracted attention and created an enduring image of Dracula, one that even contemporary performers still acknowledge.

Speaking with a peculiar accent that no linguists can trace, but one that people love to imitate, and swathed in a black cape that now serves as a standard for children dressed up as the count for Halloween, his stage and later screen performances catapulted him to stardom. For the remainder of his professional life, Lugosi found himself typecast for roles in horror and fantasy films, and audiences expected him to speak with his odd

accent, look malevolent, and generally reprise the character of Dracula, no matter what the movie or the plot. As a result, for the next quarter century he acted in a few of the best (*The Black Cat*, 1934; *Mark of the Vampire*, 1935)—and many of the worst (*Night of Terror*, 1933; *Murder by Television*, 1935, *Shadow of Chinatown*, 1936)—scary **movies** ever produced by Hollywood. Often reduced to playing an embarrassing caricature of himself in later years, Lugosi's depiction of Dracula stands as the actor's outstanding achievement in a decidedly uneven career.

The flimsy plot—by now almost a cliché—offers a villain doomed to darkness and gloom, since vampires cannot survive the bright rays of the sun. Living his lonely life in a castle perched atop a crag, Dracula lures the unwary to his lair so he can drink their blood, the source of his immortality. Screenwriters saw to it that Dracula's destruction always hinged on uncertainty: seemingly dead as the end credits scroll on screen, the vampire may or may not really be dead—he might just resurface in a subsequent horror film. Audiences accepted this uncertainty, and a succession of movies played to this expectation.

For the turbulent 1930s, the success of *Dracula* helped escalate horror and fantasy films into a popular genre whose very escapism served as an antidote to the grim economic realities awaiting audiences outside the theater. Inside, the creepy play of light and shadow on the screen, accompanied by exaggerated acting on the part of virtually everyone involved, created a mood of melodramatic suspense, and people willingly suspended any disbelief as plots and action unfold. For a couple of thrilling hours, **movies** like *Dracula*, *Frankenstein* (1931), *The Bride of Frankenstein* (1935), *Freaks* (1932), *The Mummy* (1932), and *King Kong* (1933) alternately thrilled and frightened millions, giving them a temporary respite from the Depression. For many, the 1930s will be remembered as the golden years of the Hollywood horror film, and *Dracula* will rank among the best.

See also Best Sellers; Stage Productions

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EARHART, AMELIA. With a combination of boyish good looks, a jaunty attitude toward taking risks, and heaps of publicity provided by a celebrity-obsessed media, Amelia Earhart (1897–1937) rose to fame quickly. The American public, still fascinated with the exploits of Charles Lindbergh (1902–1974) and his 1927 solo transatlantic flight, transferred a measure of its adulation to this young aviatrix, the term then used to identify a woman pilot. In return, she established new records for speed and distance, not just for women, but for the larger field of **aviation**.

Earhart had first been bitten by the flying bug in 1920 when, as a passenger, she climbed into the open cockpit of a flimsy biplane and found herself above Los Angeles for about 20 minutes. That experience led her to seek out Anita "Leta" Snook (1896–1991), another pioneering woman aviator, who taught her to pilot an airplane.

In 1922, Earhart gained attention when she set a women's altitude mark by climbing to 14,000 feet. She continued her exploits and in June 1928 received an invitation to be the sole passenger on a flight across the Atlantic. Until then, no woman had crossed the ocean by airplane. Wilmer Stultz (active 1930s) piloted a Fokker trimotor, and Louis "Slim" Gordon (active 1930s) served as flight mechanic. The three flew from Newfoundland to Wales, and the press nicknamed Earhart "Lady Lindy," an allusion to Charles Lindbergh's nickname of "Lucky Lindy." She, however, displayed little patience playing the role of passenger, even a record-breaking one.

Just a year later, Earhart herself took the controls and completed an east-to-west solo flight across the continental United States, another first for women. Her growing fame allowed her to join Transcontinental Air Transport (TAT, later to be TransWorld Airlines, or TWA) as a spokesperson encouraging other women to fly commercially. She also helped organize the Ninety-Nines, a group of 99 women pilots who likewise promoted aviation.

In her ceaseless efforts to popularize flying, Earhart pushed for the creation of a women's Los Angeles to Cleveland, Ohio, air race, or derby. In 1929, with comedian Will Rogers (1879–1935) in attendance, the first such derby took place. Given the absence of males, Rogers quipped it should be called a "Powder-Puff Derby," and the name stuck. By whatever term, these air races further heightened public awareness of women in aviation.

The 1930s proved Amelia Earhart's banner decade. Piloting a Lockheed Vega, a Streamlined craft for the era, she established several women's speed records in 1930.



Aviatrix Amelia Earhart (1897–1937). (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

Well aware that no one, man or woman, had flown solo across the Atlantic since Lindbergh, she undertook the challenge in 1932. Taking off from Newfoundland in May, almost five years to the day after Lindbergh, she successfully landed in Ireland. The feat earned her a tickertape parade in New York City and additional celebrity.

She wrote for Cosmopolitan magazine and dabbled in fashion design. Her 1932 flying suit, created for the members of Ninety-Nine, featured loose trousers, a zippered top, and large pockets. It found favor outside aviation circles, and Vogue magazine advertised it. An "Amelia Earhart" label helped sell women's sportswear in stores like Macy's and Marshall Field's.

More importantly, however, Earhart continued to fly and break records. In 1935, she became the first person to challenge the Pacific Ocean, piloting a plane from Hawaii to Oakland, California. She went on the lecture circuit, flying herself from Los Angeles to Mexico City (a first), and then from Mexico City to Newark, New Jersey (another first). But all the speeches and the **travel** served only as a rehearsal for her dream: a flight around the world.

It came as no surprise when she announced such plans in 1936. Plotting an equatorial route of some 27,000 miles, a feat no one else had yet tried, she planned to make the journey in a Lockheed L-10 Electra, one of the most modern planes of the day. Earhart selected Frederick Noonan (1893–1937) as her navigator; he possessed both marine and flight navigational expertise, needed skills since much of the journey would be over water.

After a delay in California, Earhart and Noonan regrouped in Miami, Florida, and embarked on June 1, 1937. Following the equator, they flew to Puerto Rico, then to South America, Africa, across the subcontinent of Asia, on to southeast Asia, and then to New Guinea. They had completed 20,000 miles and had only 7,000 to go. On July 2, the two departed Lae, New Guinea, bound for Howland Island, a sliver of land in the vast Pacific. Somewhere over open water, the plane disappeared. In news stories that rivaled in emotion any event of the decade, reporters chronicled Earhart's lost flight and the efforts to locate it.

The U.S. government instituted extensive searches, ultimately spending over \$4 million (roughly \$56 million in contemporary dollars) in attempts to find traces of the fliers or their aircraft. The disappearance of Amelia Earhart has entered American popular folklore. **Movies** have been produced, books written, new searches attempted, and conspiracy theories of every kind advanced, but she, Noonan, and the Lockheed Electra remain missing, a tantalizing, unsolved mystery of the 1930s.

See also Advertising; Magazines; Newspapers; Radio; Eleanor Roosevelt; Streamlining; Shirley Temple

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EDUCATION. In 1929–1930, slightly over 28 million children and adolescents attended either public or private schools. During the first two years of the economic crisis, most schools operated about as usual, but by the fall of 1931 they began experiencing serious financial strains. Unemployment and lower incomes meant lower tax revenues and less money for the schools. In real numbers and on a percentage basis, more white students went to school than did the children of minority groups.

Some business leaders argued that the country could no longer afford universal public education, with the most extreme proponents wanting to close the schools altogether. Others felt schools should remain open but that instruction be restricted to trade skills and job training. The majority of Americans, however, wanted to maintain high standards and expose children and adolescents to a solid educational experience.

To solve the unbalanced budgets of the early 1930s, many communities shortened their school year from a national average of eight months to six months. Across the country, the duration of a school year varied; children in rural areas usually spent less time in classes than their urban counterparts. Administrators also abolished numerous programs, especially extracurricular activities that went beyond the basics of reading, writing, and arithmetic. School districts issued used textbooks, halted construction projects, and reduced the size of staff and salaries. Some of the worst cuts occurred in rural districts and in the South where by 1934 an estimated 20,000 public schools had closed their doors to about 300,000 children. These cuts hit black students the hardest. Southern states segregated schools by race, and those for black children historically received less money and resources than those attended by white children.

Teachers and other educators strove to preserve both their jobs and the quality of education. In Illinois, the Chicago system served as an example of schools staying open simply because dedicated teachers continued to work even knowing they would not be paid. In an attempt to gain some political clout, the National Education Association (NEA) created the Joint Committee on Emergency Education to raise awareness of the problem and lobby for solutions.

After the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) in 1933, the federal government assumed a greater share of the financial aspects of economic relief, which in turn released local and state money for other uses; 32 states had increased aid to education by the mid-1930s. Closed schools reopened, most for eight or nine months, and the majority offered a curriculum focused on basic academic subjects—along with courses that prepared young women to manage their future homes efficiently and raise their children intelligently, while giving young men instruction on how to provide a reliable family income. Programs in art and music became available through the Federal Art Project



A one-room school in rural Alabama. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

(FAP, 1935–1943), and the **Federal Music Project** (FMP, 1935–1943). These initiatives also offered work for many unemployed teachers, artists, and musicians.

Adult-supervised organizations, such as the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Young Men's or Women's Christian or Hebrew Associations, helped the struggling schools by offering after-school activities including athletics, drama, and crafts. These efforts became an important part of the educational system and frequently utilized school facilities. Community organizations also offered adult education and vocational training courses at local schools in the evenings.

Along with a decrease in tax revenues, other conditions during the 1930s affected the educational system. Financial hardships forced people to postpone marriage and having children, which resulted in a decline in the birth rate. That in turn, altered elementary school enrollment. At the same time, the number of students in high school skyrocketed; many young people who could not find jobs extended their educational careers. Thus, despite a decrease in the national public school enrollment, a higher percentage of the school-age population actually attended school, an additional strain on financially strapped school systems.

Even with the growing desire for an education and the sharp increase in the number graduating from high school, enrollment in colleges and universities dropped about 10 percent between 1932 and 1934, but then increased during the second half of the decade. The number of women pursuing a college education rose slightly during the 1930s, but their percentage of total college enrollment decreased because of the growing number of men attending four-year institutions. Many college-educated women opted

for marriage over a career, but some entered professional careers, and an estimated onefourth of all women attempted to combine both matrimony and a full-time job.

As the country recovered from the Depression, the number of college and university faculty increased, as did the number and variety of courses. Traditional arts and science schools added programs in the fields of business, engineering, anthropology, political science, and sociology. Some colleges and universities also offered courses related to everyday life. Indiana University's course on marriage, begun in 1938 by zoology professor Alfred Kinsey (1894–1956), stands as perhaps the most striking example. Also, college life took on an increasingly serious aspect as more students showed an interest in history and became actively involved in political discussions.

For many of the students enrolled in college during the worst of the Depression, it took ingenuity to remain in school. Some managed to find work; many cooked meals in their rooms; and others had their own cows and chickens for milk and eggs. The colleges, despite their own dwindling resources, attempted to grant financial concessions to gifted and promising students with little or no money.

Beginning in 1934, the federal government provided financial aid through the Federal Emergency Relief Act (FERA; 1933–1935) and assisted 75,000 college students during the second half of the 1933–1934 academic year. They worked as teacher and library assistants or did clerical tasks. In return, the federal government paid these student workers, selected by their colleges or universities, a maximum of \$20 a month (over \$275 in today's dollars) during the school term. In 1935, administration of this aid program moved to the National Youth Administration (NYA; 1935–1943) and expanded aid to include graduate students under the age of 25, along with a special fund created for black graduate students.

The NYA also provided financial relief and job training to unemployed young people who did not attend school. By 1938, NYA educational programs had enrolled over 480,000 individuals, almost half of them women. Other **New Deal** initiatives also served as alternatives to schools and offered educational opportunities. For example, the **Civilian Conservation Corps** (CCC, 1933–1942) primarily provided work for unemployed, single male youths. It too embraced educational components. The Works Progress Administration (WPA, 1935–1943; name changed to Work Projects Administration in 1939) provided financial assistance to states in five areas: general adult education, literary classes for adults, vocational education, vocational rehabilitation, and nursery schools for preschool children from underprivileged homes.

Lack of tax dollars for adequate funding may have been the primary issue for schools during the 1930s, but concern by parents and others often centered on what constituted the best learning conditions. In response, two notable education events took place during the 1930s: literacy programs and testing. The educational publisher Scott-Foresman and Company introduced its *Elson-Gray Basic Readers* in 1930. Created and written by William S. Gray (1885–1960), Zerna Sharp (1889–1981), and William H. Elson (active 1930s), these texts are better known as "Dick and Jane" or "See Spot Run." The series contains stories featuring the same set of siblings, Dick, Jane, and Sally, along with their dog, Spot. Heavily illustrated, the pictures intend to help new readers associate a word with its meaning and teach reading through a whole word (or look-say) method, rather than using rote exercises with phonics. Scott, Foresman retired the Elson-Gray books in 1940, but retained the characters and the look-say method in its successors.

In October 1930, the Progressive Education Association established the Commission on the Relation of School to College. It had as its mission the study of the relevance of high school curriculum to college admissions and success. The Eight-Year Study, as it came to be called, tracked two groups of students from their first year in high school until college. Periodic tests of two groups, one taught in high school by the so-called progressive method and the other by a more traditional approach, attempted to determine if one group or the other scored better. The results favored progressive education, but perhaps the Eight-Year Study's most significant contribution involved the incorporation of periodic testing into the school year, a practice that has continued into the present.

By the end of the 1930s, the nation's total public school budget equaled the pre-Depression figures and public and private schools accommodated 95.5 percent of 5- to 17-year-olds nationally. Enrollment in colleges and universities had increased markedly. Through New Deal programs, young people and adults seeking a vocational education could receive basic shop training, skills that allowed them to secure jobs in the country's industrial base.

See also Federal Theatre Project; Federal Writers' Project; Leisure & Recreation; Race Relations & Stereotyping; Youth

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ELLINGTON, DUKE. Born Edward Kennedy Ellington (1899–1974) in Washington, D.C., this versatile composer-arranger-pianist-bandleader gained the nickname "Duke" at an early age because of his suave elegance. By the onset of the 1930s, critics and colleagues recognized Ellington as one of the most important musical luminaries of the day, a reputation he would burnish for the rest of his life. Comfortable in the realms of jazz, blues, swing, show tunes, and popular songs, he created an enormous body of work that continues to be performed and recorded. His sheer output—thousands of compositions—helped define American music for the twentieth century.

While still in his late teens, Ellington had become established in the local Washington music scene and had organized a number of pickup bands to play for various social functions. Within a few years, he went to New York City, assumed leadership of a band, and began composing in earnest. Such early classics as "East St. Louis Toodle-oo" (1926), "Birmingham Breakdown" (1926), "Creole Love Call" (1927) and "Black and Tan Fantasy" (1927) came from these formative years; fortunately, numerous older **recordings** exist that capture the promise of both his writing and his orchestra at this stage of his career.

But Ellington also had to cater to preconceptions about jazz and black musicians. Many people, fans and critics alike, characterized (and marketed) his work as "jungle music," the old stereotype of African origins and primitive tom-toms. He did indeed

make use of growling brasses, sensuous reeds, and exotic rhythms, and some of his recordings from the 1920s echo this conceit. That he could both create so-called jungle music and transcend it at the same time serves as a testament to Ellington's genius. Despite the obvious racial connotations in this phrase, it also describes the innovative compositions and sound the young composer and arranger was developing at the time.

In 1927, the Ellington aggregation moved to Harlem's famed Cotton Club, an engagement that would endure until 1932. During this time, his genius blossomed. He wrote an early extended work, "The Mooche," in 1928, and the band's first real hit, "Mood Indigo" (originally titled "Dreamy Blues"), in 1930. That year also counted the uptempo "Rockin' in Rhythm" and "Ring Dem Bells." Following the extended stay at the Cotton Club, the Ellington band found itself in demand. Concerts, clubs, and tours came along in profusion, but the hectic schedule did little to slow down Ellington's composing. A sampler of highlights from the 1930s:

- 1931: "Creole Rhapsody" (another extended work)
- 1932: "Sophisticated Lady" (lyrics added by Mitchell Parish [1900–1993] in 1933) and "It Don't Mean a Thing (If It Ain't Got That Swing)" (one of the first mentions of "swing" in the context of music)
- 1933: "Drop Me Off in Harlem," "Merry-Go-Round," and "Daybreak Express"
- 1934: "Solitude" and "Stompy Jones"
- 1935: "In a Sentimental Mood" and "Reminiscing in Tempo" (an extended work)
- 1936: "Echoes of Harlem" and "Caravan" (cowritten with Juan Tizol [1900-1984])
- 1937: "Azure" and "Diminuendo and Crescendo in Blue" (another extended work)
- 1938: "Prelude to a Kiss" and "I Let a Song Go Out of My Heart"
- 1939: "Ko-Ko" and "Something to Live For" (cowritten with Billy Strayhorn [1915-1967])
- 1940: "Don't Get Around Much Anymore" (originally titled "Never No Lament"), "Cotton Tail," "In a Mellotone," and "Day Dream" (cowritten with Strayhorn)

The 1940s would see no lessening of Ellington's talent; the hits—most would eventually become standards—continued unabated, and the orchestra remained distinctive. His flair for texture and tonality placed him on a unique plane; no one else duplicated his orchestra's sound, and his always-innovative compositions and arrangements put him far ahead of his contemporaries.

The Ellington orchestras, often described as extensions of the man himself, employed some of the most talented sidemen of the day. During the 1930s, his brass players included people like Rex Stewart (1907–1967), Cootie Williams (1910–1985), "Tricky Sam" Nanton (1904–1948), and Lawrence Brown (1907–1988), while artists such as Barney Bigard (1906–1980), Johnny Hodges (1906–1970), Ben Webster (1909–1973), and Harry Carney (1910–1974) anchored the reeds. His rhythm sections featured Sonny Greer (1895–1982), Billy Taylor (1906–1986), Jimmy Blanton (1918–1942), and, of course, Ellington himself on piano. Ivie Anderson (1905–1949) handled the bulk of the vocal chores for the decade.

As an acknowledgment of the band's success, Ellington and his sidemen appeared in several **movies**, a rare accomplishment for black entertainers in those racially segregated days. Three band shorts, *Black and Tan* (1929), *A Bundle of Blues* (1933), and *Symphony in Black* (1935), introduced many white audiences to the novelty of an all-black orchestra. They also appeared on screen in *Check and Double Check* (1930), a full-length feature that capitalized on the remarkable popularity of the *Amos 'n' Andy radio* show.

Not much of a motion picture, but it does present the Cotton Club Orchestra in its prime and even boasts **Bing Crosby** (1903–1977) vocalizing with the band.

The 1930s saw Duke Ellington's composing become increasingly urbane and refined; the "jungle music" phase of his career was relegated to the past. His compositions and performances can hardly be categorized as either white or black, but instead live on as part of the canon of American music.

See also Race Relations & Stereotyping; Songwriters & Lyricists

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EMPIRE STATE BUILDING, THE. An icon of New York City, a symbol of hope in the darkest days of the Great Depression, no other skyscraper in the world better epitomizes the concept of the tall building than does the Empire State Building (1931). When it opened its doors on Fifth Avenue between West 33rd and 34th Streets, this archetype towered 1,252 feet into the skies above Manhattan, making it far and away the tallest building—as well as the tallest man-made structure—in the world. Its 102 stories allowed it to retain first place among skyscrapers for the next 41 years, when it would be displaced by 1972's ill-fated World Trade Center.

Designed by the firm of Shreve, Lamb & Harmon, the Empire State Building's sleek, restrained **Art Deco** styling signaled the decline of the heavily decorated skyscraper; the gargoyles and other applied ornament of the nearby **Chrysler Building** (1930; 77 stories and 1,040 feet) spoke to an earlier era. William Lamb (1883–1952) functioned as the chief designer of the tower, and he favored the stripped-down minimalism that serves as the hallmark of the famous skyscraper. Primarily a means to save on expenses, it also signals in its unadorned verticality how the stark **International Style** would gradually encroach on new buildings.

The Empire State Building not only achieved status as the world's tallest skyscraper but also broke other records. From conceptual **design** to the opening ceremonies took only 27 months (1928–1931). The actual construction phase ran from March 1930 until May 1931, or just a little over 13 months. Some 3,000 workmen employed assembly-line methods, and frequently erected more than one story a day. Curious crowds would gather at the building's base and gawk as riveters and other crews perched themselves on the rising steel frame and went about their dangerous business. This furious pace allowed the tower to come in under cost estimates, a remarkable achievement in any age.

Clad in granite and Indiana limestone, with nickel-steel and aluminum trim from the sixth floor upward, it features flush windows that give the exterior a smooth, uninterrupted quality. In fact, the building exudes a stately air, unlike some of its more boisterous neighbors built during the 1920s. For the times, it suggests probity and strength, needed qualities in the dismal period that followed the exuberant Jazz Age. It also soars upward, confidence in the face of pessimism. Despite these optimistic readings, a more dubious side to the Empire State Building involved finding paying tenants for the huge office tower. Skeptics dubbed it "the Empty State Building," since the owners managed

to recruit only half as many tenants as hoped for. Not until after the Depression did it achieve full occupancy, and not until 1950 did it finally turn a profit on its many leases.

Documentary photographer Lewis Hine (1874–1940) captured the construction of the Empire State Building in a lengthy series of extraordinary pictures that have become the definitive record of that momentous event. He assembled those photographs, along with a number of others dealing with physical labor, into a book titled Men at Work: Photographic Studies of Modern Men and Machines (1932). The Empire State Building sections have since been separated into a volume on that structure alone, Lewis W. Hine: The Empire State Building (1998). These iconic views of workers, or "skyboys," going about their tasks while high above the city fail to show Hines himself, sometimes suspended in a special basket 1,000 feet over Fifth Avenue, composing and taking his shots.

In order to reach its great height, the structure boasts a spire atop its crown that had originally been designed as a mooring mast for dirigibles. Lighter-than-air craft had captured the public's imagination in the late 1920s, and



The Empire State Building at night. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

many people envisioned a time when silent, comfortable airship **travel** would become commonplace. Cities raced to have mooring facilities for the great hydrogen-filled Zeppelins. In theory—at least for the Empire State Building—the ponderous craft would glide up to the skyscraper and attach, nose-first, to the mast. Countless passengers would then alight from the gondola of the airship and descend, via a gangplank, to the building itself. In retrospect, such a departure would have been harrowing in the best of circumstances and probably impossible under windy conditions.

In 1931, in an experiment, a small, privately owned airship did connect with the mast, but uncertain, buffeting winds caused the crew to sever the connection, marking an end to the dream of dirigible travel into the heart of New York City. The mast stood unused until, after some modifications, it became the city's primary **radio** and **television** antenna, a function it continues to fulfill.

King Kong (1933), one of the great fantasy movies of the decade, employs the building's spire in a more imaginative way. Kong, the giant ape of the title, clambers to the top of the Empire State Building in a memorable sequence. With a screaming Fay Wray (1907–2004) clutched in his huge paw, he defies the "civilized" world that has put him in this predicament. Army Air Force planes, like pesky gnats, buzz around him, their machine guns chattering. Kong eventually falls to his death, but not before the Empire State Building, a symbol of triumphant modern technology, briefly stars in this classic movie.

See also Airships; Architecture; Photography; Rockefeller Center; Streamlining

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F

FADS. Usually consisting of trivial interests enthusiastically pursued by many people for a short period of time, fads require leisure time, a commodity available to many during the 1930s. Shorter work weeks or outright unemployment caused many Americans to seek low-cost diversions for their free time, and the 1930s provided them in abundance. In the area of music, swing and boogie-woogie attracted legions of fans, and dancers strove to master the jitterbug. Contract bridge, Monopoly, miniature golf, pinball machines, yo-yos, and bingo also had their moments during the decade. After the initial excitement died down, some activities that originated as fads became a part of ongoing popular culture.

The 1930s did not lack for off-beat crazes. People tried to drink prodigious quantities of coffee or set records for sustained gum chewing. Eating contests challenged participants to swallow more pies, eggs, clams, oysters, spaghetti, hot dogs, and the like in the shortest possible time. Rock-a-thons urged entrants to rock continuously in old-fashioned rocking chairs. To win this event, a contestant had to stay both in motion and awake longer than anyone else, and that meant not being lulled to sleep by the gentle movement of the rocking chair.

Many fads focused on endurance, and winners could claim money, food, or other prizes that offered some concrete relief during the era's economic difficulties. For example, with marathon dancing, all dancers benefited during the contest by being provided free meals and a cot for sleeping. The couple that danced the longest total time won a prize, usually a paltry sum of money. The marathon concept extended beyond dancing and included walking and talking, nonstop piano playing, seesaw riding, and kissathons, the last involving lip-to-lip adherence for hours or days.

Tree and flagpole sitters, a test of endurance carried over from the 1920s, involved climbing to the highest branches of a tree or to the top of a pole and attempting to remain there for weeks, even months. The sitters, most of them young, established a fee prior to ascending to their perches or had a partner collect money on the ground throughout the course of the event. The longer sitters stayed aloft, the more money they received and the more entertainment they provided the gawkers below.

Other physical feats also gained popularity. Entrepreneurs established individual and team bicycle contests designed to set records for the longest continuous time on a bike. Organized races, usually called six-day bicycle races, also took place. Riding on small

makeshift wooden tracks, two-person teams, usually a man and woman, circled the track for six entire days, taking turns and fighting exhaustion. Joe E. Brown (1892–1973), a well-known comedian, appeared in 6 Day Bike Rider (1934), a movie that reflected this fad's popularity. The 4,000-mile roller skating derby, modeled after the six-day bicycle race, emerged as yet another physical endurance challenge and brought a new kind of cheap entertainment to audiences. Abandoned warehouses and other indoor spaces became rinks to accommodate the growing interest and participation in this sport.

On a less strenuous but potentially riskier level, the chain letter seemed to guarantee easy money. It all began in the spring of 1935 in Denver, Colorado, and shortly thereafter had swept the country. A person receives a letter with a set number of names and addresses, say five or six. The recipient scratches off the first name, and replaces it with his or her name at the bottom of the list. But there's a catch: the recipient must also send a dime (about \$1.50 in contemporary money) to the person whose name got scratched and mail five copies of the letter with the new list to five additional people. In five progressions—and assuming the chain remains unbroken—the sender's name rises to the top and he or she makes a small fortune in dimes. Seldom, however, does the chain remain intact, and even less frequently does anyone make money. For a few months in 1935, such letters nonetheless swamped post offices across the country; even the White House and celebrities received them. Almost as fast as the fad developed, interest waned and by July 1935 it had passed into oblivion.

During the 1930s, language served as the source of a fun fad, the knock-knock joke. It goes like this:

[Set Up]: Knock. Knock. [Response]: Who's there?

[Teaser]: Ivan

[Response]: Ivan who?

[Punch line]: Ivan workin' on the railroad.

Or Dwayne ("Dwayne the bathtub, I'm drowning!"), or Snow ("Snowbody but me."), and so on. The possibilities were endless, and people loved them. This fad peaked in 1936, but like chain letters, knock-knock jokes have cropped up perennially ever since. That same year it even served as the source of a minor hit, "The Knock-Knock Song" (words and music by Bill Davies, Vincent Lopez, Johnny Morris, and Jimmy Tyson [all active 1930s]), for the Vincent Lopez Orchestra. Band members cried out, "Knock, knock," and a vocalist responded with "Who's there?" And so it would go through yet another corny punch line.

In the early years of the decade, language also contributed to a fad with the spread of "Hooverisms." They all referred to President Herbert Hoover (1874–1964) and his apparent inability to deal effectively with the Depression. A collection of tents, cardboard boxes, tarpaper shacks, and the like became known as "Hoovervilles." Usually located close to railroad tracks, they sufficed as housing for the homeless and unemployed, especially in large cities. In these temporary villages, many slept under layers of newspapers known as "Hoover blankets." Turned inside out, the white lining of jacket or pants pockets showed the owner had no money and people dubbed them "Hoover flags." Dinner might consist of rabbits—"Hoover hogs"—cooked over an open fire. Well-worn shoes, usually with visible holes, were "Hoover shoes," and "Hoover leather" described the cardboard used to resole them.

"Hoovercart" and "Hooverwagon" rodeos, which first appeared in North Carolina in 1933, involved hitching teams of mules to the back halves of broken down Model-T Fords for a race over an obstacle course. The event quickly became the rage across the country. Finally, a "Hoovercrat" described someone who still voiced faith in the beleaguered president.

Perhaps one of the most surprising fads of the decade had its origin in 1935 at Harvard University. A freshman swallowed a live goldfish, apparently on a dare. Boston reporters had been informed of the upcoming event, and from their coverage other college students repeated the stunt on their campuses within days. Quickly established as a full-fledged fad on American campuses, the intent shifted from gulping down just one goldfish to swallowing the greatest number. New records were set daily—28 fish at the University of Michigan, 29 at Boston College, and 33 at Albright College. In 1938, an MIT student set the unofficial record by swallowing 42 goldfish in succession. There might have been a Depression, there might be a war looming, but in the time-honored tradition of American students, there was always time for silliness.

See also Automobiles; Coffee & Tea; Education; Games; Fashions; Hobbies; Leisure & Recreation; Youth

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FAIRS & EXPOSITIONS. Since time immemorial, people have flocked to fairs. They provide amusement, information, celebration, and a respite from the day-to-day world. Despite the economic challenges of the time, the 1930s proved no exception. Citizens attended an untold number of agricultural fairs as well as larger expositions that attempted to show how life becomes better as a result of hard work, technological advancement, and healthy living.

The 1933–1934 Century of Progress Exposition (Chicago World's Fair) and the 1939–1940 New York World's Fair stand as the decade's most important. Two other large celebrations qualified as World Fairs: the California Pacific International Exposition (San Diego, California, 1935–1936) and the Golden Gate International Exposition (San Francisco, California, 1939–1940). Smaller events during the 1930s included the Yorktown Sesquicentennial (Yorktown, Virginia, 1931), the Texas Centennial Central Exposition (Dallas, Texas, 1936), the Greater Texas and Pan American Exposition (Dallas, Texas, 1937), and the Great Lakes Exposition (Cleveland, Ohio, 1936–1937).

The Yorktown Sesquicentennial opened on October 16, 1931, as a four-day celebration of the surrender of the British and the 1781 conclusion to the Revolutionary War. The post office issued a 2-cent commemorative stamp, and speeches, fireworks, band concerts, reenactment of the final battle, military displays, and remarks by President Herbert Hoover (1874–1964) marked the event.

Texas observed 100 years of independence from Mexico by staging the 1936 Texas Centennial Central Exposition in Dallas. The state coupled the Dallas exhibition with regional fairs, and the events complemented a dual theme of history and progress. The Hall of Negro Life marked a milestone, the first recognition of black American culture at an important, widely publicized fair, although black Americans encountered considerable hostility and segregated facilities throughout the fairgrounds.

On June 12, 1937, The Greater Texas and Pan American Exposition opened in Dallas on the heels of the Texas Centennial Central Exposition that had closed the previous fall. Twenty-one independent nations located in the New World organized commercial and governmental exhibits to celebrate their development and to promote international goodwill. The Pan American Casino, an amusement center, presented stars of stage, screen, and radio in an air-conditioned setting, and a symphony shell featured music and light and comic operas. The exhibition ended October 31, 1937, after several million fairgoers had passed through the turnstiles during its brief run.

Before the Dallas festivals had closed, the Great Lakes Exposition, with Streamlined architecture the dominant building style, opened in the summer of 1936, marking the centennial of Cleveland's incorporation as a city. Many workers received compensation from the Works Progress Administration (WPA; 1935–1943; name changed to Work Projects Administration in 1939), and selected exhibits from Chicago's Century of Progress Exposition made the move to Cleveland. More than 7 million people viewed the midway shows and toured the commercial and government displays. In a spirit of sharing, some of these exhibits later reappeared in New York's World's Fair.

The Aquacade, a marine theater featuring a stage that floated in Lake Erie, served as the centerpiece of the Cleveland celebration. Producer Billy Rose (1899–1966) provided a show starring Johnny Weissmuller (1904–1984), who played **Tarzan** in the **movies**, and Olympic swimmer Eleanor Holm (1913–2004). During the summer of 1937, Bob Crosby (1913–1993) and his Bobcats orchestra joined the show, adding a taste of **jazz** to the event.

Much greater prestige accrued to those festivals that gained the designation World's Fair. In 1934, business leaders in San Diego, encouraged by the financial success of the Century of Progress Exposition and the opportunity to reuse some of those exhibits, finalized plans for the California Pacific International Exposition, and succeeded in gaining the coveted title.

Employing the newest Hollywood lighting techniques, it opened on May 29, 1935, and incorporated into its architectural plan the Spanish-Colonial Revival buildings in Balboa Park that had distinguished an earlier fair, the 1915–1916 Panama California International Exposition. In addition, it drew on a number of more contemporary **Art Deco** designs for some of the new buildings and towers.

The exposition offered entertainment and displays of consumer goods and mechanical inventions intended to encourage a hope for a "golden tomorrow." True to this theme, exhibit structures (called palaces) included the Palace of Better Housing, the Palace of Food and Beverages, Palace of Education, Palace of Science, Palace of Water and Transportation, and the Palace of Pacific Relations. Entertainment ranged from bizarre sideshows to a performance of Felix Mendelssohn's (1809–1847) *Elijah*. The Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS radio) broadcast some of the orchestral and musical group performances. Many Hollywood and sports celebrities, politicians, and government

officials, including President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) and First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt (1884–1962), attended as spectators or participated in special events.

The San Diego fair closed on September 9, 1936, with a small surplus of money, although the 6.75 million visitors fell short of original expectations. It had nonetheless brought countless tourists to San Diego and created many jobs, with 65 percent of the workers receiving their wages from the federal government.

Community leaders in San Francisco likewise had gained the World's Fair classification for the upcoming Golden Gate International Exposition, a festival that commenced in February 1939. It highlighted Pacific unity and honored the construction of the world's two longest suspension bridges, the San Francisco–Oakland Bay Bridge (1936) and the Golden Gate Bridge (1937), both of which spanned portions of San Francisco Bay. The WPA had supported these projects and also contributed to the building of Treasure Island, the largest man-made island of its time. It served as the fair's site with 400 acres of usable space, and people could arrive via a 900-foot-long causeway or at docks and ferry slips for boats.

With the theme "Pageant of the Pacific," the grounds housed exhibit and administration buildings, towers, gardens, elaborate pools, statues, and two aircraft hangars of steel and concrete, since the site was slated to become the city's new municipal airport. An eclectic mixture of architecture allowed the commercial and agricultural displays to show the wares of more than 40 countries and the 48 states. Billy Rose's Aquacade showcased future movie star Esther Williams (b. 1922) and other synchronized swimmers in breathtaking high dives and spectacular group formations. Also, the Cavalcade of the Golden West, with 300 actors and 200 animals, presented the history of the West regularly during the run of the exposition.

The Gayway, the exposition's amusement center, provided, together with the exhibit areas, a dazzling example of technological advancement by generating light visible for 100 miles. The fair closed on September 29, 1940, and despite an attendance of a little over 17 million, incurred a debt of half a million dollars. Treasure Island never served as San Francisco's airport; instead it became a primary naval base and embarkation point for U.S. forces heading to the Pacific during World War II.

With the financial challenges of the decade, the cities sponsoring these fairs had to justify spending millions of dollars to present what might be viewed as frivolous events. In some instances, actual attendance fell below projections and the festivals lost money, but the sponsors claimed both short and long-term benefits. For the short term, they brought visitors that added to the income and revival of many local businesses. These fairgoers spent hours or days being amused, instructed, and diverted by the exhibits and special shows that allowed manufacturers and organizations to display products and services. Fairs also boosted the regional and national images of their sites, and they created jobs.

Long-term benefits included new buildings, parks, and planned urban centers that often contributed examples of contemporary architecture for future generations to enjoy. The exhibits developed new markets for sponsors and exhibitors alike, plus they showcased the best in fine arts and design. Through displays of ethnic foods and customs, millions of American citizens learned about other nations. As an important sociological benefit, particularly in troubled times, fairs and expositions always showed the positive side of things; they uplifted and cheered everyone in attendance, restored hope in national progress, and created a vision of future prosperity.

See also Buses; Design; Race Relations & Stereotyping; Radio Networks; Songwriters & Lyricists; Stamp Collecting; Streamlining; Swimming; Swing; Travel

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FASHION. Throughout the 1930s, millions of Americans went to the **movies** to briefly escape the hard times; while there they learned about the latest hairstyles and fashions. Most people liked what they saw on the screen, and a select few could afford the extravagant clothing that the stars wore, such as furs and the latest evening dresses that echoed the verticality of a skyscraper. But most moviegoers could only hope to copy the new styles in as economical a way as possible. Established fashion houses and traditional elite fashion **magazines** found their authority greatly diminished as more and more of the general population turned to popular culture as their arbiter of taste. Generally speaking, the October stock market crash of 1929 marked a turn in fashion **design** from the flat, angular, boyish lines of the 1920s to one of softness, curves, and simplicity.

Women's Clothing. In a noticeable change from the previous decade, curves, slimness, smoothness, and ready-to-wear describe women's fashions of the 1930s. Along with belts, women wore more form-fitting undergarments and dresses, so the waist, hips, and bust reappeared, while longer skirts covered the knees. In both summer and formal gowns, the back, once hidden, could again be seen, daring and sexy, but within the confines of the Hollywood Production Code.

New assembly line technology developed for the clothing industry allowed the greatest range of styles and prices ever seen. Most American women became enamored of mass-produced clothes made from affordable materials like cotton, linen, and rayon. The simple print dress, cut to fit the average figure, outsold other dresses. It also offered the advantage of not readily showing spots or stains, thereby keeping cleaning costs to a minimum.

For those watching expenses during the Great Depression, Sears, Roebuck offered cheap "Sears-Ettes"; the name quickly changed to "Hooverettes" to make a humorous association with President **Herbert Hoover** (1874–1964) and the nation's economic woes. These reversible, wraparound dresses tied at the side, could fit almost anyone, and offered another way to cut cleaning costs.

In addition to using cheaper materials, some manufacturers reduced their expenses by selling a garment that could be finished at home; the buyer stitched up the seams and hem. Many women preferred doing more than just the simple finish details; they wanted to update or create their own and their children's wardrobes. For this growing market, publishers like McCall's and Butterick provided an extensive line of pattern books; piece goods stores stocked a variety of fabrics and materials; and Sears catalog and retail stores sold sewing, knitting, and crocheting supplies.

American women in the 1930s consulted advertisements, mail-order catalogs, and articles in popular magazines for fashion suggestions. They might read *Vogue*'s spread on the look

for the season, but they also went to the movies and found, for example, useful information for planning a wardrobe through careful study of Joan Crawford's (1905-1977) clothes in her latest film. Hollywood leading ladies cooperated: dozens of stars, such as Claudette Colbert (1903-1996), Loretta Young (1913-2000), and Ann Sothern (1909-2001), lent their endorsements for "Autograph Fashions" found in Sears, Roebuck catalogs. Manufacturers likewise responded to the Hollywood influence; soon after a film's release, copies of the fashions seen in it appeared on store racks at moderate prices. In addition, articles about current fashions abounded in Hollywood, Modern Screen, Movie Mirror, Photoplay, Screenland, and similar fan magazines.

Obeying the dictates of style, padded shoulders grew in popularity and sleeves became puffier. Because more women wore daytime suits, dressy blouses held an important spot in most wardrobes. The material manufacturers used for skirts and dresses was often cut on the bias. This meant the fabric clung to the contours of the body, giving a fluid drape to an article of clothing. Companies like Maidenform and Warners introduced



Typical women's fashion from the 1930s. (Courtesy of Photofest)

sized-bras, and in 1931 the development of Lastex by the United States Rubber Company turned the heavy girdles of the past into lighter, more comfortable garments with stretch. Finally, nylon stockings experienced immediate success with their introduction in 1939.

An increasing awareness of the importance of exercise influenced more women to look to sports for good health and enjoyment. Sportswear therefore became lighter, less burdensome, and specific to the activity. For example, women tennis players appeared on the courts wearing socks, along with a pleated skirt and sweater, but bare legged. By 1933, some dressed in conservative shorts or culottes, which meant shedding several pounds of unneeded garments, such as corsets.

Likewise, **swimming** attire lost much of its extraneous bulk and appeared more form-fitting and Streamlined. Two-piece bathing suits, especially those made of light materials, gained popularity by mid-decade. Stretchable Lastex added to the comfort of the bathing cap that covered most or all of a woman's hair when in the water.

Trousers, like the loose ones worn by Katharine Hepburn (1907–2003), appeared as an important wardrobe item not only for golf or bicycling but also for casual lounging

at home, and even for formal evening wear. Thanks to Barbara Stanwyck (1907–1990) and other stars appearing in **Western films**, a few women dared to wear jeans, especially when horseback riding.

Again, looking to the stars for leads, and much to the joy of Max Factor, Elizabeth Arden, Revlon, and Maybelline, nail polish, especially dark colors, along with matching lipstick, pencil-lined eyebrows, false eyelashes, powder, rouge, and mascara, enjoyed widespread use. Fan magazines frequently published features showing a popular actress in the process of applying makeup and giving advice about techniques.

Since the majority of women could not afford expensive jewelry, many purchased costume items such as necklaces, hatpins, clips, bangle bracelets, and a variety of earrings. Bold unusual buttons also added excitement to an outfit. Favorite jewelry designs made of enamel as well as stamped metal and molded plastic included the zigzags, chevrons, and other geometric shapes that tended to characterize the **Art Deco** style.

Hats continued to be a fashion necessity, and the cloche from the 1920s retained a degree of popularity. Smaller hats worn tilted over the right eye and requiring an elastic strap to secure the hat to the back of the head achieved favor after 1932. Actress Greta Garbo (1905–1990) added to the popularity of two hat styles, the Empress Eugenie, made of soft felt and often featuring a feather, such as what she wore in *Romance* (1930), and the pillbox, a simple, round design she sported in *As You Desire Me* (1932). Several variants on Tyrolean models, including the trilby, also sold well, as did tams, turbans, babushkas, berets, and sailor hats. The fashion industry boosted consumption by encouraging the color coordination of hat, handbag, gloves, and shoes.

The small hats of the 1930s complemented the longer tresses that style dictated. Technology also added new possibilities for hair fashions, including improved electric curling irons and permanent-wave machines. They supported the popularity of the sculpted look, as did marcelled waves, a substitute for permanent waving. Electric hair dryers had been around since the 1920s, but refined temperature settings and multiple speeds marked an improvement on earlier models.

As with clothing, the movies influenced hair styles. In the early 1930s, Jean Harlow (1911–1937), "the Blonde Bombshell" of the movies, popularized platinum blonde hair. Not everyone was born a natural blonde, but dyes, henna rinses, and bleaches enjoyed a vogue as women tried to improve on nature.

In 1933, John Breck (active 1900s–1930s), a New England shampoo manufacturer, deviated from the usual generic shampoo mix that washed most hair and offered his product in three types—dry, normal, and oily. His son, Edward Breck (active 1930s–1940s), became head of the company in 1936 and hired commercial artist Charles Sheldon (1889–1960) to paint portraits of glamorous women with beautiful hair. These illustrations would come to be known as the Breck Girls. This continuing series will be remembered as one of America's longest running and most successful advertising campaigns.

Men's Clothing. Fashion shifts for men were less pronounced than those for women, and with the exception of the zipper fly, which replaced buttons and became standard by mid-decade, a suit purchased in 1939 closely resembled one bought in 1930. Wide neckties, accompanied by equally wide lapels, continued to be worn. Most business suits consisted of three pieces: pants, jacket, and vest. Virtually all men wore hats or caps, with the fedora the favorite. As the decade progressed, a trend toward less formal dress for males emerged, a trend that included sports jackets worn with

slacks of a contrasting color and the disappearance of the vest. A wider variety of headgear became available, with soft felt snap-brims and panamas the most popular models.

Perhaps the most noticeable change in men's fashions came with padded and broader shoulders. The lounge suit, less formal than the traditional business suit, featured a tapered waist and sometimes a belted back, along with a single-breasted jacket. The lightweight seersucker suit became available in 1936 and allowed more comfortable warm-weather wear. Palm beach cotton and the mohair suit also sold well.

Wide trousers, initially popularized in the 1920s, became somewhat narrower. By the mid-thirties, however, young men's trouser styles favored high, exaggerated waistbands and a return to extremely wide cuffed bottoms. But well before the decade ended, pants again became slimmer and straighter. Through all of this, older and more conservative males tended to avoid any changes whatsoever.

In 1936, the Bass Shoe Company produced its Weejun, a comfortable slip-on shoe that gained popularity, particularly with college students. This shoe promoted a more casual mode of dress and helped popularize the term "loafer." Many began inserting a shiny penny in the piece of leather that went across the instep, giving birth to the "penny loafer."

Jockey introduced its now-famous soft cotton brief in 1934, a comfortable change from "long johns" (underwear that covered arms, legs, and torso) or other cuts made of coarse lisle, muslin, or scratchy wool. Swimming apparel continued toward the conservative look with dark, heavy knit wool trunks and sleeveless shirts still the rule. A daring variation occurred early in the decade when a few men appeared without tops at New York beaches. This break with tradition caught on with young men across the nation and by 1934 the Sears catalog featured swimming trunks with no tops.

In 1939, Johnny Weissmuller (1904–1984), a champion swimmer at the 1924 and 1928 **Olympic Games** and the star of a number of **Tarzan** movies, modeled one-piece, topless swimsuits containing Lastex for BVD advertisements. Lastex, important to women's undergarments as well as men's swimsuits, also benefited male fashions in the manufacture of hosiery. Elasticized socks reinforced with Lastex made garters a dispensable accessory.

Although most men's clothing styles saw little change, their personal grooming habits underwent some significant shifts. Dry shaving—no razor, no soap—became possible with Schick Corporation's 1931 introduction of the electric razor, an instant success. By the end of the decade, numerous companies had sold 1.5 million models a year at the relatively high cost of \$15 to \$25 each (roughly \$215–\$360 in contemporary dollars). The popularity of the electric shaver caused **hotels**, ocean liners, **trains**, and passenger airplanes to provide power sources in convenient areas, such as bathrooms.

Until the 1930s, antiperspirants and deodorants had been used primarily by women. This situation changed dramatically when advertisers began to target men. Lifebuoy Soap ads, spoken over radio stations in a foghornlike voice, warned about BO (body odor) in endless commercials, and sales shot up. For hair styling, most men still preferred the pompadour style, which required hair creams or greases to achieve the "slicked down" look. But some movies showed male actors with their hair natural and tousled by the wind. Once again, films made a significant impression and the pomaded look slowly faded. By the end of the decade lotions and the like continued to be widely used but only to maintain a part and some slight control. Many men relied on just a comb and water.

Children's Clothing. Children's wear also experienced change. During the 1930s, two influences determined the direction of styles for little girls: first, the outfits worn by the two youngest members of the British royal family, Princesses Elizabeth (b. 1926) and Margaret (1930–2002), and second, anything worn by child movie star Shirley Temple (b. 1928). During these years, little girls dressed like children, not small adults. At the beginning of the decade, they looked about the same as they did during the 1920s, wearing short dresses with matching bloomers that showed. By the mid-1930s, girls everywhere adopted the Shirley Temple look of a high-waisted or straight-cut dress and a large ribbon for the hair, especially after the young star began modeling her own line of clothes in the Sears catalog. The decade ended with dresses having a more natural waistline with fuller skirts and puffed sleeves, although pinafores, sunsuits, and playsuits also held great appeal.

Boys often wore scaled-down versions of men's suits, but with short pants instead of regular trousers. Some youngsters might be seen in sailor suits complete with scarves, insignia, and bell-bottoms. Those 8 to 12 years old preferred knickers, elasticized pants that ended just below the knee and tucked into high argyle socks. Virtually all boys, just like their older brothers and fathers, owned several hats. Two popular models were the traditional white canvas sailor's cap and a leather aviator's helmet like that worn by Charles Lindbergh (1902–1974) and other well-known pilots.

Adolescents' Clothing. By their teens, both girls and boys moved to adult clothing, conventional dresses for the girls and long pants for the boys. Of course, by virtue of being teenagers, they were exposed to most clothing **fads**, but the severity of the Depression at the beginning of the decade and the recession toward the end prevented most adolescents from indulging in passing fashions.

For all ages, casual dress became more acceptable. As the 1930s progressed, industries and businesses increasingly provided employees paid vacations, usually a few days or one week. The resulting increase in individual and family **travel** influenced acceptance of less formal attire during the day and in the evening when dining at a restaurant or hotel. By the middle of the decade, many younger women appeared in public wearing shorts instead of slacks or dresses. Also, with the increased emphasis on people being outdoors for leisure, not just work, a suntan became not only acceptable but also a status symbol. To aid in the process, General Electric manufactured ultraviolet lamps for inexpensive home tanning sessions, and Coppertone made a fortune selling various lotions that enhanced tanning.

The 1930s represented a time of conservative fashions with a majority of people favoring simplicity and practicality. Femininity made a comeback; men practiced more intensive personal grooming; and the leading fashion authorities for Americans moved from Paris to the movies and other popular culture venues.

See also Aviation; Amelia Earhart; Illustrators; Jerome Kern; Leisure & Recreation; Restaurants; Youth

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FEDERAL ART PROJECT (FAP). At a time when unemployment claimed almost 25 percent of the nation's workforce, Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) took office as president of the United States. At his 1933 inauguration, he offered the promise of a New Deal designed to alleviate this and related problems. His administration soon thereafter recommended relief for those hit hardest by the Great Depression through a multitude of programs. One of the first, the Public Works of Art Project (PWAP; 1933–1934), received funding from the newly created Civil Works Administration (CWA; 1933–1934). Managed by the U.S. Treasury Department, the PWAP served as a pioneering art program, providing emergency assistance with minimum qualifications for enrollment. It strove to employ artists who would create works that fell under the general theme of the "American scene."

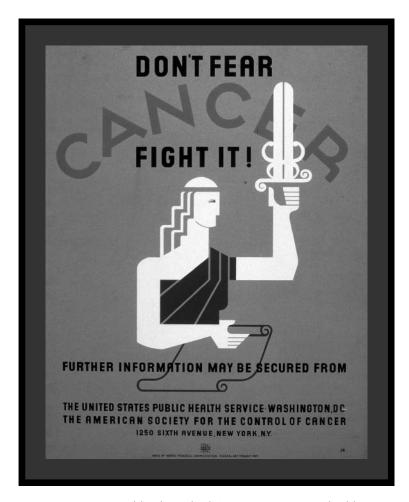
The Treasury Department assigned Edward Bruce (1879–1943), a successful lawyer, banker, and painter, to organize and direct the PWAP. The agency divided the country into 16 regions, each headed by a local art authority, and the program operated for six months with remarkable accomplishments. In that brief time, about 3,750 artists produced over 15,000 pieces of art, many of outstanding merit. A large exhibition of paintings at the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, D.C., marked the successful end of the PWAP, and most of the creations from this program went around the country to adorn schools, hospitals, public libraries, and museums.

Throughout the life of the PWAP, the Roosevelt administration steadily advocated the idea of artists as productive members of society, just like laborers and factory employees. On a similar plane, the Artists' Union, formed in New York City in 1934, advanced and protected the rights of their members; its magazine, *Art Front* (1934–1937), likewise supported the needs of artists.

By 1935, the government had devised an umbrella agency called the Works Progress Administration (WPA; 1935–1943; the name changed to Work Projects Administration in 1939). Headed by Harry Hopkins (1890–1946), the WPA oversaw various New Deal programs. In one of its first moves, the WPA founded Federal Project Number One; it housed four bureaus that emphasized cultural concerns: art, **music**, theater, and writing. The Federal Art Project (FAP: 1935–1943), one of the four programs, had Holger Cahill (1887–1960) at its helm, and it supplanted the previous Public Works of Art Project. The FAP employed painters, sculptors, graphic designers, and photographers who met professional standards as well as the relief requirements set by their respective states. It became the largest art project ever undertaken by the federal government.

Although meaningful work for unemployed artists served as the principal function of this project, Director Cahill also placed a strong emphasis on the promotion and dispersion of art throughout the United States. The FAP had branches in all 48 states, with the majority of participants found in New York City. In light of the city's importance, in December 1935, a Federal Art Project Gallery opened there, and received considerable attention from the media, which sometimes denounced the "bad art" that emerged from federally subsidized programs. During the second half of the decade, some government officials began to question enrollees with possible leftist leanings. New York City police arrested 219 artists in 1936 when they protested a proposed 19 percent cut in the number of workers active in the four federal arts programs in the city.

The various FAP offices across the country operated somewhat autonomously. Collectively, they offered three types of activities: art production, art **education**, and art



A poster, commissioned by the Federal Art Project, promotes health awareness. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

research. This approach allowed some painters and sculptors to continue in their studios. However they worked, their output can only be called phenomenal. Public institutions, such as schools in rural settings, received on permanent loan 85,000 of about 100,000 easel paintings done during the program's existence. Over 250,000 prints of various subjects from 12,581 original designs significantly raised the production totals. Sculptors alone created over 13,000 pieces, ranging from small ceramic figures for public schools and libraries, to monuments for parks, housing developments, and historic battlefields.

Artists, along with art teachers, participated in the education division and lent their talents to settlement houses and 100 community art centers in 22 states, each week providing instruction in techniques, along with classes in appreciation. "Art caravans," cars and panel trucks equipped with supplies, traveled the countryside, making instruction available to all. Art education for children evolved as a strong outreach program, and the FAP staff regularly organized exhibitions of their work, as well as that of adult students.

The primary output of art research, and one of the most impressive projects undertaken by the FAP, involved the *Index of American Design*, a wide-ranging attempt to find, identify, and provide precise reproductions of distinctive American artifacts. From 1935 to 1942, painters working in centers in 32 states combed museums and private collections to compile a 22,000-plate index of selected objects, such as glassware, ceramics, costumes, textiles, quilts, weather vanes, farm implements, metalwork, **toys**, furniture, and other items characteristic of the varied lifestyles of Americans across the country. The National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., now houses portfolios of this seminal work.

Other FAP accomplishments included over 2,250 murals completed for hospitals, schools, and other public places. Approximately 500,000 photographs, as well as two educational films, one on the painting of a fresco and the other on how to make a mosaic, document both FAP and WPA work. The Arts Services section furnished illustrations and posters to the other Federal One divisions—music, theater, and writing. Today, the Prints & Photographs Division of the Library of Congress in Washington holds 908 boldly colored and graphically diverse original posters from the FAP. A scenic **design** division rendered models of historic stage sets and architectural models for planning and educational use; it even boasted a stained glass unit that worked out of New York City.

At the time of the formation of the Federal Art Project, the Treasury Department directed two parallel programs. One, assigned to Edward Bruce, called the Treasury Department Section of Painting and Sculpture (1934–1938), evolved into the Treasury Department Section of Fine Arts (1938–1939) and then into the Section of Fine Arts (1939–1943), usually shortened to "the Section" or just Section. At the time of this last name change, officials transferred the project from the Treasury Department to the Federal Works Agency (FWA), an agency created in 1939 at the time the Public Works Administration (PWA; 1933–1939) was abolished. The FWA consolidated those groups of the federal government dealing with public works. Officials designed the Section and another Treasury Department program, the Treasury Relief Art Project (TRAP; 1935–1939), to expedite the decorating of new public buildings. Employing works of the highest quality, these programs undertook the job of making art accessible to all people.

To implement these goals, Louis A. Simon (1867–1958), already the supervising architect for a huge building program for post offices and courthouses all over the United States, in 1934 began working under Bruce and had direct jurisdiction over the Treasury Department Section throughout its several name changes. Funding came from an administrative order authorizing the expenditure of one percent of the total cost of each public building for decoration, provided funds were still available on completion.

The Treasury Relief Art Project, funded by the WPA, functioned more directly as a relief program. Initially, 90 percent, and six months later, 75 percent, of the artists working with TRAP came straight from relief rolls. Like the other Treasury Department projects, TRAP used its budget for the decoration of federal buildings. Artist Olin Dows (1904–1981) served as its national director.

Many of the TRAP jobs, like those of the Section, centered on both old and new post offices. Whatever the type of building, a selected structure tended to be located in an area with available, qualified artists who could carry out the job. Frequently, a master artist had primary responsibility, with one or more assistants helping with the execution. Under this arrangement, TRAP produced 89 murals and 65 pieces of sculpture,



A 1934 mural painted by Scaisbrooke Langhorne Abbot (1908–1985). It originally hung in the entrance to the Lynchburg, Virginia, city hall. (Photograph by Nancy Blackwell Marion)

some of which can be found at six Public Works Administration housing projects. TRAP also employed over 100 painters to create easel pictures and prints. Miscellaneous jobs involved drafting, **photography**, and framing.

The placement of murals depicting images of the "American scene" in at least one new post office in each state stands as perhaps the best-known Depression art project. Guidelines urged that the works reflect scenes and events of local interest. Often mistaken as WPA/FAP art, credit for these murals actually rests with artists hired by the Treasury Department. Open, anonymous competitions determined who would be granted contracts, as in any other government job.

Once awarded a commission, the muralist had to negotiate and work with Post Office Department personnel, the community, and the Treasury Department staff as to the final content. Genre themes of Americans at work or leisure repeatedly appeared. Social Realism, though popular at the time, rarely provided subject matter for these murals; Americans standing in breadlines cannot be found on the walls of post offices from the era. Instead, the viewer sees, in addition to local scenes, the celebration of daring and heroic historic events. For those murals still in place today, localities possess a colorful record of some of their heritage, as well as a glimpse of the public's taste at an earlier time.

During the nine years of its artistic involvement with the arts, the Treasury Department held 193 competitions; the first large one, for decorations to the new Department of Justice and Post Office Department Buildings in Washington, awarded contracts to 11 painters. Several gained lasting reputations, including George Biddle (1879–1943), John Steuart Curry (1897–1946), Rockwell Kent (1882–1971), and Reginald Marsh (1898–1954). The competition also selected Thomas Hart Benton (1889–1975) and Grant Wood (1892–1942), but they had to withdraw because of other commitments. Over the course of these competitions, a total of 1,205 artists received contracts for 1,124 murals and 289 pieces of sculpture.

National and world conditions toward the end of the decade led to concerns about budgets and funding reductions, which, in turn, signaled the beginning of the end of government assistance to the arts. From 1941 until the closing of most New Deal programs, money dwindled and the number of artists working with these programs steadily declined. Those remaining with the FAP did work for the military and the Office of Civilian Defense, until they, too, were phased out. These artists produced camouflage patterns and illustrations for guidebooks for U.S. soldiers going abroad, made visual training aids for the War Department and Air Force, and turned out armbands and posters.

Some of the thousands of painters, printmakers, and sculptors who participated in one or more of the federal art programs gained only momentary recognition, while others advanced as representatives of high quality contemporary American art. But whatever the artist's reputation, both the FAP and the Treasury Department projects produced a wealth of work that can still be enjoyed. In the heartland of America, a piece by Grant Wood executed under the PWAP auspices hangs at the Iowa State College Library in Ames. In New York City, a visitor to the New York Public Library can view four large panels executed for the FAP by Edward Laning (1906–1981) or see paintings done by Reginald Marsh in 1937 at the U.S. Custom House. On the opposite side of the country, the Coit Tower in San Francisco contains murals furnished by 25 painters under the direction of Victor Arnautoff (1896–1979), the influential muralist. Elsewhere, museums, post offices, customs buildings, and other sites boast pieces by New Deal artists such as Arshile Gorky (1904–1948), Marsden Hartley (1877–1943), Jackson Pollock (1912–1956), and Philip Guston (1913–1980).

The New Deal art projects clearly advanced the idea of artists as workers and art as a cultural labor worthy of government support. The **New York World's Fair** of 1939–1940 showcased both FAP and Section work, giving one last hurrah to these programs' contributions to the art world and society in general.

See also Architecture; Federal Music Project; Federal Theatre Project; Federal Writers' Project; Illustrators; Leisure & Recreation; Magazines; Regionalism

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION (FBI). A government agency, part of the Department of Justice, the FBI can trace its roots to the presidency of Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919). He founded a group originally called the Bureau of Investigation with the intent that it could provide him favorable public relations and "research" (investigative) assistance about political enemies. Limited in the scope of its activities, the bureau attracted little attention until 1932 and the infamous kidnapping of aviator Charles A. Lindbergh's (1902–1974) infant son. Both Presidents Herbert Hoover (1874–1964) and Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) granted the agency significantly increased powers in the aftermath of that case. Congress in 1933 passed the Lindbergh law, strong

antikidnapping legislation that allowed the FBI to immediately step into investigations provided state lines had been crossed or postal services had been employed in the commission of the **crime**. Throughout the remainder of the 1930s, the once-anonymous agency made headlines and gained the reputation of an elite law enforcement unit.

Much of the FBI's success can be attributed to its energetic director, J. Edgar Hoover (1895–1972). During World War I, Hoover, a young civil servant, had joined the Intelligence Division of the Justice Department; in this job he developed passionate anticrime, anticriminal attitudes. In 1921, Hoover moved to Justice's Bureau of Investigation (officials added the word "Federal" in 1935) as its deputy director. After three years, he became the full-fledged leader of the bureau, a post he would hold until his death almost half a century later. Wise in the ways of bureaucracies and media imagery, especially after the sensational news coverage accompanying the Lindbergh kidnapping, Hoover made sure the FBI became widely known and remained in the public eye.

In 1935, Warner Brothers released an action-packed James Cagney (1899–1986) movie titled "G" Men. A box office success, "G-men" (government men) became part of everyday speech. Hoover welcomed the term to identify his agents, although it could just as accurately apply to any law officer in the employ of the federal government. A similar film that year, one that revolved around kidnapping and G-men, was Show Them No Mercy! It also highlighted the resourcefulness of federal agents.

With an astute program of public relations, the bureau cultivated the image of an organization made up of clean-cut, crusading young men, ready to fight crime under any circumstances. Three women entered the bureau's ranks in the 1920s, but all had resigned by 1928. No women served as agents at any time during the 1930s. Despite this inequity, the agency thrived, providing stories about arrests and captures to eager media outlets. Capitalizing on the success of the movie "G" Men, a popular, long-running radio show called Gang Busters (1935–1957) initially used materials culled from actual cases supplied by Hoover and his staff. For its first few broadcasts, it carried the title G-Men. The show also featured details about most-wanted criminals and attempted to sound as authoritative and official as possible.

Newspaper comics picked up on the rising fame of the FBI with series like *War on Crime* (1936–1938), a strip that also claimed to be based on bureau files. Other **comic strips**, lacking access to the agency, nonetheless freely used the term G-men for their heroes; they took it for granted readers would link their characters to the FBI. **Pulp magazines**, such as *The Feds* and G-Men, found an audience, as did **Big Little Books**. The latter, usually targeted at younger readers, occasionally bore titles like *Junior G-Men* and *Ace of the G-Men*. "Junior G-Men Clubs" also flourished during the later 1930s, an acknowledgment of the sweeping popularity enjoyed by the FBI.

In addition to favorable media coverage, a series of spectacular shootouts and arrests in the mid-1930s heightened the agency's prestige. Mayhem and gore aside, the end of any criminal careers met with public acclaim. Although the FBI did not always directly participate in these encounters, Hoover saw to it that reporters understood the agency's connections to most newsworthy cases. He himself participated in several well-publicized arrests, although local law enforcement officials did not always welcome the heavy-handed presence of the FBI and its director.

Basking in favorable publicity, Hoover and the agency emerged as the iconic symbols of law enforcement; as long as villains threatened the public safety, Hoover and his agents

would be there to thwart them. A stern, all-knowing father, he brooked no rivals. Amid considerable press coverage, Hoover opened an FBI National Academy in 1935; it assured that agents would receive the latest scientific training and equipment. The bureau assiduously blocked publicity about individual agents; they did their jobs quietly, behind the scenes, and their professionalism encouraged teamwork, not individual heroics.

An example of Hoover's disdain for publicity-seeking agents occurred in July 1934. Acting on tips as well as a lengthy investigation, FBI personnel set up an ambush outside a Chicago movie theater for "Public Enemy No. 1" John Dillinger (1903–1934). When he came into sight, a bloody shootout ensued, and Dillinger died on the street. The press identified Melvin Purvis (1903–1960), the agent in command of the ambush, as "the man who got Dillinger." Purvis became an overnight celebrity, an honor he freely accepted, although no evidence exists to indicate that he actually fired the fatal shots. Suddenly an individual agent overshadowed the director himself, a situation Hoover did not relish.

In the meantime, Purvis found himself in the fortunate position of being on the scene when the FBI cornered "Pretty Boy" Floyd (1904–1934) in October. In fact, he mortally wounded the gangster. From there, Purvis, happily riding on a crest of publicity, publicly vowed to hunt down "Baby Face" Nelson (1908–1934), another criminal still on the loose. But Hoover denied Purvis a third spectacular capture. He pulled him from the Nelson case before its resolution and without a shot being fired. Then, using writers and reporters friendly to the FBI, Hoover set out to create new versions of the Dillinger and Floyd incidents, versions that in effect erased Purvis's name.

In subsequent retellings, the agency emphasized the importance of an investigation conducted by many agents, along with the irrational fears that criminals harbored about the FBI. Conspicuous by his absence in these stories, Purvis came to be seen as just another player on a team. Lacking any assignments, and out of favor with the director, Purvis resigned from the FBI in the summer of 1935, his star already fading. The legions of Hoover supporters continued to discount the work of what they saw as a publicity-seeking individual. In 1960, forgotten by the public, Purvis committed suicide. Hoover, on the other hand, flourished, the one person in the FBI allowed personal publicity, and by extension the most respected crime fighter in the nation.

As these events transpired, the motion picture industry, which had in the early 1930s been presenting lawbreakers almost as heroes in gangster films, did an about-face and dutifully followed Hays Office, or Hollywood Production Code, restrictions on the depiction of criminals. Following the release of "G" Men, Hollywood churned out dozens of pictures that celebrated law enforcement, the FBI in particular. One aspect of the rash of "G-men" features emanating from Hollywood ran counter to Hoover's attempts to downplay individual heroics. Without exception—and this exception also held true in all manner of popular media—these productions featured identifiable heroes. They might be members of a team, but they had names, from the prosaic "Dan Fowler" and "Jimmy Crawford" to the more exotic-sounding "Agent X-9" and "Operator 5," and their fans idolized them.

The new anticrime movies emphasized a repeated message: crime does not pay. Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, one of the biggest and most powerful studios, in 1935 launched a series of movie shorts under that umbrella title and often used FBI personnel in the productions. The series, which eventually numbered 24 features, lasted until 1939. Never before had a single federal agency enjoyed such sustained public and media acclaim.

With World War II in the offing, the focus of the FBI underwent a shift. From gangsters and racketeers, the emphasis moved to spies and other subversives. J. Edgar Hoover remained in the forefront, exhorting citizens to beware of any suspicious behavior, and the agency geared up for war. The love affair between the bureau and its public would continue for many years to come.

See also Little Caesar; Movies; Newspapers; Prohibition & Repeal

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FEDERAL MUSIC PROJECT (FMP). Following the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) to the presidency in 1932, his administration created a number of new government agencies, and in 1935 launched the Works Progress Administration (WPA; 1935–1943; name changed to Work Projects Administration in 1939), a massive relief program for the unemployed. Under the leadership of Harry Hopkins (1890–1946), the arts received special attention. Federal Project Number One fostered programs for art, music, theatre, and writing. The music component, called the Federal Music Project (1935–1943), provided employment for musicians unable to find jobs in their field. It also promoted music as an enjoyable leisure activity and integral part of community life. Organized into educational and performing units, the program focused on musical production, composition, and performance, but also stressed music education and appreciation, plus the preservation of local musical traditions.

The FMP offered free or low-cost concerts in schools, community centers, churches, orphanages, prisons, hospitals, public parks, and rental halls, and also provided vocal and instrumental lessons for poor adults and children, music appreciation programs, and training for music teachers. In addition, the project financially assisted community band, choral, symphonic, opera, and chamber group performances. During its four-year history, the FMP sponsored approximately 250,000 public concerts attended by some 150 million people in 43 states and Washington, D.C. In 1939 alone, an estimated 132,000 children and adults in 27 states received music instruction every week through the auspices of the FMP.

As with all sectors of American life, the Great Depression had hit musicians hard, as it had other areas of employment. Even before the 1929 stock market crash, the competition from radio, recordings, jukeboxes, and movies challenged anyone attempting to pursue a career in music. Thousands lost their jobs when symphonies and opera companies canceled seasons, hotels and restaurants eliminated musical entertainment, music students dropped classes, and school boards either slashed or completely cut funds for music programs and activities. Despite these bleak reminders of the Depression, at its peak the FMP employed 16,000 musicians, composers, conductors, and teachers.

Hopkins appointed Nikolai Sokoloff (1886–1965), former conductor of the Cleveland Symphony Orchestra from 1918 to 1933, as director of the Federal Music Project. Sokoloff, a Russian-born, Yale-educated violinist, attempted to promote what he believed to be an acceptable form of American music, that is, "cultivated" music over any "vernacular" formats. Under Sokoloff's leadership, the FMP urged the mass dissemination of



Many Americans received their first exposure to opera and other classical music through the Federal Music Project. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

highbrow music and programs that utilized symphonies, concert bands, and orchestras in preference to **swing** bands, gospel choirs, blues singers, and the like. To help achieve this goal, the FMP received \$9.6 million out of an initial allocation of \$27 million for the four art projects.

Sokoloff recognized the potential of radio and hoped to strengthen the possibility that classical music could rise to the forefront of programming. If successful, radio would then transmit "good" music to cities and rural areas where producing live shows faced difficulties. As a step in this direction, the project began recording snippets of symphonies and other music in 1936, eventually creating 315 one-minute musical vignettes taken from a large repertoire to send to any station that requested them. But Sokoloff was not alone in seeking to familiarize people with classical music. Prior to the birth of the FMP, both the National Broadcasting Company (NBC radio) and the Columbia Broadcasting

System (CBS radio) had been airing programs compatible with his aspirations. Examples of the networks' efforts included Walter Damrosch's (1862–1950) widely popular Music Appreciation Hour (NBC, 1928–1942), The Metropolitan Opera (NBC, 1931–1958; CBS, 1958–1960; consortium, 1960–present), The Radio City Music Hall of the Air (NBC, 1932–1942), and coverage of numerous symphony orchestras from cities as diverse as Rochester, New York, and Minneapolis, Minnesota.

The Composers Forum Laboratory, a 1935 FMP program introduced in New York City, afforded composers the opportunity to submit their work for review by a committee of musicians and project leaders. It favored new works with distinctive American themes; the compositions the committee accepted underwent rehearsal and public presentation with complete instrumentation. Branches of the laboratory also opened in Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Cleveland, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Los Angeles, and San Francisco.

Before the creation of the Federal Music Project, the United States had 11 recognized symphony orchestras; the FMP staff tried to increase this number by assisting interested cities in creating or reviving new or previously existing orchestras. Their efforts commenced in 1936, with a strong response from cities like Tulsa, Oklahoma, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and the state of Illinois. New groups, such as the Arkansas Symphony Orchestra, founded in 1938, and the San Antonio Symphony Orchestra, founded in 1939, received assistance. Within a short time, the FMP could boast 34 more American orchestras, along with thousands of radio broadcasts that reached millions of listeners across the country.

As it did with the Composers Forum Laboratory, the FMP favored musical initiatives that involved distinctly American themes. In 1938, it underwrote the first and only American Music Festival, one of the FMP's most ambitious undertakings. This three-day gala helped celebrate George Washington's (1732–1799) birthday and showcased FMP units performing favorites such as "When Johnny Comes Marching Home," "Yankee Doodle," the music of Stephen Foster (1826–1864), and the marches of John Philip Sousa (1854–1932). The American Music Festival ran in over 100 cities and employed more than 6,000 musicians. Encouraged by its popularity, planning for a repeat festival in 1939 immediately got under way. Unfortunately, the WPA budget cuts of that year precluded that event.

Also in 1938, the production of an opera titled *Gettysburg*, written by inexperienced composer Morris Ruger (1902–1974), with a libretto by Arthur Robinson (active 1930s), coincided with the 75th anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's (1809–1865) original 1863 Gettysburg Address. The planners of this offering hoped that an opera based on a beloved American president would bring the FMP positive publicity and increased support. After three presentations, one being on the Fourth of July over NBC's Blue Network, critics and FMP administrators agreed that the opera did not contain sufficient quality material and would not be performed again.

Sokoloff's emphasis on the promotion of classical music displayed favoritism toward European-derived "white" music and minimized the contributions of Native American, black, Mexican, or Asian composers. But this bias went only so far. At an Easter morning service in Miami, in 1936, an FMP-supported black choir of 100 voices sang for a sizable gathering of churchgoers. Additionally, the American Folk Singers, a Massachusetts group made up of black performers, sang both spirituals and classical choral works before large crowds in that state. On the West Coast, blacks participated in a 1938

concert conducted by composer William Grant Still (1895–1978), and it drew the highest attendance for an FMP event in Los Angeles for that season.

Classical music notwithstanding, the FMP subsidized efforts to collect and record indigenous American folk music, especially in the southeast and south central regions of the country. In 1937, as a part of its intent to perpetuate local musical traditions, the FMP published *Spanish American Folk Songs*. The next year, folklorist Charles Seeger (1886–1979), who had earlier worked with the father-son team of John (1867–1948) and Alan (1915–2002) Lomax in collecting folk materials, joined the agency as head of the Folk and Social Music Division. Seeger promoted the preservation of folk expression, along with musical education, but his efforts to save ethnic music came late in the agency's life and never reached fruition.

Budget cutting and the threat of war marked the beginning of the end of the FMP. First, in 1939, came a name change from the Federal Music Project to the WPA Music Program, followed by the actual shutdown of the agency in 1943. The final reports for the FMP, the largest single employer in Federal Project Number One, underscored its successes. Many felt that America had grown culturally richer as a result of the FMP, which had advanced interest in and consciousness of music in many parts of the country.

See also Federal Art Project; Federal Theatre Project; Federal Writers' Project; Leisure & Recreation; New Deal; Race Relations & Stereotyping; Radio Networks

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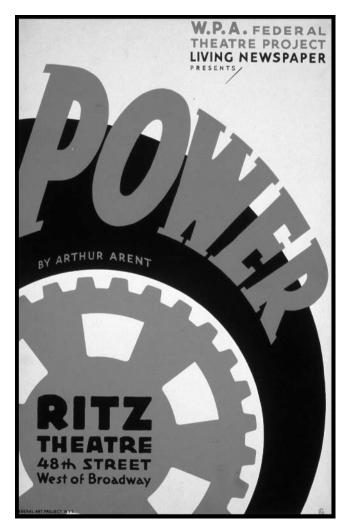
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FEDERAL THEATRE PROJECT (FTP). The New Deal's Works Progress Administration (WPA, 1935–1943; name changed to Work Projects Administration in 1939) established many initiatives, including the Federal Project Number One, a wide-ranging program focusing on the arts. One facet, the Federal Theatre Project (1935–1939), employed, on average, 10,000 people a year, with more than 12,000 people at its peak in 31 states and New York City. The FTP offered dance and acting classes at many of its sites and performed plays, not only in professional theaters, but in churches, convents, circus tents, university halls, showboats, community centers, and the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC, 1933–1942) camps—in short, any place willing to sponsor its shows. Despite accumulating an impressive record of successes, the FTP became one of the most controversial of the Federal One projects, accused of supporting subversive Communist ideas and wasting money, even though all these projects together spent less than 3/4 of 1 percent of the total WPA budget.

Well before the stock market crash of 1929, live theater experienced competition from movies and radio. Recorded music in talking pictures replaced the silent film orchestra; large numbers of stagehands and technicians found themselves without jobs; and Hollywood's star system overshadowed most stage performers. For its part, radio satisfied changes in public taste by airing a variety of entertainment, all of which could be received in the comfort of the home.



The Federal Art Project created this poster for its sister organization, the Federal Theatre Project. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

The Depression amplified these problems by putting an additional 20,000 theatrical workers out of work when attendance dropped sharply and playhouses closed. Harry Hopkins (1890–1946), a key architect of many New Deal programs, became head of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA, 1933–1935), and later served as the administrator of WPA. Hopkins believed that society had a responsibility to save the talents of the men and women in the arts, as well as those laboring in America's factories.

He appointed Hallie Flanagan (1889-1969), a professor from Vassar College, as director of the Federal Theatre Project. She led the organization in establishing two major goals: (1) hiring experienced actors, directors, playwrights, designers, vaudeville artists, and stage technicians then on relief rolls, and (2) making theater a vital part of community life so it could continue to function when the federal program ended. Flanagan's plan stressed administrative decentralization; it identified five regions of the country, and each area had to decide on theatrical projects that would offer plays of social and political relevance for local audiences. Her emphasis on this kind of experimental theater discomfited many politicians, a situation that steadily escalated and contributed to the program's eventual demise.

During the course of its existence, however, the FTP presented over a thousand productions, with most performed free. New York City, the home for most live theater in the U.S., served as the center for the bulk of the program's activities. Playwright Elmer Rice (1892–1967) had responsibility for a wide range of the city's FTP happenings—classical plays, along with new and experimental productions, children's theater, puppet shows, a Yiddish vaudeville unit, the Anglo-Jewish Theater, the Negro Theatre Project, and a German theatrical group.

In an effort to make drama germane and engaging, Flanagan and Rice oversaw the creation of "the Living Newspaper," one of the project's more controversial endeavors. It served as a theatrical documentary and applied techniques developed for radio and screen by the *March of Time* (radio: 1928–1945; film: 1934–1951). The Living Newspaper

format used a common man as a unifying character and included a mix of news, drama, fact, fiction, editorializing, and satire, all of which informed the audience of the aspects of a problem and then called for specific actions to solve it. This component of the FTP had a rough start. Outside censorship prohibited the opening of its first production, *Ethiopia*. Politicians feared that this dramatization of dictator Benito Mussolini's (1883–1945) ongoing invasion of Ethiopia would offend Italians.

Bowing to the edict of not depicting heads of state, the playwrights turned to contemporary headlines about social issues as starting points. The Living Newspaper commented on topics such as flawed government bureaucracy in *Triple-A Plowed Under* (1936) and deplorable housing conditions in America's largest city with *One-Third of a Nation* (1938). The last, an exceptionally busy play, provided employment for many, casting 67 actors who took on 195 roles. In New York, 60,000 bought tickets for *Power* (1937), a Living Newspaper on the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), clearly a sign of public interest in these topical plays.

By 1936, some congressmen who originally supported the New Deal became active critics of the program. Among them, Martin Dies Jr. (1900–1972) served as chairman of the newly created House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), nicknamed the Dies Committee. Charged with identifying disloyal and subversive organizations, the committee began investigating, among other things, the appropriateness of government-financed theater.

Flanagan responded to this pressure by moving from a focus on the accomplishments of each region to a national exchange of plays, directors, and ideas. For example, the Negro Theatre Project put on Shakespeare's (1564–1616) *Macbeth*. Directed by **Orson Welles** (1915–1985) and produced by John Houseman (1902–1988), the group moved the setting of the 1606 tragedy to contemporary Haiti and it toured Federal Theatre houses all over the country. On October 27, 1936, the FTP tried an even more daring venture by simultaneously presenting in 21 theaters in 17 states a dramatic version of Sinclair Lewis's (1885–1951) *It Can't Happen Here*. This adaptation of his 1935 novel emphasized its antifascist themes and enjoyed great audience appeal; over 500,000 people saw the show during its run of 260 weeks.

Even with these successes, the FTP's 1937 productions took place amid rumors of impending cuts in funding. *The Cradle Will Rock*, a musical written by Marc Blitzstein (1905–1964), and another Orson Welles and John Houseman production, opened after a couple of false starts in June of that year. The clearly leftist leanings in this production's protest songs prompted conservative congressional groups, such as the Dies Committee and the House Committee on Appropriations, to block its opening at its originally intended theater. The cast and crew, however, secured the small Venice Theatre in New York City to stage the production. But they encountered a new obstacle: the musician's union forbade its members to perform because of a disagreement about pay. Displaying great ingenuity, the show finally opened with Blitzstein playing a piano on stage and the actors scattered about in the theater seats speaking their lines as a single spot searched them out. *The Cradle Will Rock* played at the Venice for two weeks, moved to the larger Windsor Theatre in early 1938, and ended its run after 108 performances.

Another controversial musical, *Pins and Needles*, followed *The Cradle Will Rock*. Sponsored by the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU), the plot revolves around labor unions versus "the Bosses" and contains what surely must be the most noteworthy song title of the Depression—"Sing Me a Song with Social Significance" (1937; words and music

by Harold J. Rome [1905–1993]). Premiering in November 1937, its overwhelming success forced a move from its initial small home, the Labor Stage, to the larger Windsor Theatre, the same house that had earlier presented *The Cradle Will Rock. Pins and Needles* continued its run into 1940 and set a record for 1930s **musicals** with 1,108 performances.

Not all the FTP offerings dealt with controversy. In 1937, in an attempt to reach out to more diverse audiences, Paul Green's (1894–1981) historical drama *The Lost Colony* opened in a WPA-built outdoor theater on Roanoke Island, off the coast of North Carolina. A success then, this story of Sir Walter Raleigh's (c. 1552–1618) doomed colony has continued to play each summer in its island setting. Earlier that spring, Irish playwright George Bernard Shaw (1856–1950), along with his American counterpart Eugene O'Neill (1888–1953), had released their plays, 9 from Shaw and 14 from O'Neill, to the FTP for nationwide production at a low rental rate.

In another daring move, the FTP in 1938 crossed racial barriers by producing *The Swing Mikado* in Chicago. Seen by 250,000 in that city alone, this jazzy interpretation of Gilbert and Sullivan's 1885 operetta featured an all-black cast. After a five-month Chicago run, it traveled to New York City for 86 performances on Broadway. The opening night in New York saw First Lady **Eleanor Roosevelt** (1884–1962), a long-time supporter of the Federal Theatre Project, as well as Harry Hopkins and Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia (1882–1947), in attendance. Its success inspired impresario Mike Todd (1909–1958) to mount a similar production, *The Hot Mikado*, which contained even more **jazz**, **swing**, and blues. Dancer Bill "Bojangles" Robinson (1878–1949) headed its black cast, and timely jokes about the political situation of 1939 abounded. Eventually, *The Hot Mikado* ended up at the **New York World's Fair** (1939–1940), where individual tickets cost under a dollar (about \$14.50 in contemporary dollars).

As the decade drew to an end, the Federal Theatre Project, encouraged by its successes, planned to expand its offerings, but controversies and politics had created powerful critics. Some objected to the idea of subsidized theater; others challenged what they considered radical messages in many of the plays. With pressure from several sides, and the strongest objections revolving around political issues, the WPA withdrew federal funding and America's first great attempt at endowing the dramatic arts and developing a federation of theaters across the country came to an end. For a brief moment, despite myriad problems, American theater boasted a strong supporter in the federal government, and the FTP certainly reached out to people who had not normally participated in any way with dramatic activities. On June 30, 1939, the curtain fell for the last time, not only on Sing for Your Supper, a topical revue, but also on the Federal Theatre Project.

See also Design; Federal Art Project; Federal Music Project; Federal Writers' Project; Political Parties; Race Relations & Stereotyping; Franklin D. Roosevelt; Stage Productions

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FEDERAL WRITERS' PROJECT (FWP). After winning a landslide victory against Republican incumbent Herbert Hoover (1874–1964), Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) took office on March 4, 1933, as the 32nd president of the United States. Throughout Roosevelt's first term, his administration rushed into existence a number of new government agencies. The Works Progress Administration (WPA, 1935–1943; name changed to Work Projects Administration in 1939), not least among them, came into being in 1935. This group, an umbrella for many other ambitious programs, had the responsibility of putting unemployed citizens back to work in jobs that utilized their skills and simultaneously served the public good. Federal Project Number One, a WPA division that focused on creative activities, oversaw the Federal Writers' Project (1935–1943) along with corresponding programs for art, music, and theater.

Harry Hopkins (1890–1946), director of the WPA, appointed Henry Alsberg (1881–1970) as chief administrator of the Federal Writers' Project. Each of the 48 states, as well as New York City and Washington, D.C., had branches of the FWP. Alsberg served until 1939, followed by John D. Newsom (1893–1954), who headed the program until its dissolution in 1943.

The FWP provided work relief for beginning and experienced authors, newspapermen, researchers, and historians, who carried out writing and research projects approved by the WPA. Most importantly, the program allowed them to continue to exercise their talents and practice their craft. The FWP also offered employment to lawyers, teachers, librarians, ministers, architects, draftsmen, and other white collar workers. Enrollees in another federally supported agency, the National Youth Administration (NYA, 1935–1943), also provided research assistance.

From 1935 to 1943, the FWP systematically published the American Guide Series, an easily readable and informative collection of narratives about each state and Alaska. The Guides stand as the best known of the agency's projects. The majority of these books contain three parts: the first section consists of essays on the state's geology, industry, history, agriculture, literature, architecture, economy, racial and ethnic groups, arts, and leisure and recreation opportunities; next come descriptions of the state's major cities and towns, along with maps indicating points of interest; the last and largest section provides guided tours with a detailed mile-by-mile trip across the state on its principal roads, north to south and east to west.

As more and more people traveled throughout the nation in automobiles, it soon became apparent that earlier, nongovernment publications had not kept abreast of the nation's growth and expansion. The American Guide Series filled this gap with its books about the states and pamphlets covering many cities across the country such as New York; Washington, D.C.; New Orleans; Los Angeles; Philadelphia; Milford, Connecticut; Charlotte, North Carolina; and Lincoln, Nebraska, to name but a few. Regional guides for areas such as the Oregon Trail and U.S. Route One, and local guides for sites like Death Valley and Mount Hood, were also produced by the Federal Writers' Project.

In January 1937, the *Idaho Guide*, the first published volume in the American Guide Series, arrived just in time for the convening of the 75th session of the U.S. Congress. An intense prepublication publicity campaign announced the availability and importance of this and the other forthcoming guides. **Newspapers** ran articles and filler pieces based on material in the books; **radio** stations broadcast information; and exhibits at

public libraries, the Smithsonian Institution, public schools, and **fairs and expositions**, all of which contributed to strong interest and initial high sales.

The work of the FWP required many people and careful coordination. For example, to create the American Guide Series, teams of writers and researchers, themselves residents of the subject state, toured every corner of their assigned area interviewing people, gathering information, and recording extensive notes. They then sent written reports based on their findings to the FWP staff in Washington, who edited copy, approved the materials for publication, and secured publishers. Encyclopedic in their thoroughness, the American Guides gave no authorial credits; the writers labored in anonymity. This series not only served automobile tourism but also represented one of the few FWP projects that received almost unanimous praise.

Information gathered for the series led to other projects, among them the publication of books, articles, pamphlets, and monographs on all aspects of American life: history, architecture, folklore, nature studies, **photography**, and artwork, along with children's educational materials and essays about local customs. As they worked, FWP researchers recorded the life stories of more than 10,000 men and women from all parts of the United States, people who represented various occupations and national and racial groups. This allowed for significant contributions in the areas of folklore and ethnic studies, the first such materials to reach the general public.

Starting in 1932, John Lomax (1867–1948) and other members of his family established an affiliation with the Music Division of the Library of Congress. The Lomaxes traveled the country during this time recording songs to add to the Library's Archive of American Folk Song. Then, during 1936 and 1937, Lomax added to his titles first folklore editor for the Federal Writers' Project and consultant to the Historical Records Survey (HRS). For these two agencies, he directed folklore research and the gathering of narratives by former slaves. He also assisted with the development of an interview questionnaire to be used by project researchers.

Benjamin Botkin (1901–1975) followed Lomax as consultant and folklore editor in 1938. Botkin oversaw workers who interviewed former slaves in more than a dozen states and, in 1944, after the FWP had been dissolved, assembled a selection of these interviews in Lay My Burden Down; A Folk History of Slavery. Other ethnic studies publications from the FWP include The Armenians in Massachusetts (1937), The Hopi and The Navaho (1937 and 1938), The Italians of New York (1938), and Jewish Families and Family Circles of New York (1939). Sodbusters: Tales of Southeastern South Dakota (1938) and South Carolina Folk Tales; Stories of Animals and Supernatural Beings (1941) represent both the folklore and folk music contributions of the project.

In addition to the myriad FWP writing and research projects, Alsberg attempted to present the most talented authors with additional outlets for creative work. Through his efforts, the nationally popular *Story Magazine* in 1938 sponsored a writing contest for FWP employees. The judges included novelist Sinclair Lewis (1885–1951), newspaper columnist Lewis Gannett (1891–1966), and Harry Scherman (1887–1969), then president of the Book-of-the-Month Club. Out of 600 entrants, the judges declared Richard Wright (1908–1960) the winner. Wright's collection of four short stories, *Uncle Tom's Children*, dealt with the cruel prejudices of whites and the unyielding resentment of blacks. By winning the contest and being published, Wright won the attention of a wide audience for the first time. The prize money of \$500 (about \$7,300 in contemporary

dollars) permitted him to finish a novel, *Native Son*, which came out in 1940. Also, while working with the FWP, Wright gathered material for another book, *Twelve Million Black Voices* (1941), a nonfiction work produced in collaboration with Farm Security Administration (FSA) photographer Edwin Rosskam (1903–1985).

A number of other writers who worked for the FWP during the turbulent 1930s went on to establish lasting reputations. They include: Conrad Aiken (1889–1973), Nelson Algren (1909–1981), Saul Bellow (1915–2005), John Cheever (1912–1982), Willard Motley (1909–1965), Studs Terkel (b. 1912), Margaret Walker (1915–1998), and Frank Yerby (1916–1991). Some authors drew on their work with the project for future publications, such as Arna Bontemps (1902–1973) and Jack Conroy (1898–1990), who cowrote *They Seek a City*, an important study of black migration published in 1945. Ralph Ellison (1914–1968) used material from FWP interviews with Harlem residents when writing his 1952 novel, *Invisible Man*.

Luther Evans (1902–1981) led researchers on a project to evaluate resources in the area of history and genealogy. Initially begun with the FWP, this vast work came to be called the Historical Records Survey (HRS). Personality and management conflicts between Evans and Alsberg led to the HRS becoming an independent section of Federal Project Number One in November 1936. It drew on unemployed clerks, teachers, writers, librarians, and archivists who cataloged, analyzed, and compiled inventories of state and county records. Their work included a historic and legal description of counties and the value of their records, while state materials stressed manuscript collections and church archives.

In addition to the records survey, the HRS carried out other projects, such as providing supplements to the union list of newspapers, surveying portraits in public buildings, collating the collections of presidential papers and messages, developing bibliographies of American history and literature, indexing American musicians, historically listing and indexing unnumbered executive orders, and creating an atlas of congressional roll-call votes. The HRS employed, on average, 2,500 employees a month, with a high of 6,000 in 1938. After it became a part of the government's Community Service Program in 1939, however, the HRS could claim only 12 central office employees.

After the Pearl Harbor attack in December 1941, the Federal Writers' Project became known as the Writers' Unit of the War Services Division of WPA and produced recreational guides for servicemen. But at its 1936 peak, the Federal Writers' Project required the expertise of some 6,500 men and women; by the time of its closing, this agency had produced, including the American Guide Series, more than 276 books, 701 pamphlets covering many cities across the country, and 340 articles, leaflets, and radio scripts, altogether totaling 3.5 million copies. It also left for future students of American civilization an enormous amount of valuable unpublished materials. Perhaps the largest publishing project in U.S. government history, it cost about \$27 million (roughly \$393 million in contemporary dollars). Both literary and historical in nature, the accomplishments of the Federal Writers' Project equal any of the WPA's more construction-oriented projects.

See also Book Clubs; Education; Federal Art Project; Federal Music Project; Federal Theatre Project; Magazines; Race Relations & Stereotyping; Travel; Youth

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FIELDS, DOROTHY. In a profession long dominated by men, Dorothy Fields (1905–1974) challenged tradition and rose to become an outstanding songwriter and lyricist. In the twentieth century—particularly in its first half—only a small number of women approached success in the competitive field of songwriting. For the 1930s, examples would include Bernice Petkere (1901–2000), composer of such hits as "Close Your Eyes" (1932) and "Lullaby of the Leaves" (1932); Ann Ronell (1906–1993), who enjoyed success with "Willow Weep for Me" (1932) and the immensely popular "Who's Afraid of the Big Bad Wolf?" (1933); and Kay Swift (1897–1993), who penned "Can't We Be Friends?" and cowrote, with lyricist Ira Gershwin (1896–1983), "Dawn of a New Day" (1939), the official theme song of the 1939–1940 New York World's Fair. But by all measures of songwriting success—hits, number of compositions, variety, longevity—Fields towered above all her female counterparts.

Born into a show business family, Dorothy Fields's father, Lew Fields (1867–1941), made up half of the successful vaudeville team called Weber and Fields, the other half being Joe Weber (1867–1942). Despite her background, Fields did not find it easy breaking into the theatrical and musical world. But she brought organization and discipline into her quest, and her career flourished, eventually covering some 50 years and producing more than 300 songs. A clever, engaging lyricist, she started out in Tin Pan Alley in the 1920s, teaming in 1926 with composer Jimmy McHugh (1894–1969) for a number of good tunes. Together they created such standards as "On the Sunny Side of the Street" (Lew Leslie's International Revue, 1930), "Don't Blame Me" (Clowns in Clover, 1933), and "I'm in the Mood for Love" (Every Night at Eight, 1935). Their collaboration would last until 1935.

In the early 1930s, she, McHugh, and many others joined the exodus to Hollywood hoping to find lucrative work in **musicals**. Once there, she continued her association with McHugh, but began collaborating with other composers as well, such as Arthur Schwartz (1900–1984) and Oscar Levant (1906–1972). Her work with **Jerome Kern** (1885–1945), however, merits particular attention.

Beginning with *I Dream Too Much* in 1935, they joined forces on six movies, and her career moved constantly upward. Two of the pictures star Fred Astaire (1899–1987) and Ginger Rogers (1911–1995), the era's phenomenally popular dancing team. *Roberta* (1935) features such gems as "I'll Be Hard to Handle," "I Won't Dance," and "Lovely to Look At." For their second Astaire-Rogers film score, Kern and Fields created the music for *Swing Time* (1936). Many fans maintain that *Swing Time* ranks as one of the best musicals of the 1930s. That judgment comes in no small measure because of the superlative score that graces the movie. "The Way You Look Tonight," the Academy Award winner for Best Song in 1936, highlights the picture. But *Swing Time* contains almost nothing but highlights: "A Fine Romance," "Pick Yourself Up," and "Never Gonna Dance." All these timeless songs became popular hits and embellished the careers of everyone involved.

Another product of the Kern-Fields working relationship, When You're in Love (1937), stars Grace Moore (1898–1947), a prominent opera star. The movie resembles their earlier I Dream Too Much (1935), which served as a showpiece for contralto Lily Pons (1898–1976). Neither is particularly memorable, the best number, "Our Song," coming from When You're in Love.

Their fifth pairing, *Joy of Living* (1938), boasts both a story and lyrics by Fields. A combination of screwball comedy and musical, the film stars the capable Irene Dunne (1898–1990). The jump from musicals to comedy should not be thought a great one, since many film comedies utilize music as part of their plots, and vice versa. The term "musical comedy" in fact effectively bridges any gap between the two genres. Several standards, like "You Couldn't Be Cuter" and "Just Let Me Look at You," highlight the screenplay, a bright, cheery entry among the movies of the day.

One Night in the Tropics (1940), the final Kern-Fields concoction, stars the rising comedy team of Bud Abbott (1895–1974) and Lou Costello (1906–1959). This bit of fluff features "You and Your Kiss," "Back in My Shell," and "Simple Philosophy." Fields clearly made her living as a popular, commercial songwriter. In retrospect, it is remarkable how much of her music, often written for decidedly inferior movies, lives on, while the films themselves have been mercifully forgotten.

Dorothy Fields returned to New York around 1941 to resume writing for the Broadway theater, her first love. She remained productive and successful until her death in 1974.

See also Screwball Comedies; Songwriters & Lyricists

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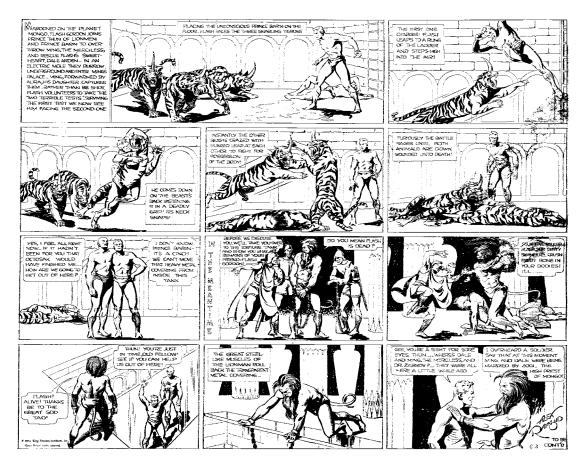
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FLASH GORDON. Science fiction and fantasy enjoyed multimedia popularity during the 1930s, and perhaps the most successful manifestation of the future appeared on Sundays in hundreds of newspaper comic supplements: *Flash Gordon*. The creation of cartoonist Alex Raymond (1909–1956), the strip first appeared in January 1934.

Other science fiction tales also appealed to audiences at this time, chief among them *Buck Rogers in the 25th Century*, a rival comic strip that had debuted in 1929, the creation of Phil Nowlin (1888–1940) and Dick Calkins (1895–1962). For sheer artistry and imagination, however, nothing quite equaled *Flash Gordon*.

An instant hit among readers, the series chronicles the adventures of Gordon, a hand-some space swashbuckler who, accompanied by the beautiful Dale Arden and the brilliant Dr. Zarkov, explores the mysteries and dangers of an alien planet named Mongo. The trio encounters a worthy adversary in Ming the Merciless, an evil emperor bent on destroying them in insidious ways. It may sound like the stuff of **pulp magazines**, but in Raymond's hands these plot devices coalesce into a continuing tale of good versus evil that works, thanks to the exciting graphics.



A typical Sunday panel of Flash Gordon. (© King Features Syndicate)

Raymond's equally vigorous *Jungle Jim* also premiered in 1934, serving as a "top" to *Flash Gordon*. Many Sunday series had such tops—usually about one-quarter the size of the primary strip—done by the same artist but featuring different characters. A rival to the popular *Tarzan* comic strip and movies, *Jungle Jim* depicts the exploits of a fabled "great white hunter" in Africa. A prolific artist, Raymond also briefly drew *Secret Agent* X-9, a daily based on the hard-boiled detective stories of Dashiell Hammett (1894–1961).

A master of clear, concise drawing, along with a good eye for color, Raymond possessed a fluidity of penmanship unmatched by most other cartoonists. He did not feel constrained to follow the traditional linear series of boxes (or frames) that characterized newspaper comics to tell his stories; instead, his drawings swell vertically and horizontally as the art and story demand. A Sunday page might consist of several small pictures to advance the plot and culminate in a large drawing encompassing a quarter of a newspaper page that brings events to a thrilling climax. In addition, Raymond treated his readers to a distinctive mix of the contemporary and the romantic.

Instead of the clunky, awkward spaceships that had defined most science-fiction illustration until then, Raymond indulged his drafting skills with a vision of Streamlined modernism when picturing anything mechanical or technological, such as weapons, rockets, or **architecture**. Sleek spacecraft cruise by towering cities of chrome and glass, but his characters may be on horseback, wearing flowing capes and robes that hark back to the days of knights and maidens. Flash must often defend Dale's honor in a grueling sword fight, and no ray guns enter the picture. It proved a curious mix of styles and eras, but it worked well for the series.

Although Raymond often receives credit for writing the continuity of *Flash Gordon* in its formative years, the scripting chores actually fell to Don Moore (1901–1986), an author who continued in that capacity for the remainder of the decade. In light of Raymond's crushing artistic load with *Jungle Jim* and *Secret Agent X-9*, small wonder he required help. Raymond's artistic assistant, Austin Briggs (1908–1973), began drawing a daily version of *Flash Gordon* in 1940. Bound for the Marine Corps, Raymond left the Sunday strip in 1944 and relinquished the series to Briggs. It never again reached its former greatness, but *Flash Gordon* carried on in the **newspapers** with a succession of new writers and **illustrators** until the mid-1990s.

For the 1930s, the popularity of the strip spawned something of a small Flash Gordon fad. In 1936, a Universal movie serial titled simply Flash Gordon played for 13 thrilling episodes at Saturday matinees everywhere. The episodes made a minor star of former Olympic swimmer Larry "Buster" Crabbe (1908–1983) as the intrepid hero. The serial's success brought about two sequels, Flash Gordon's Trip to Mars (1938) and Flash Gordon Conquers the Universe (1940), both again featuring Crabbe. The actor also played Buck Rogers in a movie of the same name (1939), a look-alike film that differed little from the Flash Gordon sagas except for its title.

King Comics, one of innumerable comic book titles on the market in the later 1930s, reprinted in color Flash Gordon's Sunday episodes in their entirety. A number of independent radio stations attempted a serial beginning in 1935, but the aural effects could never equal the screen's visual ones, and it disappeared in 1936. A novel, Flash Gordon in the Caverns of Mongo (1936), attributed to Raymond but probably ghostwritten, likewise attracted some attention, but not as much as the movie serials and comic-strip incarnations.

No other series better foretold a Streamlined, smooth-functioning future than *Flash Gordon*. The strip outlived its creator, Alex Raymond, but the 1930s marked its heyday. With the economic system in a shambles and unemployment at record levels, with dictators challenging democracy and armies massing along European and Asian frontiers, the simultaneous escapism and realism of this fictional world attracted a wide range of readers and made it a perennial favorite.

See also Comic Books; Comic Strips; Mysteries & Hard-Boiled Detectives; Streamlining; Swimming

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FOOD. For many, the Great Depression conjures up gloomy images of breadlines, soup kitchens, apple selling, and hoboes at the backdoor asking for food. Certainly, some people suffered hunger, primarily in the poorest rural areas of the country, and

government agencies and nonprofit organizations tried to provide relief. But overall the Depression had little effect on people's food consumption or physical well-being. Consequently, the food sections of general **magazines** and **newspapers** devoted little space to the population's struggles to make ends meet, despite official reports citing malnutrition among the unemployed and chronically poor. Likewise, the **advertising** and promotional activities of food producers ignored some of the realities of the Depression.

Yet those same food producers, along with women's magazines and appliance manufacturers, regularly supplied the public with millions of free recipes to assist with home cooking. These publications, presented in the form of articles or pamphlets, told housewives how to prepare a variety of dishes from a limited pantry. They also stressed the benefits—increased efficiency and lower costs—of using recipes and owning new appliances for successful food preparation and entertainment.

Taking advantage of radio's widespread popularity and impact, food manufacturers and processors created attractive over-the-air spokespersons for their products. The fictitious Betty Crocker represented General Mills, a huge milling company; she dispensed recipes and kitchen tips on many stations beginning in the mid-1920s. *The Betty Crocker Show* quickly became a radio institution, running on either the National Broadcasting Company (NBC radio) or Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS radio) networks continuously until 1947 and then on the American Broadcasting Company (ABC radio) network until 1953.

Not surprisingly, from the early to mid-1930s, other food companies imitated General Mills, hiring magazine home economists to appear on radio. In their daytime shows, these economists offered advice and food preparation hints that required the use of products from the companies they represented. On-air cooking personalities of the 1930s included Ida Bailey Allen (1885–1973) and John MacPherson (1877–1962). Allen's show, *The Radio Homemakers Club*, ran on CBS radio from 1928 to 1935 and on NBC radio from 1935 to 1936. Allen also authored a popular booklet, *When You Entertain: What to Do and How* (c. 1932). In it, she mentions Coca-Cola by name several times; in a clever promotion and advertising strategy, the giant soft drink company in turn gave away millions of copies of *When You Entertain*.

MacPherson, billed as *The Mystery Chef* on NBC, CBS, and ABC radio from 1930 to 1948, claimed that his hobby of cooking and hosting a radio show embarrassed his mother, thus explaining the effective show business ruse of a mystery man. Playing on this theme, his program focused on how to take the "mystery" and trouble out of preparing meals. Thousands of listeners made MacPherson and his program one of the topranked offerings. To answer the demands of these listeners, a cookbook, *The Mystery Chef's Own Cook Book: Presenting Marvelous Meals at Lower Cost* (1934), appeared on the bookstands and went through several editions.

Even the U.S. Department of Agriculture employed radio to get its message to home-makers, sponsoring Aunt Sammy (1926–1935), a show briefly heard as Housekeeper's Half-Hour in 1926. Broadcast to isolated rural audiences, Aunt Sammy represented the domestic side of Uncle Sam, or so the government agency claimed. These programs used different women at various small, local stations all reading the same scripts on such subjects as food preparation, laundry, floor care, and other household hints. The Department of Agriculture encouraged listeners to send in for booklets emphasizing healthy, economical eating habits.

Cookbooks provided another source of help for the struggling cook, offering ways to make food preparation more understandable and easier. Better Homes and Gardens Cookbook, first published in 1930, became a mainstay for the decade. It emphasized the importance of serving simple meals, a theme repeated in other cookbooks.

Irma Rombauer (1877–1962) faced a bleak future after the death of her husband in 1931. He had left little money for supporting a family. At her own expense, Rombauer had the A. C. Clayton Printing Company, a St. Louis firm, publish 3,000 copies of her personal collection of recipes and cooking techniques. She called the anthology *The Joy of Cooking:* A Compilation of Recipes (1931), and it covered all the basics of cooking, even including a chapter on leftovers. Its encyclopedic approach of providing recipes, tips, and explanations for everything culinary guaranteed both the inexperienced and experienced cook success. Her venture attracted the attention of Bobbs-Merrill, which published the first revision of *The Joy of Cooking* in 1936; since then it has undergone several revisions and remains a basic reference in many American kitchens.

In 1939, Rombauer and her daughter, Marion Rombauer Becker (1903–1976), wrote Streamlined Cooking, a book aimed at the late 1930s "career girl" with the title playing on the popular design style of the times. Streamlined Cooking advocated the utility of the pressure cooker, a newly introduced small appliance. It also emphasized, for cooks pressed for time, how to use frozen fruit. This attempt to capitalize on the success of The Joy of Cooking had few takers, and soon disappeared from bookstores.

Even **Eleanor Roosevelt** (1884–1962), the president's wife, wrote a book dealing with food during the Depression. In *It's Up to the Women* (1933), she urged women who had less money for food to study all the latest suggestions about the efficient preparation of inexpensive yet nourishing meals. She said that thrifty cooking and housekeeping could greatly contribute to keeping the American family financially solvent in those most difficult times.

These various personalities, along with many authors of numerous other cookbooks and recipe pamphlets, promoted an increasing homogenization of American foodways. Life in most homes had changed from earlier times. During the 1930s, simpler meals for the wealthier had become the norm, especially since kitchen help had almost disappeared by the late 1920s. At the same time, meals had improved for less affluent households. These two convergent situations brought about a standardization of the American diet. From urban centers to isolated farmhouses, cooks learned the same techniques, received advice about the same products and appliances, and shared the same recipes. Their success meant that national tastes were replacing regional and ethnic ones.

For example, by the 1930s a typical American breakfast consisted of citrus fruit, dried cereal, and milk or eggs and toast. Many cereal manufacturers, through advertisements on radio, offered premiums with the purchase of their product—Ralston Purina on *Tom Mix Ralston Straightshooters* (1933–1951), Wheaties on *The Jack Armstrong Show* (1933–1951), and Cheerios on *The Lone Ranger* (1939–1956). Children across the country regularly mailed cereal box tops to the sponsoring companies awaiting the return of a Tom Mix (1880–1940) decoder button or a Jack Armstrong pedometer. This successful marketing strategy kept families tuned to these shows, promoted sales, and provided premiums for the children.

At lunchtime, Americans consumed a combination of a sandwich, salad, or soup. A popular 1930s comic strip called *Blondie* featured Dagwood Bumstead as its main character. Drawn by cartoonist Chic Young (1901–1973), the series regularly featured Dagwood raiding the refrigerator to create his favorite late evening snack: a mountainous pile of dissimilar leftovers placed between two slices of bread. This concoction promptly gained the name Dagwood sandwich and the creation continues in today's hoagies, grinders, and submarines.

Following long-established tradition, the evening meal continued to be the largest one of the day. Dinner typically consisted of a roast or broiled meat, potatoes, vegetables, and a light **dessert**, but with smaller portions than what people ate in previous years. The condition of excess weight received attention in both print media and radio. Home economists and nutritionists suggested reducing the quantity of food and eating healthier foods. Others advocated reducing diets such as the Hay's Diet, the Hollywood Eighteen-Day Diet sponsored by California citrus growers, and various two-food diets—such as tomatoes and hard-boiled eggs, or baked potatoes and buttermilk. Reflecting these trends, *Better Homes and Gardens* magazine published its first diet article in 1932. Americans, especially women in the middle and upper classes, responded favorably to their recommendations.

Lighter, simpler meals not only addressed weight and health, but helped Depressionera families deal with the reality of having less money to spend on food. Throughout the crisis, most food prices remained low, which pleased everyone except those in the food industry. Well aware of the financial hardships, but also wanting a profitable business, grocery store operators focused on how to attract customers into their stores. In a few cities, some entrepreneurs converted abandoned buildings into "warehouse food stores" and advertised "cut-rate" prices. In contrast to the corner grocery store where the clerk handed the customer items from behind a counter, shoppers at these "warehouse" arrangements engaged in self-service by choosing the food products to be purchased from displays on tables. Many consider these establishments the precursors of the first supermarkets.

The Depression did change the way Americans ate, changed where and how they shopped for food, determined if they entertained at home or if they dined out, and at what kind of **restaurants**. In order to live within the limits of a tight budget, some families baked their own bread; they grew fruits and vegetables, canning them instead of purchasing comparable products. Sure-Jell, a powdered pectin introduced by General Foods Corporation in 1935, benefited these homemakers by ensuring home-canned jams and jellies set properly.

The subject of vitamins also entered the picture during the 1930s. Stirred by information from home economists and nutritionists on the importance of nutrients in the diet, the American public wanted to know about vitamins. How do they work in body chemistry? How does one incorporate them into a modern lifestyle? At this time, enriched food provided the primary way to get extra vitamins. The trend of self-service at the supermarket allowed consumers for the first time to read labels and compare packaging, assuring themselves that a product contained the ingredients they wanted. With increased awareness of the value of nutrients and vitamins and the possible inferiority of canned and prepackaged foods, efforts began in the early 1930s to update the Food and Drug Act of 1906. Proponents immediately met opposition from food and

drug conglomerates. A concern about profit margins and an attempt to maintain the status quo contributed to a five-year political battle.

Healthier food emerged as a popular "cause" during the 1930s and public awareness about the dangers of additives and processed food grew. In 1933, Arthur Kallet (1902–1972) and F. J. Schlink's (active 1930s) best-selling 100,000 Guinea Pigs, an indictment of the food industry, contributed to even more intensified discussions. Public discontent focused both on the presence of impure foods in the marketplace and the failure of the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) to act against them.

Some food manufacturers sided with aroused citizens and urged legislation that would assure the nutrition and safety of canned, prepackaged, and **frozen foods**. It took a disaster—100 deaths in 1937 as the result of the distribution of an untested sulfa drug containing a toxic chemical—to bring about the 1938 passage of a revised and expanded Pure Food and Drug Act. The new law called for more extensive labeling and testing of food products, and even evaluated cosmetics. The FDA introduced standards that also required new drugs to be demonstrably safe before marketing.

That same year, the laboratory synthesis of vitamins permitted their incorporation in pills. Although some state legislatures declared vitamins to be drugs and only available at pharmacies, they ranked second only to laxatives in direct sales at the drugstore. Seeing a marketing opportunity, Kroger and Independent Grocers' Alliance (IGA) grocery stores in 1939 challenged the druggists and state legislatures by stocking their stores with vitamins and allowing them to be sold over the counter (i.e. without a prescription), a move supported by the wording of the new Food and Drug Act. After that, vitamins could be found in most grocery stores and supermarkets.

Despite the economic hardships and growing concerns about food and health, Americans continued to use a wide variety of foods in social situations. Entertaining during the 1930s frequently occurred in the home and centered on snacks and dining. The afternoon tea party, a carryover from the 1920s, continued to be a popular gathering, especially for women. The menu consisted of **coffee and tea**, along with sandwiches, small cakes, and cookies. The array of sandwich fillings such as celery and olive, chicken and pineapple, open-faced jelly and cream cheese, curried carrot, and apricot horseradish, encouraged creativity by the hostesses. The final preparatory step involved removing the crusts and cutting the sandwiches into small, dainty shapes.

Club luncheons (sometimes breakfasts or suppers) brought women together for the stated intention of charitable activities, gardening, contract bridge, study, or sewing groups. By serving food, this form of entertainment again provided the hostess the opportunity to present her full scope of culinary talents. Sandwich loaves covered with a cream cheese frosting had the appearance of cake and fooled the guests until cut. The "surprise sandwich loaf" consisted of bread spread with various fillings and stacked. A variation, the "ribbon sandwich," simply alternated slices of white and wheat bread. The "checkerboard sandwich loaves" placed a spread on alternating dark and light strips of bread assembled into a loaf with a checkerboard appearance.

Coupling entertainment with food did not limit itself to women. The Sunday night supper, a popular social format for couples or entire families, used a chafing dish or the newest electric toaster or electric waffle iron for serving the meal. This allowed the hostess, who doubled as the cook, to be with her guests and show off her new appliances.

Favorite dishes might include Welsh rarebit, grilled cheese sandwiches known as "cheese dreams," and waffles with anything that could be poured or spooned on them.

Firms that marketed appliances capitalized on the themes of ease and simplification of food preparation and how that left homemakers and parents more time for family activities. They stressed that many small appliances could be used for both cooking and home entertainment. Most fundamental innovations in domestic refrigeration design, except for automatic defrosting, had been made by the mid-1930s, and typical refrigerator ads promoted advance preparation of food dishes. The housewife could then store them in the refrigerator until meal time and final cooking.

Many new food items made their debuts during the 1930s, with the most popular requiring little or no preparation. Wonder Bread began selling loaves of sliced bread in 1930, a breakthrough that revolutionized sandwich making, including those served at club luncheons. Bisquick (1931) allowed biscuits to be baked in one simple step. Easy cake mixes followed Bisquick's success, and Miracle Whip Salad Dressing appeared in 1933. A year later, Campbell's Chicken Noodle and Cream of Mushroom soups along with a virtual blitz of other prepared foods—precooked hams, canned gravies, bottled salad dressings, prepared appetizers, and variety items—could be purchased. Heat 'n' eat Ragu spaghetti sauce and Kraft macaroni and cheese dinners showed up on grocers' shelves in 1937. Hormel & Company's Spam (1937; the name derives from the marriage of "spicy" and "ham") traveled directly from its familiar rectangular can to the table. Composed of a processed, pork-based, spiced luncheon meat, it provided many with the only protein they could afford.

Babies benefited from the innovations of the 1930s. Gerber introduced the first commercial line of baby food in 1931. Tradition has it that, in the late 1920s, Daniel Gerber (1898–1974) and his wife, Dorothy (d. 1988), at the suggestion of their pediatrician, experimented with making strained baby food for their daughter, as opposed to using the standard liquid diet then recommended for infants. They liked the result and Gerber decided to take their kitchen experiment to his firm, the Fremont Canning Company. At this time, new food products seldom received national distribution. Also, baby food until the 1930s could usually be found only at drugstores, since distributors categorized it as a specialty item that required a prescription. In an attempt to make strained baby food an "everyday item," the Fremont Canning Company embarked on several ingenious advertising campaigns to promote Gerber products. Salesmen drove distinctive automobiles, and print ads urged consumers to send in coupons that identified favorite grocery stores; in return they received six cans of baby food for a dollar and Fremont learned about stores possibly willing to stock their label.

The company's logo featured the famous Gerber baby, an original work drawn in 1928 by Dorothy Hope Smith (1895–1955). Shortly after Gerber introduced its commercial line of strained baby food, rival Beech-Nut plunged into the fray, offering 13 varieties of baby food in glass jars instead of cans.

Snacks appearing for the first time on the market included Frito Corn Chips (1932), Nabisco's Ritz Crackers (1934), and Lay's Potato Chips (1939). Banana-filled Hostess Twinkies (1931) doubled their usefulness by serving as either snacks or **desserts**. Some old standbys took on new appearances and gained additional popularity. J. Wellington Wimpy, a character introduced in 1931 by cartoonist E. C. Segar (1894–1938) in his *Thimble Theater*, loves to eat hamburgers. Wimpy's fame rests on his remarkable

consumption of this food, and he played a significant role in popularizing this American favorite.

In Denver, Colorado, Louis Ballast (1910–1975) operated the Humpty Dumpty Barrel Drive-In, which featured hamburgers on the menu. In order to add variety to the fare, one day he placed a slice of cheese on a raw hamburger, heated both, and thus gave birth to the cheeseburger. Ballast even applied for a trademark on the term "cheeseburger" in March 1935, although his success remains in dispute.

The lowly hot dog also enjoyed a moment of fame during the 1930s. England's George VI (1895–1952) visited the United States in 1939 and President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945) and Mrs. Roosevelt served as his hosts. The first family decided to introduce something truly American to the royal family, and on June 11, 1939, they served Nathan's hot dogs at a picnic given at the Roosevelts' Hyde Park estate. The press provided the affair extensive coverage, and the menu appeared on the front page of the *New York Times*.

Prohibition, from its institution in 1920, affected entertainment and eating in America. With Repeal in 1933, liquor again became legal and cocktail parties reappeared as another means of home entertainment. As a rule, the hosts served both nonalcoholic and **alcoholic** beverages along with light snacks. The cocktail party allowed for the use and display of new gadgets—the electric snack server and hot plate, and percolators.

Fine, expensive dining at plush establishments declined with Prohibition. But not being able to buy an alcoholic drink or the fact that eating at home saved money did not entirely stop people from frequenting restaurants, especially for lunch. Diners, greasy spoons, hamburger stands, drive-ins, coffee shops, delicatessens, automats, lunch counters, beaneries, taverns, and tearooms offered inexpensive meals and served a certain portion of the population, usually those who chose not to cook, those who worked too far from home to get back for a meal, and those on the road.

Another form of eating out—church suppers, political barbecues, civic holiday picnics and festivals—provided an inexpensive way for families and communities to eat and socialize outside the home. Even though regional foods had decreased in popularity, the menus for these gatherings showed considerable latitude in the preferred foods and methods of cooking: fried and smoked pork and chicken in the South, with seafood added along the coast; freshly butchered pork and chicken in the Midwest; barbecued beef and chili in Texas and other parts of the Southwest; salmon barbecues and fish fries in California; and clam bakes or clam chowder, along with the New England boiled dinner of meat and vegetables, in the Northeast.

The food consumed by Americans during the 1930s did not differ greatly from preceding decades. Radio programs, advertising, comic strips, recipe pamphlets, and other popular culture outlets emphasized using widely known brands and foods, a move that led to a decline in ethnic eating and general acceptance of the "American diet." In a few regions, however, some ethnic cooking survived and various festivals allowed people to sample these tasty dishes. For example, Cajun delicacies in Louisiana, Scandinavian dishes in the north central states, and Mexican foods in the Southwest continued to be prepared in traditional ways, but most of the general population knew little about them. Overall, ethnic cooking went through a sharp decline with the acceptance of a national menu, especially in restaurants. One exception proved to be Italian cooking, particularly spaghetti and meatballs cooked in a mild tomato sauce; this dish enjoyed a wide base of popularity and remained on menus everywhere.

Throughout the decade, the sale of food moved from the corner grocery store to the supermarket while production of foodstuffs shifted from small producers to large corporations. New appliances guaranteed more efficient food preparation. Despite massive government transformations, changing employment patterns, and economic hardships, Americans noticed only slight changes in their basic diet, while at the same time experiencing an increase in available food items and accessories to purchase.

See also Candy; Ice Cream; Prohibition & Repeal; Radio Networks; Soft Drinks

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FOOTBALL. The Depression had negative effects on all sports. Even college football suffered. After years of soaring attendance during the 1920s, the numbers plummeted with the onset of the economic downfall. And for the average fan, professional games remained virtually invisible, played before sparse crowds in open fields, city lots, or small stadiums. Lack of spectators, for both college and professional play, meant negligible receipts for teams. The vexing issue of finances during the 1930s forced everyone involved with football to search for ways to generate income.

Colleges and universities reduced coaching staffs, cut back on practices, and even threatened to drop football as a varsity sport. As they tightened their belts, they also worked diligently to stir enthusiasm for the game. In short order, the following events spurred public interest in collegiate football:

1934: first College All-Star Game organized

1935: first Heisman Trophy awarded (to Jay Berwanger [1914–2002], University of Chicago)

1935: creation of the Orange Bowl

1936: creation of the Sun Bowl

1937: the Sugar Bowl and the Cotton Bowl join the elite bowl roster

1938: first Blue-Gray game played

In the mid-1930s, several colleges considered granting contracts to **radio** stations for commercial broadcasts of their games, despite cries from traditionalists that such steps would destroy live stadium attendance. Yale University in 1936 allowed a Connecticut station to carry a play-by-play of one of its games, with Atlantic Refining, as the sponsor, paying Yale the princely sum of \$20,000 (about \$290,000 in contemporary dollars).

These measures brought much-needed financial help to schools fortunate enough to have sponsored broadcasts; attendance had bottomed out in mid-decade, although it began a long, slow climb for the remainder of the 1930s. But other problems also beset the game during the 1930s. Accusations of racial and ethnic prejudice influenced the

public's perceptions of football, and they came from many directions. Some felt the sport encouraged brawn over brain; others saw it as an exercise in mayhem; still others lamented its lack of "gentlemanly qualities."

A rash of serious player injuries raised concerns about the safety of the game. American colleges responded by instituting various rule changes that quickened play as well as cutting down on injuries. A smaller, easier-to-grasp ball led to increased passing and a faster, more visual game. A clause introduced in 1932 ruled that the football itself became dead when any part of the player (except feet and hands) touched the ground. School officials also required some padding, although not until 1939 did they mandate helmets.

In light of these modifications, a new breed of player began to gain headlines, replacing some of the brute characteristics associated with earlier years of the game. For example, quarterback Sammy Baugh (1914–2005) graduated from Texas Christian University in 1937 and joined the Washington Redskins. His superlative passing, a deadly accurate sidearm style, earned him the name "Slingin' Sammy."

Although football would not achieve the popular success it gained in the postwar years, its visual qualities of rapid movement, crashing linemen, and jarring tackles attracted the attention of many in the entertainment field. Over 40 movies featured football during the 1930s, far more than any other athletic activity. In 1931 alone, theaters showed Mickey's Stampede and The Spirit of Notre Dame, the latter dedicated to Knute Rockne (1888–1931), the fabled Notre Dame coach. On a more realistic level, Touchdown took a harsh look at the pressures placed on players, and two 1931 documentaries, Football Thrills and Pro Football, detailed the game. The latter picture fell under the category that theaters and booking agents labeled a Pete Smith "oddity." Smith (1892–1979) built a successful career producing and narrating humorous films that purported to "tell all" about various sports and other activities.

The following year, 70,000 Witnesses, Hold 'em Jail, That's My Boy, The All-American, and Rackety Rax entertained audiences. Even the popular Marx Brothers got into the action with Horse Feathers (1932), a spoof on college football. Groucho (1890-1977) plays the president of a small college determined to win the big game, and the resultant high jinks rollicked audiences. College Coach (1933) pairs Dick Powell (1904-1963) and Pat O'Brien (1899-1983) in a collegiate mix of music and comedy, and Bing Crosby (1903-1977) sings and acts in College Humor (1933). After a pause, three more titles joined the cinematic football ranks in 1936: Pigskin Parade, Rose Bowl, and The Big Game; the last includes a host of real collegiate stars. Pigskin Parade also offered a young Judy Garland (1922-1969) her first major role. Two Minutes to Play and Life Begins in College, the latter featuring the Ritz Brothers, a comedy act similar to the Marx Brothers, brightened marquees in 1937, as did Pigskin Skill, another Pete Smith film, this one a "specialty." The forgettable Cowboy Quarterback, along with \$1000 a Touchdown and Hero for a Day closed out the decade. These movies set no attendance records, but they proved modestly profitable for the studios producing them.

Mass-circulation magazines such as the Saturday Evening Post and Collier's offered seasonal fiction and articles, often accompanied by four-color covers featuring football motifs done by leading illustrators. Several pulp magazines, bearing titles like All-American Football Magazine, Sport Story Magazine, and Football Action, likewise ran

stories about the sport, although their readership could not approach that achieved by the *Post* and *Collier's*. Even a few novels depicted the game, but none reached **best seller** status. Not until after the end of World War II and the subsequent rise of **television** would football begin its relentless march toward dominance among American sports.

See also Education; Race Relations & Stereotyping

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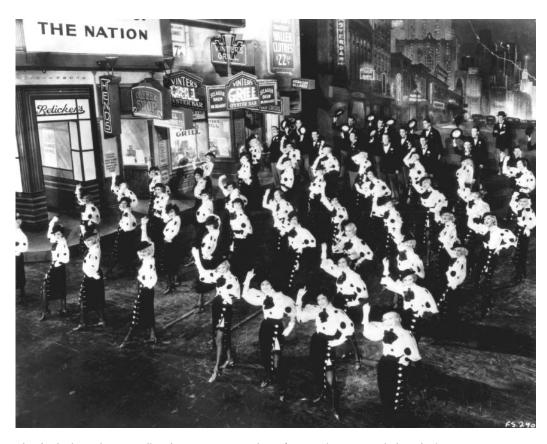
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42ND STREET. Possibly the best-known movie musical to come out during the grimmest Depression years, 42nd Street (1933) breathed new life into a faltering film genre. In 1927, the introduction of sound to motion pictures held out great promise for integrating music into a production. In 1930, the first sound movie to win the Academy Award for Best Picture went to a musical, MGM's Broadway Melody (released in 1929). The future looked bright, and then the bottom fell out. By 1931, no studios wanted to risk much on musicals; too many had been made, audiences were sick of them, and the Depression had caused movie attendance to plummet.

Warner Brothers, one of Hollywood's legendary studios, entered the 1930s flush with success. But in 1931 the company lost \$8 million (about \$107 million in contemporary dollars), followed by a \$14 million loss in 1932 (about \$207 million). Things could not get much worse, and so Warner Brothers took a calculated gamble. Earlier musical films, of the few attempted, included such titles as *Lilies of the Field* (1930), *Song of the Flame* (1930), and *Kiss Me Again* (1931). None did well at the all-important box office, so Warner Brothers turned to a wholly original format as a way to attract audiences.

The gamble paid off. With little to lose, the almost-bankrupt company in 1933 released 42nd Street. Categorized as a "backstage musical" because it supposedly gives the audience an insider's view of the doings of the cast, it helped create the myth of the gutsy chorine, a young woman who fights overwhelming odds for her big chance in an upcoming show. Making her movie debut, Ruby Keeler (1909–1993) takes over at the last minute for the ailing lead, played by Bebe Daniels (1901–1971). She of course wows the audience and stardom beckons. As a result of 42nd Street, Keeler did indeed tap her talented feet to fame and many more major roles.

Featuring a memorable score by veteran songsmiths Harry Warren (1893–1981) and Al Dubin (1891–1945), 42nd Street soon had people lined up at their local theaters, recapturing the audience that a short time earlier had seemingly abandoned movie musicals. With numbers like "Shuffle Off to Buffalo," "Young and Healthy," the romantic "You're Getting to Be a Habit with Me," and the title song, it would be difficult not to enjoy the music. Director Lloyd Bacon's (1889–1955) tight direction keeps everything



The finale from the groundbreaking 1933 musical 42nd Street. (Courtesy of Photofest)

moving at a crisp pace, and the picture runs under 90 minutes. The dancing, and lots of it, displays the unique choreography of Busby Berkeley (1895–1976), and 42nd Street launched his film career in spectacular fashion.

Whereas most musicals produced prior to 42nd Street lack realism or any awareness of the passing scene, this low-budget, black-and-white entry possesses a grittiness, a knowledge of adversity. Set in the ongoing Depression, it is of and about the Depression. Jokes alluding to the harsh times abound, and the all-American quality of gumption, the ability to see a difficult situation through to a successful conclusion, helps give the picture its tone.

The successful release of 42nd Street signaled the rebirth of the musical, and its tough, but not hard, characters allow for some social commentary not often found in popular films. From the opening scenes of tryouts for the chorus line and the knowledge that not everyone will make it, to the team effort to put together a superlative show, 42nd Street supports President Franklin D. Roosevelt's (1882–1945) statement that the only thing the nation need fear is fear itself. The show goes on, the team spirit triumphs—an ideal message for a nation still mired in economic problems.

The worsening crisis had shaken the country's faith in hard work and deferred gratification, a situation that allowed directors and screenwriters an unusual forum. 42nd Street

affirms the old American belief in labor and its resultant rewards, that singing and dancing your heart out will bring about good things.

See also Fred Astaire & Ginger Rogers; Movies; Songwriters & Lyricists

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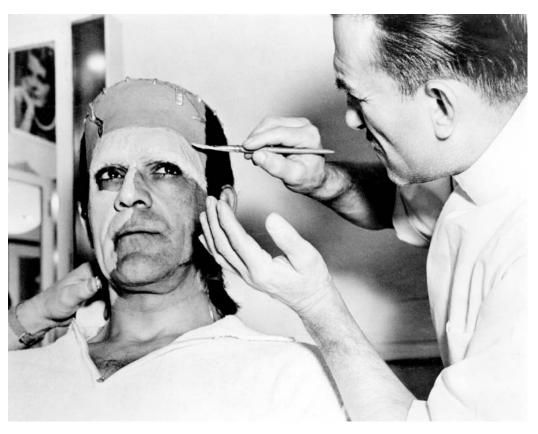
FRANKENSTEIN. One of the most acclaimed horror pictures of the 1930s, Frankenstein typified the escapism that dominated much Hollywood production during that troubled decade. Universal Pictures, a Hollywood studio that enjoyed considerable success with the 1931 release of Dracula, also entertained the idea of producing a movie version of Mary Shelley's (1797–1851) classic Frankenstein, or, The Modern Prometheus, written in 1818. A 1930 stage dramatization, written by Peggy Webling (active 1930s), had aroused some attention and the studio planned to base the movie on that version. Bela Lugosi (1882–1956), the star of Dracula, had been considered for the role of the fabled creature, but he balked because the envisioned makeup would render him unrecognizable. As a result, James Whale (1889–1957), the designated director for Frankenstein, chose an acquaintance, William Henry Pratt, a veteran British character actor who used the stage name of Boris Karloff (1887–1969) to play the monster. It proved the perfect match.

Through the magic of cosmetics, Karloff underwent a transformation, one that fixed in the popular mind for decades to come just how Dr. Frankenstein's creature should look. The squared head, massive brow, and sunken eyes, along with the lumbering gait and mumbled attempts at speech, have been repeated again and again in subsequent films dealing with the Frankenstein legend, and Karloff's interpretation has remained the standard.

Movie producers early on sensed the visual qualities inherent in Shelley's novel; in 1910, and again in 1915, silent films attempted to retell the story of mechanically created life. In Germany, director Paul Wegener's (1874–1948) Golem (1914; remade 1920; the title translates as "a body lacking a soul") exerted a strong influence on director Whale. Wegener's inspiration, however, came more from Jewish legend than Mary Shelley. But the dark, shadowy imagery employed in *The Golem* reappears in Whale's *Frankenstein*, and this exaggerated use of chiaroscuro would dominate the cinematography in American horror and fantasy films throughout the 1930s.

Universal's *Frankenstein* casts Colin Clive (1900–1937) as Dr. Victor Frankenstein, the unfortunate inventor whose name would always be associated with his man-made monster. The set depicts a lonely laboratory, jammed with pseudoscientific instruments, located somewhere in central Europe. Amid stylized lightning and storm, the doctor brings life to his creation. In a memorable sequence, Karloff's character evolves from a bandage-swathed corpse into a living, breathing being cursed with the mind of a madman.

The remainder of the film chronicles Dr. Frankenstein's helplessness in controlling his monster, and the simultaneous growth and frustration contained in Karloff's nuanced performance as the doomed mutation. A mix of melodrama and occasional pathos,



Boris Karloff (1887–1969) being transformed into Frankenstein's monster by makeup artist Jack Pierce (1889–1968). (Courtesy of Photofest)

Frankenstein emerged a box office success beyond anyone's expectations. Its escapism brought in audiences eager for a respite from the grim realities of the Depression, and also spurred other studios to hop onto the profitable cycle of churning out horror movies. Karloff reprised his Frankenstein monster role twice during the 1930s, with *The Bride of Frankenstein* (1935) and *Son of Frankenstein* (1939).

The actor became so associated with the horror genre that he seemed to be almost on call for roles requiring a frightening character. The Mummy (1932), The Mask of Fu Manchu (1932), The Ghoul (1933), The Black Room (1935, with the actor in a dual role), and The Walking Dead (1936) served as variations on the singular role he had created for Frankenstein. Audiences loved his malevolence—with or without makeup—and previews and theater posters need say only "Karloff" in order to draw a crowd. The busy actor appeared in over 50 pictures during the 1930s, and his career continued at an active pace until his death in 1969.

In the meantime, the image of the Frankensteinian monster, as created by James Whale and Boris Karloff, established itself as an icon in American popular culture. Uncounted "Frankenstein" movies have come out since 1931, but none has ever achieved the success or the recognition bestowed on this Depression-era version. Most have had to imitate, either slavishly or through allusion, their debt to Whale's and Karloff's accomplishment,

an accomplishment that at the time people probably saw as just another picture in a continuing string of low-budget horror films.

See also Stage Productions

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FROZEN FOODS. Since the late nineteenth century, foods, especially fish, poultry, and meat, had been frozen and shipped for wholesale distribution. In the early 1900s, fruit joined this list when West Coast growers began freezing fruits and berries. The processes varied but all had the intent to prevent further deterioration of foods already going bad. This approach fostered the opinion that frozen food meant poor quality; complaints centered on damaged texture and inferior flavor.

In an attempt to overcome these deficiencies, Clarence Birdseye (1886–1956), a **food** manufacturer, in 1923 received a patent for a method to quick-freeze his products. He had developed a twofold system of packing fresh foods and then flash-freezing them under high pressure in consumer-size, waxed cardboard boxes. His invention stands as a significant technical development that preserves texture and flavor.

Birdseye founded the General Seafoods Company in 1924. General Mills later owned it, and then sold the enterprise in 1929 to Frosted Foods Company, a corporation formed by Postum Company and Goldman-Sachs Trading Corporation. In this process, General Seafoods became the General Foods Corporation and converted its Birdseye brand name to Birds Eye. According to Clarence Birdseye, this change returned the family name to its original form. Supposedly, an early ancestor saved the life of an English queen by shooting an attacking hawk squarely through its eye.

Birds Eye frosted foods first appeared on March 6, 1930, in a test market of 18 stores in Springfield, Massachusetts. The company featured 27 kinds of frozen fruits, vegetables, fish, and meats and intentionally named these products "frosted" food as a way of lessening resistance from consumers associating "frozen" with damaged texture and poor flavor. Product development activities intensified and a second round of test markets occurred in 1934. Held in Syracuse and Rochester, New York, the results showed moderate consumer interest in frozen products, enough to continue work toward wider distribution.

Throughout most of the 1930s, the iceboxes and electric refrigerators manufactured for food storage contained a very small space, if any, for frozen food. Such items had to be eaten on the day of purchase, so the individual consumer gained little advantage by regularly purchasing "frosted" food. Refrigerator manufacturers addressed the home storage issue as the decade progressed; by the late 1930s, the latest models displayed significantly larger freezer compartments and home freezers also began to attract buyers. With these improvements, frozen foods could be purchased in larger quantities and safely stored.

Resistance to frozen food came not only from the retail consumer. Grocery stores also made their products inaccessible; many had large, glass-fronted white freezer cabinets, closed to the customer, which held the boxes of frozen foodstuffs. An assistant on the

other side retrieved the buyer's selection. Many stores, however, simply did not have cases for frozen food, citing expense for their absence. Butchers complained that individual frozen cuts of meat would take away their livelihood and refused to stock them. In addition, **restaurants** and other eating establishments, fearing patron opposition, either refused to use frozen products or sold frozen food as fresh.

To lure shoppers and to promote an increase in sales, Birds Eye distributed recipe pamphlets such as "20 Minute Meals" (1932), which they hoped would make clear the convenience and time-saving component of purchasing and preparing frozen foods. To broaden the base and number of **grocery stores and supermarkets** selling their products, around 1934 the company developed a customer-friendly, less expensive freezer case and leased it to stores for a modest sum.

Restaurants found that customers usually could not tell the difference between frozen and fresh foods. In fact, frequently diners, upon learning the truth, congratulated the establishment on its progressive thinking. The restaurant business therefore began to see a marketing advantage for using this new product. Throughout the decade, General Foods allotted significant resources for continuous technological improvements and inventive promotional strategies. Inspirational pamphlets on the art of "telling and selling" hung in grocery store employees' washrooms. For two weeks each year, all new Birds Eye dealers had the services of a dietitian to educate their clerks and customers. The company mailed postcards showing the frozen food "special of the week" to lists of distributors' 100 best customers. With these ploys, public interest in Birds Eye frosted foods gradually grew.

General Foods officials agreed with Clarence Birdseye's vision of success for his product and they invested heavily in the endeavor. His system ensured his reputation as "father" of the frozen food industry in the United States. In recognition of his accomplishment, at the 1939 New York World's Fair, General Foods had the only frozen food exhibit. With the close of the decade, Birds Eye could announce larger sales, project continued growth, and face competition as other frozen food companies appeared, such as Honor Brand, Stokely–Van Camp, and Pratt Frozen Foods. Du Pont Cellophane, a leader in frozen food packaging, placed the first full-color frozen food advertisement on the inside back cover of a December 1939 issue of the **Saturday Evening Post**. After many years of experimentation and innovation, frozen food proved to be a stable commodity, not a passing fad.

See also Advertising; Magazines

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GAMES. During the years of the Great Depression, at-home diversions included visiting, listening to the **radio**, and engaging in **hobbies** such as **stamp collecting**, reading, and putting together **jigsaw puzzles**. Games of many kinds also provided an economical way for Americans to occupy their **leisure and recreation** time. For those wanting entertainment outside the home, community centers, churches, and recreational facilities offered opportunities for meeting and enjoying inexpensive games and other leisure pursuits.

Card games, especially **contract bridge**, increased rapidly in popularity during the 1930s. The sale of cards rose and many people enrolled with various organizations to take lessons. Conservatively speaking, 20 million people played the game by 1931, some as a social engagement within the home and some on a competitive basis in tournaments. Throughout the decade, **newspapers** published columns on how to improve play and prominent bridge matches could at times be followed on radio.

Games of chance likewise had their fans. One such game, bingo, had been played under the names lotto or beano at carnivals and fairs for many years before the Depression. Edwin S. Lowe (active 1920s–1930s), a toy salesman, stopped off at a carnival in Georgia in December 1929 and played beano for the first time. Participants had to purchase printed cards and then a pitchman called out numbers while players tried to match up beans on their cards in order to complete a row diagonally, horizontally, or vertically. Successful completion of a row titled the lucky cardholder to call out "beano" and win a prize.

The large, boisterous crowd playing beano fascinated Lowe; he went home to New York City, developed a small version of the game, and invited friends to his apartment to play. The same enthusiasm felt in the Georgia carnival tent soon engulfed his apartment and he decided to develop the game for mass production. Supposedly, Lowe had observed a woman playing the game who, when she realized she had a winning combination, got tongue-tied and yelled out "bingo!" instead of "beano." He liked the name and applied it to his company's first 12-card and 24-card versions, and the bingo craze began. But problems soon arose. Large groups of players reported that several cards sometimes produced several simultaneous winners, an uncomfortable situation immediately addressed by Lowe. He hired a Columbia University math professor, Carl Leffler (active 1920s–1930s), to solve the problem. With Leffler's help, Lowe's company in 1930 manufactured over 6,000 numerically different cards, thus eliminating multiple winners. Lowe went on



People playing bingo at a state fair in Louisiana. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

to publish bingo instruction manuals, as well as pamphlets that described how to use the game for fund-raising activities.

In the early 1930s, church halls and community centers across the country, along with special occasions such as firemen's carnivals and county fairs, sponsored some 10,000 bingo games a week. Since it was inexpensive to play, many patrons patiently stayed with the game all evening, hoping to win a ham, a box of groceries, a tin of coffee, or actual cash. Some disgruntled citizens occasionally complained that bingo constituted gambling and made attempts to ban it, but public enthusiasm for the cards and the markers won out. Throughout the decade, the game's popularity remained high and millions still carried the hope of winning something for nothing.

Lowe never obtained trademark protection for his new game, which meant that competitors soon had their own versions of bingo. In time, the word entered the language, both as a noun identifying the game and as an interjection. "Bingo!" came to mean "that does it!" or "I've got it!" Despite the competition, Lowe made a fortune by selling the cards and markers to various civic groups, churches, and charitable organizations.

Any game that promised prizes or rewards received a warm Depression-era welcome from people anxious to give it a try. Advertisers used newspapers, **magazines**, and radio spots to urge listeners, in return for prizes, to complete a limerick praising a certain product or to find the name of an item hidden in a cartoon. Social critics in 1938 estimated that a 1,000 percent increase in all kinds of prize contests had taken place since the beginning of the Depression; 25 million people participated on an average of twice a year in the quest for something for nothing.

Punchboard, another game of chance, blossomed in the 1930s. This game, granted a patent in 1905, required a small block of cardboard containing hundreds or even

thousands of holes. Each hole held a slip of paper called a "ticket" and a buyer could purchase as many holes as he or she wanted at about a nickel per hole (roughly 76 cents in contemporary money). Only one of those concealed slips of paper awarded cash; the rest were worthless. But which one? Usually, a winning slip paid \$2.50 (about \$38), but with so many holes, the odds favored the house. Punchboards offered a momentary thrill and little else to the consumer, and big profits to the vendor. By 1939, manufacturers stamped out an estimated 150,000 punchboards daily, or some 50 million each year.

Other devices favored by Americans to win something effortlessly included slot and pinball machines. One such game, bagatelle, a forerunner to pinball, could be found in penny arcades both before and after the Depression. It used a cue, small balls, and a board with holes at one end. During the 1930s, a nickel bought you 10 shots and players who sank all or most of their shots received prizes, usually cameras, clocks, fountain pens, or similar items.

As technology advanced, bagatelle increased in complexity but still offered prizes. First, an arrangement of pins blocked direct shots to a hole and the name became "pin games." Next, eliminating the cue stick changed the name again, this time to "pinball." Three such pinball machines, the Whoopie Game, the Baffle Ball, and the Bally-Hoo, that came out in the early 1930s, featured a mechanical plunger that propelled the ball through the difficult course. In 1933, Harry Williams (active 1930s) of the Pacific Amusement Company of California designed Contact, a game with dry-cell batteries that powered colored lights and rang a bell.

The easily accessible slot machines and pinball games could be found in cigar stores, filling stations, cafes, drugstores, game parlors, and at lunch counters. The establishments offering this entertainment successfully evaded existing gambling laws for many years by claiming they provided "games of skill," not "games of chance." By 1933, manufacturers offered 62 different pinball games that sold about 250,000 units annually.

Pick-up-sticks, introduced in 1936 by New York's Gimbel Brothers Department Store, quickly caught on and Macy's and Woolworth stores soon joined in and offered the game too. Together, the three stores sold nearly 3 million sets during the first year of availability. Neither new nor unique, pick-up-sticks resembled a game once enjoyed by American Indians with straws of wheat. The game can be played alone or with a group and may have gotten its name from the children's nursery rhyme "five, six, pick up sticks." It requires physical dexterity since the object revolves removing, one by one, the sticks from a random pile without disturbing those remaining. Eugene Leavy (active 1920s–1930s), a toy buyer for Gimbels, orchestrated the American production of the game by borrowing from a Hungarian version known as Marokko. Initially considered by some to be too frivolous to excite the American public, at the height of the 1930s craze, the pick-up-sticks manufacturer was turning out almost 30,000 boxed sets a day.

Ping-Pong, a more physically demanding game, had its introduction in the 1880s in England. Played indoors on a flat table divided into two equal courts by a low net, it resembles a miniature tennis court. Both singles and doubles could be played, and it required small paddles to propel an almost weightless celluloid ball back and forth across the net. "Ping-Pong" supposedly echoed the sound of the ball hitting the paddles. Cyclically popular in the United States, the game emerged as a fad during the 1920s when Parker Brothers set out to exploit Ping-Pong through heavy advertising. The company had earlier bought the American rights to the name from an English game manufacturer.

In turn, it trademarked Ping-Pong for its complete line of equipment and formed the American Ping-Pong Association to conduct national tournaments.

The number of Ping-Pong enthusiasts grew rapidly and Parker Brothers lost its monopoly on manufacturing the equipment. In 1931, the New York Table Tennis Association came into being, sponsoring national tournaments in competition with those sponsored by Parker Brothers. Recognizing the game's growing popularity and the resultant confusion of two groups hosting similar matches, the two associations merged in 1934 as the United States Table Tennis Association (USTTA) and introduced international competition. During the 1930s, Ping-Pong reportedly ranked as the most popular intramural sport in large American universities; the United States alone accounted for over 10 million players with some 5 million tables in private homes.

With high unemployment and more available leisure time, the Depression years also witnessed a rise in the popularity of board games. Since the early 1900s, dozens of companies had produced board games for both entertainment and educational purposes. Monopoly, the most famous and continuously popular of all, traces its origin back to a 1904 game called the Landlord's Game. Charles Darrow (1889–1967), an unemployed resident of Philadelphia, copyrighted a variation of the Landlord's Game in 1933 and two years later reached an agreement with Parker Brothers to take over its production and distribution.

Many game designers of the 1930s developed themes that echoed the times. The Sunday comic strips had their spin-offs with the *Dick Tracy* Detective Game and *Oh*, *Blondie* from the Whitman Publishing Company. Parker Brothers' Hi Yo Silver! reflected the popularity of the radio serial *The Lone Ranger*, while Whitman Publishing Company recognized the sports world with the Kentucky Derby Horse Racing game. The South Pole Game and the Lindy Flying Game, inspired by Admiral Richard E. Byrd (1888–1957) and Charles Lindbergh (1902–1974), respectively, serve as examples of popular educational games that employed actual events as their foundations.

The manufacture of games rose to new heights during the 1930s. A National Recreation Association survey in 1934 showed that, in order to save money, many Americans engaged in sedentary and solitary activities at home such as playing games. Employers occasionally provided entertainment opportunities in the form of family picnics that featured games and sports. At these affairs some staged contests with small cash prizes. Games of chance remained popular throughout the decade, with a 1939 poll showing that one-third of the population admitted to occasionally betting a nickel or so. The life of many of the popular games of the 1930s consisted of a brief, enthusiastic obsession, while a few, like Monopoly, have enjoyed an uninterrupted and enthusiastic following.

See also Education; Serials

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Johnson, Bruce E. "Board Games: Affordable and Abundant, Boxed Amusements from the 1930s and 1940s Recall the Cultural Climate of an Era," Country Living 20:12 (December 1997): 50–54. GANGSTER FILMS. A controversial movie genre that attracted an enthusiastic following in the early 1930s, most of the pictures focused on colorful criminals and their ongoing wars with the forces of law and order. The success of gangster films reflected the popular fascination with lawbreakers and their resultant celebrity in all forms of media.

The movie industry quickly recognized the dramatic potential inherent in unfolding current events. Throughout the 1920s, Hollywood studios had cranked out a small but steady stream of stories about criminals and their milieu, climaxing in the silent classic *Underworld* (1927), directed by Josef von Sternberg (1894–1969). This film, most critics agree, established the standards for the genre, especially for the flood of gangster pictures that poured forth during the early 1930s. Unremittingly dark and shadowy, with bursts of violence, *Underworld* remains a classic of its type.

The advent of sound in the late 1920s changed few of the conventions established by that pioneering movie, except that now the characters could talk aloud in the colorful language screenwriters presented as the "true" argot of the underworld. Early talkies like *Broadway* (1929) and *The Doorway to Hell* (1930) laid the groundwork for a succession of pictures depicting the lives of criminals. Leading the list would be *Little Caesar* (1930), the first important sound film in the gangster genre.

Close on the heels of *Little Caesar* came *The Public Enemy* (1931), another significant crime movie. Directed by William A. Wellman (1896–1975), *The Public Enemy* elevated actor James Cagney (1899–1986) to stardom in his role as Tom Powers, a petty crook who graduates to being a ruthless murderer. As with *Little Caesar*, the plot focuses almost exclusively on the rise of a gangster, a person with few redeeming qualities, who completely dominates the screen with his cocky presence. Gangster movies of the 1930s present a distorted view of the American myth of success, one which downgrades respect for the law and education. Many viewed the latter as a waste of time for the man of action. These pictures tend to portray those who play by the rules and acquire formal learning as weak and powerless.

Scarface: Shame of a Nation (1932), another seminal film, created a kind of gangster trilogy with Little Caesar and The Public Enemy. Directed by Howard Hawks (1896–1977) and produced by Howard Hughes (1905–1976), it stars Paul Muni (1895–1967) in a career-defining role. Playing Tony Camonte, a character loosely based on Al "Scarface" Capone (1899–1947), a real-life gangster who dominated the headlines about crime, Muni imbues his character with a psychotic drive for success in the bootlegging rackets. With its explicit violence and incessant focus on Camonte, the picture, like its predecessors, celebrates lawlessness, even when it leads to death. With law enforcement often portrayed as inept and corrupt, the success of these latter-day outlaws, both real and on screen, fed into a national resentment toward authority and its failures. Small wonder, then, that crime films found a receptive audience.

Male-dominated, the gangster genre usually portrays a young man who rises in the world of crime, achieves power, and then suffers a violent downfall. Occasionally the 1930s saw a woman take on some variation of this role, such as in *Madame Racketeer* (1932), *Blondie Johnson* (1933), and *Ladies They Talk About* (1933), but these films proved the exception.

Gangster films also provided steady employment for a number of actors who became typecast as hoodlums, recurring "heavies" in the cinema underworld. For example, actors

George Raft (1895–1980), Barton MacLane (1902–1969), Jack La Rue (1902–1984), Bruce Cabot (1904–1972), and George Bancroft (1882–1956) repeatedly menaced anyone who challenged them in film after film. Humphrey Bogart (1899–1957) parlayed this style of acting into stardom, particularly as the chilling Duke Mantee in *The Petrified Forest* (1936).

With so much emphasis on the exploits of criminals, a backlash eventually occurred. By the mid-1930s, critics both within and without the industry clamored for movies that glorified the good guys instead of just the bad ones. In response, Hollywood pulled from general release some of its more controversial gangster films, including *Little Caesar* and *Scarface: Shame of a Nation*. It promptly shifted gears and began producing a number of films that depicted various law officers apprehending the very villains so recently celebrated on screen. James Cagney, reversing his screen persona, led this transition, starring in 1935's "G" Men, a fast-paced tale of government agents battling crime. The once-bad guy had metamorphosed into an upstanding citizen, although his methods might be questionable. In reality, although these new heroes wore badges, little else distinguished them from their criminal adversaries.

In short order, Show Them No Mercy! had federal agents battling kidnappers; Little Caesar's Edward G. Robinson (1893–1973) appeared in Bullets or Ballots (1936) as Johnny Blake, a crusading detective; and Humphrey Bogart recast himself in Crime School (1938) as a reformer of wayward boys. Innumerable other films followed—Manhattan Melodrama (1934), Special Agent (1935), Racket Busters (1938), Smashing the Money Ring (1939); the day of the idolized gangster had come to an end.

With all the attention given to crime on the streets, inevitably a number of films also attempted to explain the causes of antisocial behavior. Easy answers, all related to ignorance and poverty, presented themselves with the Depression. For the movies, the city and its widespread unemployment and despair created a breeding ground for crime and juvenile delinquency. This environment repeatedly appears in pictures like City Streets (1931), Dead End (1937), Boy of the Streets (1937), Angels with Dirty Faces (1938), and They Made Me a Criminal (1939). Solve the economic dilemma, they argue, and the related social ills will disappear, although most end rather bleakly, the root problems still in place.

By the end of the decade, gangsters and lawmen still appeared in movies, but they constituted a minor part of Hollywood's overall production. The crisis of the Depression had lessened, and the threat of war and the calls to patriotism had created new themes for the motion picture industry.

See also Federal Bureau of Investigation; Hollywood Production Code; Mysteries & Hard-Boiled Detectives; Prohibition & Repeal; Teenage & Juvenile Delinquency Films

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GARDNER, ERLE STANLEY. For leisure reading, mystery stories ranked high among people's choices in the 1930s, carrying over from a surge of popularity that occurred during the 1920s. And few mystery writers ranked higher than Erle Stanley Gardner (1889–1970). One of the most prolific writers of all time, Gardner wrote hundreds of short stories, 122 novels, along with travel books and other miscellaneous works.

Born in Massachusetts, family moves took him west, first to Alaska and finally to California, the state he would call home for the rest of his life. After a brief fling at college, he worked in local law offices and gradually became interested in the entire judicial process. An apt student, he read and studied, passing the California bar in 1911. He began to practice law shortly thereafter, but did not prosper as an attorney, although he won most of his cases and often defended underdogs. Gardner's legal experiences would later figure importantly in his fiction.

In order to make ends meet, and to satisfy an urge to try something creative, Gardner began writing short fiction at night, churning out thousands of words at the end of each



Erle Stanley Gardner (1889–1970), creator of Perry Mason. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

day. His new avocation got off to a slow start, however, accompanied by many rejection slips. But Gardner persevered, and finally sold his first stories in 1923. Before he ever attempted a novel, Gardner became an important presence in the then-flourishing pulp magazine industry.

Periodicals like Argosy, Black Mask, Detective Action Stories, Detective Story, Dime Detective, and Double Detective bought his work, and he quickly turned to writing full time. As his output increased, Gardner created ongoing characters, such as Black Barr, a western detective and gunslinger, Ed Jenkins, the "Phantom Crook" and con artist, and Lester Leith, another memorable confidence man. He sometimes injected a humorous note into his characters' names, with the likes of Paul Pry (an investigator) and Ed Migraine (a headache for those who encountered him). By the beginning of the 1930s, Gardner reigned as "king of the pulps," with new stories coming out at a furious rate from his seemingly boundless imagination, and causing some to dub him a "one-man fiction factory."

In the early 1930s, Gardner decreased but did not abandon his output in the hectic world of the pulps in order to turn to longer fiction. His stories continued to appear on the pages of numerous magazines throughout the decade. He even created a crusading attorney named Ken Corning, something of a model for Perry Mason, his most famous creation. Corning took the lead in six short tales written for *Black Mask* during the early 1930s. In 1933, Gardner published *The Case of the Velvet Claws*, his first novel, and it introduced Perry Mason, a lawyer who practiced detection on the side. That year also saw *The Case of the Sulky Girl*, the second in what would be a long line of Perry Mason stories. Thereafter, at least two new novels, and sometimes more, came out each year, a pace Gardner sustained throughout the 1930s, 1940s, 1950s, and most of the 1960s. Not

until 1968 did he drop back to just one novel a year, with *The Case of the Careless Cupid*. Despite this apparent slowdown, Gardner continued to write until his death in 1970, and seven novels came out between 1969 and 1973, his publisher rationing out the final posthumous manuscripts for three years.

In the 1930s alone, Gardner published 22 novels:

15 Perry Mason novels

The Case of the Velvet Claws (1933; the first Perry Mason novel, made into a movie in 1936)

The Case of the Sulky Girl (1933)

The Case of the Lucky Legs (1934; movie in 1935)

The Case of the Howling Dog (1934; a movie in that year)

The Case of the Curious Bride (1934; movie in 1935)

The Case of the Counterfeit Eye (1935)

The Case of the Caretaker's Cat (1935; movie in 1936, but titled The Case of the Black Cat)

The Case of the Sleepwalker's Niece (1936)

The Case of the Stuttering Bishop (1936; movie in 1937)

The Case of the Dangerous Dowager (1937)

The Case of the Lame Canary (1937)

The Case of the Substitute Face (1938)

The Case of the Shoplifter's Shoe (1938)

The Case of the Perjured Parrot (1939)

The Case of the Rolling Bones (1939)

3 Doug Selby novels (a crusading district attorney)

The DA Calls It Murder (1937)

The DA Holds a Candle (1938)

The DA Draws a Circle (1939)

1 Terry Clane novel (a former diplomat who befriends and assists California's Asian community)

Murder Up My Sleeve (1937)

3 novels written under pseudonyms

The Clue of the Forgotten Murder (1935; written as Carleton Kendrake)

This Is Murder (1935; written as Charles J. Kenny)

The Bigger They Come (1939; written as A. A. Fair, the first of the Bertha Cool/Donald Lam series that would continue for many years thereafter)

The stir that Gardner's Perry Mason character caused led directly to Hollywood and a string of six movies in four years. Hardly top-rank films, these low-budget offerings nonetheless attracted audiences, people probably already familiar with Gardner and his fictional character. In *The Case of the Howling Dog* (1934), Warren William (1894–1948) portrays Perry Mason, as he does in *The Case of the Curious Bride* (1935), *The Case of the Lucky Legs* (1935), and *The Case of the Velvet Claws* (1936). Warner Brothers replaced William with Ricardo Cortez (1899–1977) in *The Case of the Black Cat* (1936; based on *The Case of the Caretaker's Cat*), whom they then dropped, giving the Mason role to Donald Woods (1906–1998) for *The Case of the Stuttering Bishop* (1937). **Radio** and **television** later discovered Perry Mason in the 1940s and 1950s, respectively.

More important for his legions of readers, perhaps, involved the serialization of his stories. *Liberty*, a popular mass-circulation magazine of the era, initially took three of his works and spread each out over several weeks. The mighty **Saturday Evening Post**, far and away the country's leading general magazine, in 1937 succeeded in obtaining serial rights to Gardner's forthcoming novels, an arrangement that substantially increased

his income. Finally, in 1940, the mass marketing of cheap paperback books became a reality, led by Pocket Books. No writer proved more popular for the new publisher, and Gardner won a guaranteed \$100,000 annual contract for the paperback rights to his fiction (roughly \$1.5 million a year in contemporary dollars). After all the years of struggle with **pulp magazines** and sometimes less-than-robust hardcover sales, he found the financial security he had long sought.

Gardner freely admitted that he wrote for the money, and he wrote fast, leaving character development to other authors, instead stressing speed and maintaining reader interest. He did, however, take considerable care when constructing plots, filling small notebooks with longhand details about his latest story. These he arranged and edited until everything could stand on its own. To maintain his pace as a writer, Gardner forsook a typewriter and bought a dictating machine. He would then organize and compose his notes and read them into the instrument, often at the rate of 15,000 words per day. He hired several secretaries skilled in dictation who would transcribe the results. With his own handwritten corrections on these typed copies, he sent the manuscripts off to his publishers, eliminating the laborious and time-consuming chore of typing his own material.

Never a great stylist, although not above occasional alliteration in his titles, such as "Lucky Legs," Caretaker's Cat," "Dangerous Dowager," "Shoplifter's Shoe," and "Perjured Parrot," Gardner proved unusually adept at plotting. He eschewed sociological and psychological commentaries; he favored spinning a good whodunit and letting others make the learned literary insights into motivation and background. His straightforward approach appealed to millions, especially during the Depression when escapism found favor in virtually every medium.

Over his long career, Gardner wrote 86 Perry Mason tales, or over 70 percent of his total novel output. Twenty-eight A. A. Fair stories, or 22 percent, starred Bertha Cool and Donald Lam as a pair of sleuths who also enjoyed great popularity among readers. The remaining novels, countless short fiction pieces, and collections make for a substantial bibliography. Although no accurate figures about his total book sales are available, most estimates place them in the hundreds of millions. Widely translated, Erle Stanley Gardner certainly stands near the head of any list of best-selling American writers, past or present.

See also Best Sellers; Crime; Gangster Films; Leisure & Recreation; Mysteries & Hard-Boiled Detectives

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GARLAND, JUDY. A famous performer in a variety of media, Judy Garland (1922–1969), born in Grand Rapids, Minnesota, as Frances Ethel Gumm, made her singing debut at age three. Billed as "Baby Gumm," Frances appeared on stage in the Gumm Sisters Kiddie Act with her two older siblings, Mary Jane (1915–1964) and Virginia (1917–1977). The three continued to appear in local vaudeville and benefits, as well



Judy Garland (1922–1969) singing "Dear Mr. Gable (You Made Me Love You)" in *Broadway Melody of 1938* (1937). (Courtesy of Photofest)

as performing on radio, all the while honing their skills. In 1927, the family moved to California, and the trio, now calling themselves the Gumm Sisters, took their act throughout the Los Angeles area and even appeared in some short musical films. Her Hollywood career commenced at age seven with the brief *Starlet Revue* in 1929. A number of other short pictures followed, and in 1934, the three sisters received an invitation to perform at the 1933–1934 Century of Progress Exposition (Chicago World's Fair).

While appearing there, Frances Gumm decided that show business was in her blood and became, with some professional advice, Judy Garland. The Gumm Sisters' act broke up in 1935, and Frances/Judy set her sights on a career in the movies. Between the mid-1930s and 1940, she would make 12 feature films and several more shorts. Among the latter, Garland shares the bill with Deanna Durbin (b. 1921), another promising performer, in *Every Sunday* (1936), an 11-minute musical. Much of the picture's interest lies in watching two young women on the thresholds of their professional careers.

Garland followed that effort with her first full-length picture, 20th Century

Fox's *Pigskin Parade* (1936), an unlikely comedy about **football** and radical politics that depends on confusion for its laughs. Amid the touchdowns, the 14-year-old sings "It's Love I'm After" (music by Sidney D. Mitchell [1888–1942], lyrics by Lew Pollack [1895–1946]), and her innocent poise plus her voice made an impression on both Hollywood and the recording industry.

In recognition of her vocal talent, Decca Records signed her to a contract in 1936, and Garland immediately began to issue a steady stream of **recordings** with big-name orchestras. She would, during the remainder of the 1930s, cut dozens of sides for the label. Shortly thereafter, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, the leading producer of movie **musicals**, cast her in *Broadway Melody of 1938* (released in 1937). Part of a series of MGM "Broadway Melodies" (1935, 1937, 1940), the films allowed the studio to publicize its roster of stars, both established and new. This particular version boasted, among others, Robert Taylor (1911–1969), Eleanor Powell (1912–1982), and George Murphy (1902–1992), some of the brightest names of the day.

Against this intimidating competition, Garland holds her own during her time on screen. In a show-stopping sequence, she croons, while looking wistfully at a photograph

of actor Clark Gable (1901–1960), "Dear Mr. Gable: You Made Me Love You" (1913; music by James V. Monaco [1885–1945], lyrics by Joseph McCarthy [1885–1943]; "Dear Mr. Gable" segment scripted by Roger Edens [1905–1970]). A defining moment for Garland, the song opened many doors for the young star, and her career continued to flourish.

That same year, MGM brought out a second full-length feature with their new property; she did not enjoy top billing yet, but she edged closer to it. *Thoroughbreds Don't Cry* teamed her with another rising star, Mickey Rooney (b. 1920), prompting eight more pairings for the two young actors. During the 1930s alone, they appear on screen together in four additional pictures—*Love Finds Andy Hardy* (1938), *Babes in Arms* (1939), *Andy Hardy Meets Debutante* (1940), and *Strike Up the Band* (1940)—and the studio kept finding scripts that they could share, if only for brief moments, finally ending in 1948 with *Words and Music*.

The teenage chemistry between Garland and Rooney appealed to audiences, and their innocence and good spirits contrasted sharply with the dark side of adolescence depicted in so many **teenage and juvenile delinquency films** that rose to some prominence at that time. The plots about "putting on a show" and then-current dating rituals may seem hackneyed today, but Garland and Rooney brought an air of naiveté to the screen that doubtless reassured many a worried parent.

In the movie *Listen, Darling* (1938), MGM costarred her with Freddie Bartholomew (1924–1992), another in the studio's stable of popular youthful actors. Their scenes together, not as lively as those she shares with Mickey Rooney in other pictures, nevertheless play reasonably well as the two humorously plot and scheme over parental suitors. Best of all, Garland delivers a splendid rendition of "Zing! Went the Strings of My Heart" (1935; words and music by James F. Hanley [1892–1942]), reinforcing her growing reputation as both a star and an outstanding singer.

Her combination of innocence and effervescence led Garland to the role of Dorothy in the much-acclaimed *Wizard of Oz* in 1939. Almost 17 when filming began, Garland knew how to perform in front of a camera by then, and how to hold her own with other performers. By giving her top billing in this big-budget picture, MGM formally acknowledged her rise to stardom. The Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences obviously agreed; it awarded Garland a special Academy Award for a performance by a juvenile.

A production that boasts one highlight after another, perhaps nothing else in the movie musically equals her wistful vocal on "Over the Rainbow" (music by Harold Arlen [1905–1986], lyrics by E. Y Harburg [1896–1981]). Although *TheWizard of Oz* received immediate acclaim, and "Over the Rainbow" won an Academy Award as Best Song, two popular bands, Glenn Miller (1904–1944) and His Orchestra and Bob Crosby (1913–1993) and His Bobcats, first made radio's **Your Hit Parade** with recorded versions of the tune, overshadowing Garland's vocal rendition. But 1939 marked the peak of the big band era, and only over time would Judy Garland's soundtrack version become the standard. She eventually so consolidated her considerable hold on the song that most people now associate "Over the Rainbow" with Judy Garland alone.

Her fame assured, the actress/singer went on to make more movies and increased her concert, nightclub, and radio appearances. The future, in the form of marital problems, bad career choices, and health issues, would not be kind, and she followed a bumpy road

until her untimely death at 47. Despite many setbacks as an adult, Judy Garland has endured as one of the great show business personalities of the twentieth century.

See also Children's Films; Jazz; Swing; Toys

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GAS STATIONS. Also called "filling stations" and "service stations," these highly visible roadside businesses expanded significantly just prior to and during the Depression years. Propelled by the need for gasoline to operate cars, along with a safe and efficient way to dispense it, gas stations paralleled the growth of the automotive industry and became an important service to motorists in the 1920s and 1930s.

Automobiles that used gasoline instead of electricity or steam as a power source had been developed as early as 1893. In 1902, the Olds Motor Works assembled 2,500 gasoline-driven cars, but at a price that could be managed only by wealthy hobbyists. Not until the founding of General Motors and the introduction of the Model T Ford in 1908 did assembly line production of gasoline-driven automobiles create vehicles at more affordable prices, with the result that new outlets for petroleum products flourished.

Prior to the widespread availability of gas stations, people went to general stores, blacksmith shops, or repair shops to purchase gasoline. They filled open buckets, pails, and jars and used funnels to pour it into the car's tank, a messy and dangerous process. The gasoline itself, sometimes of questionable quality, could evaporate slightly, become polluted, or both, not to mention its susceptibility to spilling and fire. Recognizing these difficulties, many inventors and oil companies investigated better ways for access and delivery, while simultaneously working on providing a more trustworthy fuel.

No particular individual or company can be cited as the inventor of the gasoline pump and no specific building can be acknowledged as the first bona fide gas station. Several entrepreneurs conceived the basic ideas, but only a handful pursued and obtained patents. For example, John J. Tokheim (1871–1941) received a patent in 1901 for a device he called the "visible measuring pump." Initially to be used for kerosene, he continued to improve his invention, and by 1906 it could draw gasoline from an underground storage tank and dispense it through a hand-operated pump. Tokheim's invention stood out from the competition because of its ability to accurately measure the quantity of gasoline delivered and thereby fairly calculate the cost to the customer.

The Automobile Gasoline Company in St. Louis, Missouri, developed a quick and efficient process in 1905 that involved a garden hose transferring gasoline from a gravity-fed storage tank directly to the automobile. An attendant provided assistance by sticking the end of the hose into the automobile tank's filler neck. At about this same time, a Standard Oil of California (Socal) employee mounted an upright 30-gallon tank on wooden posts adjacent to a curb in Seattle, Washington. He used the "hose with a valve and gravity" technique to fill gas tanks. Others emulated these simple systems, and the term "filling station" became associated with curbside pumps and various storage containers.



A typical suburban gas station of the mid-1930s. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

Regardless of how they took on fuel, automobiles proliferated and the petroleum industry experienced rapid growth. By the early 1930s, 20 large oil companies with familiar names like Standard Oil of New Jersey (and also California, Indiana, and Ohio), Atlantic, Gulf, Phillips, Pure, Shell, Sinclair, and Texas (Texaco) accounted for three-quarters of the nation's refinery capacity. Distribution included both company-owned-and-operated outlets and retail operations run by independent dealers, with most of the larger oil companies developing chains that utilized both types.

Automobiles require drivers, gasoline, and roads. No shortage of drivers existed, and the petroleum companies supplied the gasoline. But roads posed a problem. Local governments reluctantly assumed some responsibility for their immediate needs, but paid little, if any, attention to intercity highways. Thus, improved roads for long-distance **travel** lagged behind the other necessities. Oregon in 1919 adopted the first state gasoline tax, 1 cent (about 12 cents in contemporary money) on each gallon sold, and led the way in building highways financed by automotive usage.

Not until 1932 did the federal government levy the first national gasoline tax: 1 cent per gallon (about 15 cents in contemporary money). Officials allocated the revenue to restore declining highway funds, with most of the spending focused on secondary roads that complemented the two-lane highway system connecting major cities. Both state and federal taxes on gas increased throughout the 1930s, and in 1938 the Federal Aid Highway Act called for the construction of four-lane superhighways. The project stalled, however, because of insufficient funds and the growing threat of war.

The 1920s had seen the petroleum industry move rapidly to serve the growing numbers of automobiles on the road, but the Depression downturn meant that gasoline

production and capacity exceeded demand. In 1933, one gallon of gasoline cost, on average, 19.64 cents as compared to 23.26 cents in 1926 (roughly \$2.96 and \$2.63, respectively, in contemporary dollars). The lowest price, 13 cents (\$1.96), occurred in 1934; it moved up to 14 cents (\$2.07) in 1935 and continued upward with economic recovery. At the same time, registered motor vehicles declined from 26.5 million in 1930 to 24 million in 1933. The number of miles traveled, 206 billion in 1930, dropped to 201 billion in 1933. Undeterred, gasoline stations continued to proliferate, from almost 124,000 in 1930 to 170,000 in 1933. As they multiplied, their architectural designs progressed from curbside pumps to sheds, to houses, and then to houses with canopies. Each change acknowledged the importance of operating efficiently and maintaining high visibility along the roadside.

Decreased driving in the Depression created fierce competition among distributors, and the "gas" station, as a recognizable structure and critical marketing link, had replaced the more primitive "filling" station. Architect C. A. Petersen (active 1920s and 1930s), a popular designer of gas stations, in 1927 created a prefabricated house concept for the Pure Oil Company that he called an "English cottage." It serves as a good historical example of a standardized gas station **design** that became a successful marketing tool for the company. Motorists recognized the distinctive, steep-roofed structures, and business increased.

The concept of using houselike designs promoted the placement of gas stations in residential neighborhoods during the 1920s and 1930s. A station that resembled a house proved more acceptable, especially to middle- and upper middle-class families, than did a more commercial-looking building. It blended in with the surroundings and conveyed a homelike environment where customers could be comfortable. Of course, these stations also had to provide certain services. Some, but not all, even offered rest rooms. The addition of a canopy to protect attendants and customers from weather conditions or a bay to increase the space for repairs became commonplace, but all in all they remained low-key, unobtrusive structures.

The residential gas station, however, possessed certain inherent limitations, the primary one being size. To counter decreasing gasoline sales, many oil companies wanted to increase the number and kind of auxiliary products they offered and place greater emphasis on auto repair. To accomplish these goals, the companies needed to build larger stations to accommodate such changes. With increased size came a fundamental architectural shift, and the more contemporary models superseded the homey residential stations.

In 1934, the Texaco Corporation hired industrial designer Walter Dorwin Teague (1883–1960) to create a new look for the company, a building that would promote maximum sales appeal. He submitted a white, Streamlined box that gave the impression of speed, modernity, and progress. It allowed for larger display areas for the tires, batteries, and other products now offered, as well as larger and more efficient bays for repairs. Other companies quickly adopted variations on his trim, rectangular design, often employing terra cotta, porcelain, and generous amounts of plate glass in the construction process. Frequently competitors modified Teague's flat roof or added some other feature to facilitate customer recognition. With a larger building and additional products and services to offer, the "gas" station had evolved to a "service" station. Many moved from residential neighborhoods to more heavily traveled locations, usually ones providing easy highway access.

Despite the design changes, highway visibility remained a major concern. Some companies incorporated specific, tasteful colors into their stations. In the case of the aforementioned Pure Oil Company, the use of white for the building and bright blue for the roof made the stations easily identifiable to the passing motorist, allowing the facility to be seen as an extension of a particular oil company that provided both dependable service and products.

The 1930s also witnessed the increased use of large, highly visible corporate logos and mascots. For example, in 1934, the Magnolia Petroleum Company, a predecessor to Mobil Oil, erected a large oil derrick on the roof of a downtown Dallas, Texas, building. The derrick supported two 35-by-50-foot red neon signs that formed the image of Pegasus, a great flying horse of mythology. Magnolia's instantly recognizable flying red horse became the company's logo. No matter the neighborhood or city, an oil company and its products could be known by the **architecture** and other corporate symbols that suggested a positive experience for customers.

Stiff competition, however, did not allow a company the luxury of depending entirely upon architecture and location. Methods to undercut the other stations included give-away promotions such as glassware or dinnerware, and free services, like checking tire pressure and cleaning the windshield. Free road maps enticed travelers. In fact, these maps encouraged competitors to outdo one another with eye-catching colors and attractiveness. Peter Helck (1893–1988), a prominent automotive illustrator, created maps for the Sinclair Oil Company with pictures of lush gas station scenes, a place where everyone would want to buy gas. As part of the campaign, artists depicted well-dressed, happy women in a service station setting, making the maps a promotional tool to show that the gas station offered a clean, safe, and friendly haven for women needing to buy gas.

Advertising imagery frequently included smiling, uniformed attendants, ready to do the customer's bidding. In reality, these cheerful men often did wear company uniforms, and cleaning the windshield and checking the tires and fluids—as well as pumping the gas—became a ritual at most well-run stations. Phillips Petroleum added drama to its advertising. They underwrote famed aviator Wiley Post (1899–1935) as he sought to achieve new altitude records, and stunt flyer Colonel Art Goebel (1895–1973) flew for the company writing Phillips 66 in huge letters in the sky while an associate stayed in radio contact and sold Phillips products on the ground.

Several petroleum companies used radio as a means of promoting their products. The Mobil Corporation sponsored Mobiloil Concerts from 1929 through 1932 on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC radio) network. The show featured Erno Rapee (1891–1945) as the conductor. Cities Service used NBC to carry *The Cities Service Concerts* from 1925 to 1956, and the series fostered many musical careers, especially that of Jessica Dragonette (1900–1980), one of the more memorable voices of early radio. On the West Coast, Standard Oil underwrote *The Standard Hour*, another musical offering on NBC. It ran successfully from 1926 until the mid-1950s, and represented the company's interest in media-based education. Not all shows involved music; some oil firms, like Sinclair, sponsored news broadcasts and public affairs programming.

The Texas Oil Company in 1932 premiered *The Texaco Fire Chief* series on NBC. A popular variety show, it starred Ed Wynn (1886–1966), a former vaudeville headliner who found a new home on radio. When ratings slipped, comedian Jimmy Durante (1893–1980) replaced Wynn in 1935, but the show ceased airing in 1936. Texaco,

however, maintained a presence on radio with *The Texaco Star Theater*, a variety series that ran from 1938 to 1946 on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS radio). Not to be outdone, Shell Oil had singer Al Jolson (1886–1950) competing with *Shell Chateau*, another variety program that ran from 1935 until 1937, as did Gulf Oil with *Gulf Headliners* (1933–1935), starring Will Rogers (1879–1935) in a mix of comedy and **music**.

From its lowly beginnings in sheds with crude pumps along a curb, the American gas station had, by the 1930s, evolved into a roadside icon. It promised more than fuel; it functioned as an important link in the country's growing love affair with the automobile. The customer bought an image, an understanding that the business guaranteed the best in products and service; that needs, both automotive and personal, would be attended to; and that pleasant, trouble-free driving had become a part of the American way of life.

See also Aviation; Illustrators; Musicals; Streamlining; Transportation

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GERSHWIN, GEORGE, & IRA GERSHWIN. These two talented brothers helped bring American popular **music** to new levels. George (1898–1937) composed in ways previously untried; Ira (1896–1983) wrote some of the most unforgettable lyrics ever set to song.

Both entered the field of music at early ages. George started playing the piano as a child. By 1912, his skills earned him pocket money and soon thereafter he had become what the trade called a song plugger. The job originated on New York's Tin Pan Alley, a section of Manhattan's 28th Street between Fifth Avenue and Broadway, where songwriters and lyricists, arrangers, and pluggers congregated and interacted with various music publishers; it came to mean the popular music business in general. Song plugging involved taking new tunes to different music publishers in hopes of getting them printed and distributed as sheet music. Most pluggers did not write the music they pushed, but they tried hard to convince reluctant publishing firms that their songs and lyrics stood the best chances of commercial success. George soon realized he should be plugging his own music, not someone else's.

In 1919, after writing the melodies for over 30 tunes, George finally met with success; his song "Swanee" became a hit. With lyrics by Irving Caesar (1895–1996), "Swanee" was recorded by Al Jolson (1886–1950), a commanding star of stage, vaudeville, **recordings**, and, later, **movies**. His rendition captivated listeners and it soon became a popular favorite.

While George's star rose, Ira tentatively sought recognition in the competitive field of journalism. He had been an English major at college, and developed some skills as a prose writer; a few reviews and magazine articles came from his pen in 1916–1917, but nothing earthshaking. He finally sensed that perhaps his genius also rested with music.

The two brothers in 1918 worked together for the first time, creating "The Real American Folk Song (Is a Rag)," their contribution to *Ladies First*, a Broadway trifle of the day.

They also joined forces for "Waiting for the Sun to Come Out," a number featured in the 1920 musical *The Sweetheart Shop*. Using the pseudonym "Arthur Francis," Ira continued to labor, on his own, as a lyricist. Success did not come overnight. *Two Little Girls*, a musical produced during the summer of 1921, featured his lyrics, along with music by Vincent Youmans (1898–1946). But he and his brother also had many fresh ideas that would soon come to fruition.

A string of popular Broadway musicals at last put the Gershwin name in lights, plays like Lady, Be Good! (1924), Oh, Kay! (1926), Funny Face (1927), and Show Girl (1929). Not only did their collaborative efforts do well, but George gained the added reputation of being a "serious" composer. In 1924, he had premiered Rhapsody in Blue, a concert piece commissioned by bandleader Paul Whiteman (1890–1967) that received considerable acclaim. A number of preludes and other varied compositions followed, solidifying his position as a significant figure in American music.



Composer George Gershwin (1898–1937). (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

In 1930, the brothers premiered Strike Up the Band, the rewrite of a 1927 play that never got to Broadway.

The musical included such gems as "Soon" and "I've Got a Crush on You," as well as the title song. Although Strike Up the Band contains nothing topical, it delighted Depression-weary audiences. Immediately on the heels of Strike Up the Band came another production featuring Gershwin music. Called Girl Crazy, the musical cast two players who became stars during the 1930s, Ethel Merman (1908–1984) and Ginger Rogers (1911–1995). It also featured a score that would become a star in its own right, including "Bidin' My Time," "Embraceable You," "But Not for Me," and the inimitable "I Got Rhythm," particularly as sung by Merman. Her rendition, certainly one of the most energetic performances of any song in any musical, overnight made her one of the biggest sensations on the Broadway stage.

As economic conditions worsened around the country, the Gershwins, emboldened by the success of *Girl Crazy*, collaborated on *Of Thee I Sing* in December 1931. The show's book was written by George S. Kaufman (1889–1961) and Morrie Ryskind (1895–1985), two important theatrical figures. Much of the plot revolves around presidents, politics, and the foibles of governments. The resulting story, satirical and topical, features music to match. Out of that mix came "Love Is Sweeping the Country," "Of Thee I Sing (Baby)," and "Who Cares?" Audiences responded enthusiastically. The play ran for 441 performances, the longest ever for a Gershwin show, and won a Pulitzer Prize for Drama in the libretto and lyrics category.

Along with their Broadway success, the brothers contributed the music to *Delicious* (1931), a musical film notable for another of George's forays into more serious composing. For *Delicious*, he wrote a piece variously called *Manhattan Rhapsody*, *New York Rhapsody*, and *Rhapsody in Rivets*. The first two titles refer to the movie's locale, the last to a section that suggests a riveter working on a construction project. These themes



Lyricist Ira Gershwin (1896–1983). (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

later coalesced into the Second Rhapsody for Piano and Orchestra (1932), an expanded version of the music heard in the film. Not as well-known as his Rhapsody in Blue, the work nonetheless shows his continuing interest in blending popular themes with classical writing.

The following year, 1932, Hollywood bought the rights to *Girl Crazy* and brought it to the screen. A lackluster adaptation, the musical had to wait until 1943, when it resurfaced as a sparkling Mickey Rooney (b. 1920)–**Judy Garland** (1922–1969) vehicle. After being retitled, *Girl Crazy* came around yet again in 1962 as *When the Boys Meet the Girls*, a testament to the original play's staying power.

The Gershwins returned to Broadway in early 1933 with *Pardon My English*. It failed to arouse much interest, despite having a melodious score, and closed after a disappointing 46 performances. It contained such standards as "Lorelei" and "Isn't It a Pity?" and might have been expected to do better. Audiences clearly thought otherwise.

Despite the commercial failure of *Pardon My English*, the brothers opened *Let 'em Eat Cake* in the fall of 1933. Working once more with writers Kaufman and Ryskind,

they proceeded to mount another topical play, one filled with Depression-era references in their lyrics. Numbers like "Down with Ev'rything That's Up," "Union Square," and the title song made for a sequel to Of Thee I Sing, even to the point of bringing in characters from the earlier production to the new one. Musically, however, about the only number of any real distinction in Let 'em Eat Cake was the romantic "Mine," and one good song could not save the day. After 90 performances, it closed.

George and Ira's music, as bright and original as ever, could not always overcome the plays, but the brothers never looked back and continued to innovate. For example, George wrote the intriguing *Variations on "I Got Rhythm"* in 1934; he had always held a special interest in the show-stopping number from *Girl Crazy*, and this extended exposition reflected that interest. Even bigger projects, however, awaited development.

After an out-of-town run in Boston, they unveiled **Porgy and Bess** at New York's Alvin Theater in 1935. Their final Broadway production, critics have debated whether or not *Porgy and Bess* should be seen as musical theater posing as opera, or opera that contains elements of musical theater. Whatever its classification, this unique team clearly envisioned *Porgy and Bess* as an attempt to challenge an environment more used to frothy musical comedies, a play that straddles the difficult line between high art and popular entertainment.

In the summer of 1936, the brothers left New York and headed to Hollywood. Already established in the film capital with their previous movies, they proceeded to amaze everyone with their inventiveness in a trio of new pictures. First came *Shall We Dance*, the seventh in a remarkable group of musicals starring **Fred Astaire** (1899–1987) **and Ginger Rogers**. This movie served as the only Gershwin contribution to the series, but the songs

range from the lovely "They Can't Take That Away from Me" to the happy "Slap That Bass," and in between come "Let's Call the Whole Thing Off" and "They All Laughed." Music of this caliber shows off Astaire and Rogers at their best, and virtually the entire score has entered the realm of standards, those familiar chestnuts known by all.

RKO Pictures, the studio that had released *Shall We Dance*, doubtless wanted to cash in on the ongoing popularity of Astaire, Rogers, and the Gershwins, but an additional collaboration could not be arranged at that moment. Instead, RKO concocted a second picture, A *Damsel in Distress* (1937), a look-alike that stars Fred Astaire and substitutes Joan Fontaine (b. 1917). Thanks to another bright score, plus the comedy of **radio** stars George Burns (1896–1996) and Gracie Allen (1895–1964), the film passes muster, but Joan Fontaine can never equal Ginger Rogers on the dance floor. Memorable songs like "A Foggy Day," "Nice Work If You Can Get It," and "Things Are Looking Up" lift A *Damsel in Distress* above the general run of movie musicals and reinforce the shared genius of the Gershwins.

The final film in the trio, *The Goldwyn Follies* (1938), brings a number of celebrities together, but not always successfully. It also sports another fine Gershwin medley. George died in 1937, but *The Goldwyn Follies* had already gone into production. Thus the numbers heard in the movie stand among his last works. "Love Walked In," "I Was Doing All Right," and the poignant—in light of his death—"Love Is Here to Stay" easily survive the silly plot and make a fine legacy. In order to complete the project, Ira worked with composer Vernon Duke (1903–1969) on "Spring Again."

Strike Up the Band (1940) served as the final film of the era to claim a joint Gershwin score. Ostensibly a remake of the 1930 Broadway show of the same name, the movie version mysteriously drops virtually all the original music—"Soon," "I've Got a Crush on You"—for a rather flavorless score done by others.

Over the years, the Gershwins produced a timeless body of work, the kind of music that never goes out of date. The melodies of "Beginner's Luck" (Shall We Dance, 1937), "I Can't Be Bothered Now" (A Dansel in Distress, 1937), and "Our Love Is Here to Stay" (The Goldwyn Follies, 1938) certainly linger in the mind, but the words bring the music to life, the recalled snippets of a line or two that allow the song to live on in memory. After George's untimely death, Ira continued to write for many years, working with a number of different composers.

See also Magazines; Political Parties; Stage Productions

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GOLF. At the time of the Great Depression, golf suffered the onus of being a "rich man's sport." The game had grown sharply in suburban popularity during the 1920s, especially among those able to afford memberships in exclusive country clubs. With the crash, however, few could pay the dues any longer, memberships dwindled, many



Spectators watch a round of golf. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

clubs had to close their doors, and golf momentarily fell into the doldrums. Then, in an ironic turn of events, the Depression provided a beneficial side effect for everyday golfers. As enrollments fell off in once-exclusive clubs and private courses, the directors had to democratize them and open their links to public play. In addition, the Works Progress Administration (WPA; 1935–1943, name changed to Work Projects Administration in 1939) built many city-owned municipal courses projects during the Depression years, doubling their number from 10 years earlier. By the end of the decade, more people played golf than in 1930, and most of these new enthusiasts lacked any formal club affiliations.

Another spur to the game in the early 1930s involved a young man named Bobby Jones (1902–1971). An amateur player from Georgia, Jones rose to fame during the 1920s by winning many national and international tournaments, making him the world's ranking golfer. In 1930, however, he achieved in the sport what many thought to be unattainable: the "grand slam." In that year, Jones won the British Amateur and the British Open, and for a moment his exploits cap-

tured the public imagination. When he got back to the States, he even received a ticker-tape parade from the city of New York. But those two victories provided only half the story. Jones then proceeded to win both the 1930 U.S. Open and the U.S. Amateur championships, giving him all four major championships in a single year, a feat that allowed him to bask in reams of media-generated celebrity in those dark early days of the Depression.

In the popular mind, Bobby Jones represented the little guy beating the pros. The public took him to its heart, and golf had its first real superstar, an inspiration to weekend players everywhere. Following his Grand Slam, he retired from the game at the age of 28, but remained in the limelight throughout the decade. He went on radio with a weekly show that re-created high points of his illustrious career, made several golf instruction films for Warner Brothers, lent his name to Spalding for a new line of clubs, and was instrumental in designing and setting up a new course in Augusta, Georgia, that would become home to the prestigious Master's Golf Tournament.

Apparently Hollywood maintained reservations about golfing **movies**, and only a few pictures other than the Bobby Jones instructional films came out during the decade. In

1930, Fox Films released *Part-Time Wife*, with Leila Hyams (1905–1977), a romantic drama about a woman who loves golf. Eight years later, *Change of Heart*, a remake of *Part-Time Wife*, played in theaters, this time around with the little-known Gloria Stuart (b. 1910) as the woman golfer. A musical, *Follow Thru* (1930), and another romantic picture, *Love in the Rough* (1930), along with a handful of comedy shorts, round out the bill for the 1930s, a dismal decade in the realm of films about golf.

See also Advertising; Leisure & Recreation; Musicals

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GONE WITH THE WIND (NOVEL & MOVIE). This best-selling 1936 novel was written by Margaret Mitchell (1900–1949); its 1939 movie adaptation went on to become one of the most successful motion pictures in the history of Hollywood. Mitchell, a reporter for the Atlanta Journal and a native of that city, began writing Gone with the Wind in 1926, ostensibly for her own amusement, if the subsequent mountains of publicity for the novel and its author can be believed. The book recounts the life of Scarlett O'Hara, one of the more memorable heroines of fiction, and much of the story has entered the national memory. By the end of the decade, the book had gone through innumerable reprintings, could be found in a variety of translations, and continued to sell briskly. The movie version electrified audiences and rekindled sales of the book, although it would be difficult to call the end result a faithful adaptation of the novel.

The remarkable acceptance of *Gone with the Wind* perplexed—and angered—many of those in the literary establishment of the time; they charged that the novel, and later the movie, consisted of little more than Southern soap opera and possessed little merit. Their complaints, however, fell on deaf ears. Commercial success—it had sold more than 1 million copies by the end of 1936, and would go on to sell millions more—does not automatically equate with mediocrity, however, and a sufficient number of critics saw enough good qualities in the novel that it won the Pulitzer Prize for Literature in 1937. The perfect story for a nation that had just struggled through an economic depression, it attracted readers and viewers everywhere. Mitchell herself commented that the book's basic theme revolved around survival, certainly a fitting subject for the times. The novel's closing words, spoken by the indomitable Scarlett, seemed a prescription for the ills that continued to beset the country: "I'll think of it all tomorrow.... After all, tomorrow is another day."

Mitchell began writing *Gone with the Wind* while recuperating from an accident. She knew both Civil War and Atlanta history intimately and made that knowledge the foundation of her novel. Literary sleuths have been tempted, over the years, to read much of Mitchell's own personal history into the work, but that kind of analysis, even if partially factual, runs the risk of distorting the creative process. Autobiographical or purely fictional, *Gone with the Wind* cloaks itself in a romantic story and resists contemporary references. A denial of the present can be a form of response to it, but Scarlett, along with

Rhett Butler, Ashley Wilkes, Melanie Hamilton, and Tara, Scarlett's idealized plantation home, so enamored its audiences that few probably approached the story in such terms.

Almost from the time that Macmillan, the book's publishers, circulated prepublication copies, the possibilities of a movie version began to be discussed. Mitchell herself took no interest and wanted no part in these conversations, leaving it all in the hands of intermediaries. In 1936, David O. Selznick (1902–1965), a brilliant producer and studio executive at Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, succeeded in procuring the motion picture rights, but it would take him and an army of screenwriters, editors, and production personnel almost three years to bring it to the screen.

To pique public interest in the picture, MGM waged a nationwide talent search, commencing in 1937, to select the actress who would play Scarlett. Finally, after reams of studio-generated paper had been expended discussing possible choices, Vivien Leigh (1913–1967), a little-known British actress, won the part, although how genuine the media contest had been remains open to question. Given his popularity, looks, and screen persona, everyone correctly assumed Clark Gable (1901–1960) had secured the role of Rhett Butler. In the meantime, fan magazines, such an important part of movie publicity in the 1930s, breathlessly reported on anything even remotely associated with the project. As the December 1939 opening night approached, MGM went so far as to replicate the portico of Tara for a gala celebration at Loew's Grand Theater in Atlanta. All the hoopla paid off: Gone with the Wind immediately rocketed to the top of any and all movie listings, and it has continued to be an enduring motion picture classic.

Although very much Selznick's pet project, the movie of course required a director. George Cukor (1899–1983; Little Women [1933], Camille [1936], others) initially took the helm of the picture, but after nine weeks of hectic shooting, Victor Fleming (1889–1949; Treasure Island [1934], The Good Earth [1937], others) replaced him. Not even Fleming, fresh from his success with The Wizard of Oz (1939), could handle such a mammoth production; he collapsed on the set, and MGM finally had to have the help of veteran Sam Wood (1883–1949; A Night at the Opera [1935], Madame X [1937], others), to bring it to completion, although Fleming usually gets listed as the sole director in the screen credits. Some 15 screenwriters, including Sidney Howard (1891–1939), F. Scott Fitzgerald (1896–1940), and Ben Hecht (1894–1964), labored to create a workable script while trying to remain true to Mitchell's prose, and no one seems absolutely sure who should get recognition for what.

The Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences harbored no such doubts. It awarded *Gone with the Wind* an Oscar for Best Picture of 1939, declared Victor Fleming Best Director, Vivien Leigh Best Actress, and Hattie McDaniel (1895–1952) Best Supporting Actress. Sidney Howard took the award for Best Screenplay, and three more Academy Awards went to others connected with the production.

The negotiations over the *Gone with the Wind* script have become the stuff of Hollywood legend; for weeks the producers and people representing the **Hollywood Production Code** went back and forth over innumerable details, most of which would be seen today as mere nitpicking. When the two sides had agreed upon just about everything, there remained one problem word in the script: "damn." In a climactic scene, Gable's Rhett Butler utters the famous sentence, "Frankly, my dear, I don't give a damn," almost the same words that Mitchell had penned (in the book, the line lacks the lead-off "Frankly"). Either way, the

discussion seems innocuous by today's standards, but vitally important both to the novel and the movie. In that period of strict code adherence, much often rode on little, and the code explicitly forbade profanity. The discussion went back and forth. Finally, Robert Breen (1890–1965), the stern man in charge of enforcing code regulations and the last word in any troublesome interpretations, reluctantly gave in, a rare concession. The forbidden "damn" remained in the script and the picture went on to become one of the fabled successes in the history of Hollywood.

Variously called "the greatest movie ever made," "a woman's picture," "a potboiler," and "an expensive soap opera," *Gone with the Wind* certainly wrapped up the 1930s in grand style. An expensive exercise in historical escapism, it taps 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, is about as "timely" as the cinematic *Gone with the Wind* ever gets. But for sheer entertainment, the real reason people attend movies, it stands as the champion of the decade.

See also Best Sellers; Soap Operas; Spectacle & Costume Drama Films

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GOODMAN, BENNY. A native of Chicago, Benny Goodman (1909–1986) enjoyed the distinction of being crowned the "King of Swing." During his long tenure as a popular bandleader, he fronted some of the most important and influential swing orchestras and groups of the 1930s. He began studying the clarinet at age 10; he first played professionally in the 1920s. Like so many musicians at that time, Goodman worked with various groups, including a stint with the Ben Pollack (1903–1971) orchestra in the latter years of the decade. In addition to playing with Pollack, he did considerable freelancing and recording and knew many of the major instrumentalists of the era.

Goodman met **music** critic and entrepreneur John Hammond (1910–1987) in 1931, and from that association he came to know, and play with, Teddy Wilson (1912–1986), a black pianist. In the later 1930s, Goodman and Wilson collaborated in creating some memorable trio and quartet **recordings**, one of the first instances of an openly interracial musical partnership in what then existed as a mostly segregated profession.

In 1932, Goodman formed his first group, a small orchestra whose main claim to fame was that it accompanied **Russ Columbo** (1908–1934), a crooner who blazed a brief but intense career. Two years later, Goodman organized his own swing-oriented orchestra, a 12-piece aggregation that quickly gained some notice. Because of the growing popularity of dance music at this time, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC **radio**) contracted the Goodman orchestra to play on the network's *Let's Dance* program, a Saturday night show that premiered in December 1934 and aired from 10:30 P.M. until



Clarinetist and band leader Benny Goodman (1909–1986). (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

1:30 A.M. in the East (three hours earlier on the West Coast). Most listeners had to stay up late to catch the band, plus Goodman's group shared the spotlight with the Latin sounds of Xavier Cugat (1900–1990) and the blander melodies of Kel Murray (active 1930s). Despite the time slot, the broadcasts gave him national exposure, and he even titled the band's theme song "Let's Dance" (1935; music by Joseph Bonime, Gregory Stone, and Fanny Baldridge [all active in 1930s]).

The money earned on *Let's Dance* gave Goodman the freedom to pay some of the country's top arrangers to add quality music to the band's repertoire. On the advice of Hammond, he secured the services of **Fletcher Henderson** (1897–1952), one of the best in the business, and a fine bandleader in his own right. Henderson contributed charts for such classics as "Blue Skies" (composed in 1927), "Sometimes I'm Happy" (composed 1927), "King Porter Stomp" (composed 1925), and many others; the orchestra subsequently recorded them and Goodman felt decidedly optimistic about the future. With his contract with NBC expiring in the spring of 1935, promoters urged Goodman to take the band on the road.

That summer the musicians embarked on an east-towest tour, but much of the cross-country audience sat

unprepared for the jazzy rhythms and solos—what would come to be called swing—that characterized the aggregation. Management and dancers wanted current hits or old standards, and some even requested that he play "more slowly" or skip the up-tempo numbers. Contrary to some of the stories that have been told about the trip, however, it cannot be called an unmitigated disaster. People had been listening to their radios, and so Goodman and his band had some prior fame. Locations like Pittsburgh and Salt Lake City gave the group reasonably warm welcomes. An even greater change occurred when the band played Oakland, California. Since people on the West Coast heard *Let's Dance* at a more reasonable time, they knew what to expect and they liked what they heard. From Oakland, the orchestra moved to Los Angeles' Palomar Ballroom. Many credit that particular 1935 concert with sparking the Swing Era. A rousing success, it alerted young people everywhere that a new musical form had arrived.

Heading back east, the band played to another warm welcome in Chicago's Congress Hotel. The Windy City pinned the label "swing" on Goodman's music, and the name stuck—along with the band: the Congress Hotel booking stretched out for eight months. While ensconced there, Goodman, with no particular fanfare, introduced Teddy Wilson as a member of his trio, with Gene Krupa (1909–1973) on drums. No one openly objected, everything went smoothly, and their playing marked one of the first instances of public racial integration in popular music. A number of mixed-raced recordings had been made before this event, but in the confines of a studio, never before a live audience. Goodman's trio format would grow to a quartet when Lionel Hampton (1908–2002), a black vibraharpist, joined their ranks. Both Wilson and

Hampton became permanent additions to the band, which led a few other orchestras to begin integrating their ranks as the decade moved on.

After his eventual return to New York City in 1936, Goodman continued to play dances, but to much more appreciative audiences. Other offers followed: in the summer, the band landed a new radio contract. *The Camel Caravan*, a show that had originally debuted over the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS radio) in 1933, hired the aggregation, and used *Benny Goodman's Swing School* as part of a new title. Broadcast on Tuesday evenings, the refurbished show would last for three years on CBS and then move to rival NBC for an additional year.

Ballrooms and dancehalls bid for open dates; the band toured New England and played the Steel Pier in Atlantic City. Hollywood beckoned, and the Benny Goodman Orchestra had bit parts in two motion pictures, *The Big Broadcast of 1937* (1936) and *Hollywood Hotel* (1937). Always busy, they also cut studio recordings for several labels at this time.

While all these offers were coming in, the Madhattan Room, a posh ballroom located in New York's Hotel Pennsylvania, signed the clarinetist and his orchestra to a long-term contract that commenced at the end of 1936. Since his work at the Madhattan Room involved evenings only, Goodman agreed to play a matinee at the Paramount Theater on Times Square. The orchestra arrived early at the theater for rehearsal on March 3, 1937, a cold, wintry morning. But people had already been waiting outside the theater since before dawn; the youthful crowd grew as opening time approached, the line snaking around the theater. Worried police ordered the management to open the Paramount's doors at 8:00 A.M., and over 3,000 fans piled inside, while another 2,000 disappointed ones milled around on the street.

After a brief rehearsal in the theater's basement, the band assembled on an ascending stage and rose to the cheers of thousands of enthusiasts. As the orchestra went into its numbers, the fans, warmed by the music, got up and began to **jitterbug** in the aisles. Ushers had no luck in getting them back into their seats, and the impromptu dance and concert continued, with happy teens surging down to the band itself; a few of the more daring got on the stage and jitterbugged next to the musicians. Everyone seemed to take it all in stride, and the orchestra played five shows that day. Estimates place overall attendance at 21,000 people, far more than would ever hear the band in a hotel setting. Goodman even made a return visit to the Paramount in 1938, and history repeated itself—the audience out in the aisles, the dancing—giving birth to a swing tradition.

In January 1938, Benny Goodman and His Orchestra stormed Carnegie Hall, one of the citadels of high culture. Impresario Sol Hurok (1888–1974), a man usually connected to the classical world of symphony orchestras and chamber groups, arranged the event. The remarkable attention Goodman had been receiving in concerts, hotel appearances, and on radio had convinced many that he deserved a more "respectable" hearing, that perhaps swing had qualities unappreciated by the musical elite.

Carnegie Hall billed his appearance as a "jazz concert," although "swing concert" would probably serve as a more accurate description. Swing or jazz, Goodman and his entourage legitimized contemporary popular music for the broadest possible audience. Replete in cutaway and tails and clearly the main attraction, Goodman led his big band, along with his trio and quartet, and all the players came properly attired in tuxedos. A number of black musicians made guest appearances, performing side by side with their

white counterparts, demonstrating how, in a segregated society, swing could act as a bridge, bringing races and cultures together. No one danced in the aisles, but the black-tie audience clearly tapped its feet and relished the exposure to this new phenomenon. Fortunately, sound engineers recorded the concert, preserving the moment.

Following Carnegie Hall, Goodman went on to other successes. Some of the best instrumentalists and vocalists in the land performed with his various bands, and many a career had its beginnings in the orchestra's ranks. By the time of the concert, swing had become the dominant musical form in the United States. Thanks largely to records and radio, but also because of live shows, dance appearances, disc jockeys, **jukeboxes**, and the **movies**, swing amassed the largest, most diverse audience any musical form had ever enjoyed. And much credit must go to "the King of Swing." Goodman proved an innovator on many levels, both musical and social. Because of his enormous popularity and commercial success, he probably did more to make swing a national trend during the 1930s than any other musician.

See also Count Basie; Duke Ellington; Hotels; Glenn Miller; Race Relations & Stereotyping; Radio Networks; Youth

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GRAND OLE OPRY. The most successful country music radio show ever, Grand Ole Opry first came on the air in the fall of 1925 as the WSM Barn Dance. That initial title reflected the success of another, similar show, The National Barn Dance. Both broadcasts had sprung from the fertile brain of George Dewey Hay (1895–1968), a radio programming pioneer. He had developed the idea of a live country music show in 1924 while working with WLS, a Chicago station. Success took him the following year to Nashville, Tennessee, and WSM. There he created the WSM Barn Dance, a show almost identical to his previous Chicago effort. To prevent confusion, the WSM program in 1927 changed its name to Grand Ole Opry, hardly "Grand Opera" but a humorous play on words.

A strong signal, coupled with the rising popularity of country music, helped *Grand Ole Opry* attract a wide audience on Saturday nights, its regular time. The National Broadcasting Company (NBC radio), already leading the country field with *The National Barn Dance*, picked up the show for network audiences in 1939 and kept it in the schedule until 1957. From the end of the 1930s onward, listeners could therefore hear both *The National Barn Dance* and *Grand Ole Opry* in back-to-back time slots on network radio. With the demise of most network programming in the 1950s, WSM kept *Grand Ole Opry* when NBC dropped it, and it has continued on the air, a Nashville institution, into the present.

Often called a "hillbilly show," *Grand Ole Opry* made no effort to alter that perception. Listeners heard a broadcast of a stage show that relied on rustic humor, costumes,

and numerous amateur musicians, many from the surrounding Tennessee hills. Eager audiences traveled for miles to be entertained by Dr. Humphrey Bate (1875–1936) and His Possum Hunters, harmonica player Deford Bailey (1899–1982), banjoist Uncle Dave Macon (1870–1952) and his guitarist son Dorris (active 1930s), George Wilkerson (active 1930s) and the Fruit Jar Drinkers, the Crook Brothers (Herman and Lewis; active 1930s), and singer Roy Acuff (1903–1992) and His Smoky Mountain Boys. George D. Hay even created a continuing role for himself in the skits, performing as "the Solemn Ole Judge."

In time, the production grew more polished, but it never forsook its rural roots. Like its Chicago counterpart, *Grand Ole Opry* quickly outgrew the WSM studios and began to perform in a series of ever-larger Nashville theaters and auditoriums. It added new entertainers and attracted new fans. Hollywood eventually took note of this phenomenon, and in 1939 Republic Pictures released *Grand Ole Opry*, a low-budget musical starring many of the Nashville regulars. From the time of its humble radio beginnings, this hillbilly-oriented show introduced millions of listeners to a hitherto undiscovered niche area of American popular culture.

See also Hillbillies; Movies; Musicals; Radio Networks

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GRAPES OF WRATH, THE (NOVEL & MOVIE). John Steinbeck (1902–1968) made his literary debut in 1929 with *Cup of Gold*, a novel that received several good notices but did not sell well with the general public. Undaunted, he wrote two more works of fiction, but they also had little impact. With the publication of *Tortilla Flat* in 1935, he finally began to establish a following. The next year saw *In Dubious Battle*, a tale of migrant fruit pickers in California. At about the same time, Steinbeck wrote a series of newspaper articles dealing with the seasonal farm laborers who worked in the fertile California valleys. *In Dubious Battle* and the journalism served in many ways as the direct predecessors of *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939). He next published *Of Mice and Men* (1937), the story of two itinerants, Lennie and George. It caught everyone's attention, and at age 35, John Steinbeck had arrived.

With Of Mice and Men's success assured, Steinbeck turned to a pet project, a novel that incorporated his interest in the effects of the Dust Bowl in the Midwest, the plight of migratory workers, and shifts he had observed in American culture during the worst of the Great Depression. These were large themes by any estimation, and Steinbeck worked diligently for almost two years. The Grapes of Wrath appeared in bookstores in the spring of 1939.

An overnight sensation, the novel won acclaim from critics and public alike. It also generated considerable controversy; newspaper editors, librarians, and politicians from the southwestern tier of states, but especially Oklahoma and even a few farther afield, condemned the book for language, vulgarity, questionable situations, and what many felt constituted an un-American (i.e., unflattering) view of their localities. Numerous schools

and libraries banned it, and some would-be censors wanted the publisher, the Viking Press, to suppress any further printings, but their appeals fell on deaf ears. Steinbeck's work was enjoying extensive publicity, and that equaled escalating sales. Shortly after its release, and wisely sensing the excitement generated by the book, movie producer Darryl F. Zanuck (1902–1979) purchased the film rights to *The Grapes of Wrath* for the then-princely sum of \$75,000 (slightly over \$1 million in contemporary dollars). The book won that year's Pulitzer Prize, and it remained entrenched on best-seller lists throughout 1939 and well into 1940.

When he started writing *The Grapes of Wrath*, Steinbeck envisioned alternating chapters, one of exposition (Route 66, roadside diners, migrant camps, etc.), followed by one more narrative in nature, the continuing story of the trials besetting the Joad family. Although he did not stick unwaveringly to this pattern, he came close, and the alternations give *The Grapes of Wrath* a unique structure. Employing cadences reminiscent of the King James Version of the Bible, along with earthy humor and hillbilly stereotypes, the Joads' story retells in contemporary terms the flight of the Jews out of Egypt as told in Exodus. Steinbeck freely inserts a mix of religious imagery and realistic detail in his story to give it universality. The expository sections, in particular, use varying styles, from a flat, reportorial tone to soaring rhetorical passages to create a portrait of the southwestern United States in the early 1930s, a time when the plight of dispossessed farmers had reached its height. These slices of life, sometimes funny, sometimes heartbreaking, show Steinbeck's sharp perceptive powers. The narrative parts, on the other hand, showcase a gifted storyteller, and the Joads emerge as a memorable family of survivors.

With the book still fresh in everyone's minds, 20th Century Fox in 1940 released a film adaptation, an unusually quick media turnaround. The studio had wisely assigned the picture to director John Ford (1894–1973). A veteran of countless productions dating back to 1917 and the completely forgotten *Red Saunders Plays Cupid*, Ford had, during the 1930s, established a reputation as a sensitive director capable of adapting varied material into memorable **movies** like *The Informer* (1935), *Stagecoach* (1939), and *Drums along the Mohawk* (1939). In addition, the studio brought on board the gifted Nunnally Johnson (1897–1977) as screenwriter. Johnson had previously worked with Ford on *The Prisoner of Shark Island* (1936), another historical picture, so the two knew one another and shared some interests.

By the end of the decade, when both the book and the movie had aroused the public, the country had weathered most of the rigors of the Great Depression and indeed enjoyed something of an economic upswing. Whereas the novel displays strong liberal sympathies (even—some of his more upset critics would claim—leftist, Communist, or socialist tendencies), the movie avoids direct criticism of the big targets of the book: banks and corporate agriculture. Chase Manhattan Bank may have played a silent role in that decision, since it owned considerable stock in 20th Century Fox. At any rate, the villains in the film become nameless "theys" rather than being identified as greedy financial institutions as Steinbeck does in his writing.

Johnson also reordered the sequences found in the novel, so that the movie's upbeat conclusion has the Joads arriving at a pleasant government camp, an episode taken from much earlier in the original story. The desperate ending that appears in the published *Grapes of Wrath* has the Joads living miserably in a boxcar. Daughter Rose of Sharon, who recently delivered a stillborn child, in a final act of charity offers her breast to a

starving man, a faint note of hope that life will go on. With the restrictions presented by the Hollywood Production Code, such a scene obviously could not be included in any major movie of the 1930s or 1940s, making Johnson's repositioning of chapters understandable. In acknowledgment of the excellence of both book and movie, the two variations work. The happier ending to the film hardly mitigates its overall power, and Steinbeck loses little in the transition, although those devoted to the novel have argued strongly against the change.

Because of the calm sincerity he projected on screen, Henry Fonda (1905–1982), a popular actor and one whom John Ford had used previously, plays Tom Joad, the central figure in the story. A stellar supporting cast complements Fonda. Shot as a stark black-and-white slice of realism, the movie resembles some of the documentary **photography** commissioned by the Farm Security Administration (FSA; 1937–1943), a **New Deal** government agency that wanted Americans to witness the living conditions many endured.

The Grapes of Wrath received a total of seven Academy Award nominations (Best Picture, Best Director, Best Screenplay, Best Actor, Best Supporting Actress, Best Sound Recording, and Best Film Editing), and won two of them. It lost for Best Picture of 1940 to *Rebecca*, another outstanding film. John Ford won as Best Director. In the supporting actress category, Jane Darwell (1879–1967) captured the award for her strong portrait of Ma Joad, the person who holds the clan together.

An unblinking portrait of Depression-era America, both in print and on film, *The Grapes of Wrath* has emerged as an American classic. In 1962, Steinbeck received the ultimate accolade for an author when the Swedish academy awarded him the Nobel Prize in Literature. In their comments, the judges mentioned *The Grapes of Wrath* by name.

See also Auto Camps; Automobiles; Woody Guthrie; Hillbillies; Newspapers; Political Parties; Regionalism; Religion; Restaurants; Social Consciousness Films; Travel

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GROCERY STORES & SUPERMARKETS. Prior to the 1930s, a loose collection of small, independent grocery stores, both urban and rural, dotted the United States. These establishments primarily served neighborhoods and offered their customers full, personalized service—fresh vegetables and dairy products from local farmers, orders placed by telephone, monthly credit accounts, and home delivery of purchases. If shoppers came to the store, they would ask a clerk behind the counter for specific items that employees boxed or bagged. The customer then took them home or had them delivered.

The late 1800s and early 1900s witnessed the appearance of a series of shopping innovations, including cash-and-carry and self-service, which led to the evolution of a new



An old-fashioned neighborhood grocery store in Newark, Ohio. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

concept of grocery retailing. By the 1930s, this enterprise came to be called a "supermarket," a spacious business with large inventories of **food** products and nonfood items.

During the earlier reign of small mom-and-pop grocery stores, several variables necessitated daily shopping. At home, refrigerators and iceboxes, some without any freezer components, kept only small amounts of food fresh and edible. In many communities, each grocery store specialized in specific products requiring stops at several—the butcher, the baker, and the produce dealer. In rural areas, enterprising village grocers sent huckster wagons out into the countryside to sell a wide variety of small items, making customers dependent upon when the wagons arrived. Frequently the staples, canned goods, and prepared foods they carried would be bartered or exchanged for fresh dairy products, vegetables, eggs, meats—items that would then be sold in the grocers' stores.

The Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company (commonly known as A&P), founded in 1859, serves as one example of a specialized food business evolving into a chain grocery store. Located in New York City, the A&P sold spices, **coffee**, and **tea**. In light of its early success, the company opened more stores and in 1880 began manufacturing baking powder, its first branded food product designed to sell in its own retail outlets. By the end of the nineteenth century, A&P inventories included a wide range of grocery items. Continuing to be innovative in its operation, A&P instituted a cash-and-carry policy in 1912, opened its 10,000th store in 1923, and featured unadorned furnishings and fixtures in its 1927 "no frills" A&P Economy Store in Jersey City, New Jersey.

In another part of the country, Clarence Saunders (1881–1953) in 1916 founded a grocery store in Memphis, Tennessee. Over the succeeding years, his Piggly Wiggly Corporation offered to hundreds of independently owned outlets the opportunity to be

franchised under the Piggly Wiggly name, giving birth to a successful grocery chain. Mr. Saunders felt that the traditional transactions between customers and clerks resulted in wasted time and man hours, and he introduced self-service in Piggly Wiggly markets. Unlike a small, independent grocery store where shoppers received continuous, personal assistance, this concept allowed the shopper to select both prepackaged and loose food products directly from shelves and containers. Most customers carried baskets, made their choices, and took their selections to a cash register for purchase.

On the West Coast, Safeway Stores opened for business in Los Angeles, California, just before World War I as the Sam Seelig Company. The enterprise quickly grew, and a 1926 merger of the now-600 Seelig stores with the 673 Skaggs' Cash Stores created a new chain and the Seelig's Safeway name became official in 1927. Throughout the country, the new chain stores of the 1920s and 1930s boasted of their large number of locations. The space of each individual store, however, remained limited and carried a small inventory.

Despite the success of cash-and-carry and self-service in the chains, most small operators did not explore these retailing methods until the early 1930s. With the Depression, merchants, well aware that people had less money to spend for food, began to focus on how to attract customers to their stores and some followed the A&P, Piggly Wiggly, or Safeway examples. Entrepreneurs converted abandoned buildings into "warehouse grocery stores" and advertised cut-rate food prices. Shoppers at these warehouse arrangements engaged in self-service by strolling along aisles and choosing their purchases from displays stacked high on large, easily accessible tables. As a rule, customers, food manufacturers, and distributors liked such an innovative approach.

In 1930, Michael Cullen (1884–1936), with several years experience as a clerk with A&P, and sales manager for two other chains, Mutual Grocery and Kroger Stores, leased an abandoned garage close to a busy shopping district in Jamaica, New York. There he opened the King Kullen Market, the business usually credited with being the first of this new kind of "cafeteria" grocery store. Ten times the size of most stores of that time, King Kullen Market carried fresh meat and groceries, and promised to keep prices low. The stores enjoyed considerable early success, and 17 King Kullen markets served customers throughout the Northeast by the end of 1936.

Big Bear market in Elizabeth, New Jersey, followed suit in 1932. Cincinnati, Ohio, boasted Albers Super Markets, which had the honor in 1933 of being the first to formally use the term "supermarket." Food Fair in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, advertised itself as a 10,000-square-foot giant, quality food, price-cutter store. That same year, Kroger Grocery & Bakery Company in Cincinnati constructed the first parking lot to surround a grocery store, offering spaces for 75 vehicles; the company had learned from surveys that 80 percent of their customers used **automobiles** for shopping.

Safeway converted many of its smaller stores into larger operations; it reached its peak as a chain in 1936 with 3,370 stores. At the same time, the first Giant Food Store opened in Washington, D.C., which gave the United States more than 1,200 chain-connected supermarkets operating under many different names in 84 cities. Throughout the 1930s, the opening of these stores resulted in the closing of many small, independent operations.

The successful development of the modern American supermarket had been driven by the marketing principle of meeting consumers' needs. According to the Super Market Institute, a national trade association for supermarket owners and operators organized in 1937, such an enterprise arranges its products in departments, deals in food and other merchandise, does a minimum of \$250,000 annually, and operates on a self-service basis. According to the institute, efficiency can be increased by self-service; visibility and variety will promote sales; and profit comes from large inventories that move quickly. New products advertised on the **radio** soon became available to almost everyone; even nonprescription drugs and other nonfood items could be purchased at one's local supermarket.

Certain advantages occurred with the shift from the small grocery store to the self-service supermarket. The careful shopper who wished to compare the differing prices of a product offered by more than one company could save money and accomplish it in a leisurely manner without any assistance from a clerk. Larger, departmentalized stores meant greater inventory and, as food manufacturers vied for the best display areas, they created an atmosphere for competitive pricing.

Innovation and competition went hand in hand. In 1933, the "ready-to-heat-and-eat" section, or "pantry shelf," made its first appearance. Here the shopper could find one-step-preparation foods such as soups, baked beans, beef stew, corned beef hash, prepared spaghetti, and pudding. Sylvan Goldman (1898–1984), owner of Standard Food Markets and Humpty Dumpty Stores in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, invented the shopping cart in 1937. This device on wheels could be pushed through the store aisles allowing customers to carry more items comfortably during a single shopping trip, thereby boosting sales.

Drawbacks to the supermarket, of course, existed. Many Americans still preferred the old ways of grocery shopping, especially receiving credit and placing an order by telephone for home delivery. The size and anonymity of the larger stores precluded any kind of close customer relationship, and to keep prices as low as possible, most stores refused to grant credit to their patrons or to offer free deliveries.

Although the atmosphere of the 1930s supermarket can hardly be compared to the bright, shiny emporiums of today, these early predecessors, often housed in abandoned garages and warehouses, nevertheless met with success. They had created a way to address changing consumer needs through a novel method of merchandising.

See also Advertising; Candy; Desserts; Frozen Foods; Ice Cream; Soft Drinks

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GUMPS, THE. A newspaper comic strip drawn by Sidney Smith (1877–1935), *The Gumps* first appeared in 1917, survived until 1959, and rose to its greatest popularity during the 1920s and 1930s. *The Gumps* might be considered the prototypical domestic series, tracing as it does the lives of a lower middle-class family through social changes, wars, economic upheavals, and the vagaries of everyday living.

Born in Illinois, Sidney Smith held a variety of jobs in his youth and appeared to be heading nowhere in the field of art. In 1908, he created *Buck Nix*, an anthropomorphic goat that appeared first in the *Chicago Examiner*. Hardly a memorable strip, and crudely drawn, *Buck Nix* gave Smith the idea of a serial format that would entice readers to follow the adventures of a recurring set of characters.

The Chicago Tribune took on Smith in 1912 to do sports drawings, and Buck Nix became Old Doc Yak. In time, it caught the attention of Captain Joseph Medill Patterson (1879–1946), the copublisher of the Tribune and founder of New York's Daily News. A legend in the world of comic-strip marketing, Patterson shepherded such classics as Gasoline Alley (1918–present), Winnie Winkle (1920–present), Moon Mullins (1923–1993), Little Orphan Annie (1924–present), Dick Tracy (1931–present), and many others to fame and success. Possessed of an unerring sense regarding popular taste, Patterson had no reservations about suggesting story and character ideas to his growing stable of cartoonists. When he saw Smith's Old Doc Yak, he discerned a potential for greater things and determined to expand the scope of the cartoonist's work.

Under Patterson's tutelage, Sidney Smith in 1917 developed a concept that Patterson would christen *The Gumps*. A long-forgotten word from early nineteenth-century slang, "gump" means a foolish, stupid person. Patterson liked to use the term when referring to common, ordinary people, that is, the typical reader of his **newspapers**. In the strip he envisioned, the main characters would fit this definition and, he hoped, readers would identify with them. His guess paid off, and from its 1917 debut onward, *The Gumps* enjoyed a growing audience. *Old Doc Yak* soon disappeared from the paper's pages. The talking goat briefly—1930–1934—resurfaced as a "topper" for *The Gumps* on Sunday, appearing as a short strip above the regular, full-size series below it.

The Gumps focused on a handful of characters: Andy Gump, "inventor of the flower pot," the family patriarch, a cigar-chomping man with no visible chin; his long-suffering wife, Min (short for Minerva), who must put up with Andy's endless schemes and half-baked ideas; Chester, their precocious son; Uncle Bim Gump, a gullible billionaire who also lacks a lower jaw; Tilda, the repulsive, wisecracking maid who shows no respect for anyone; and Hope, the family cat, who usually lazes about in the sun. By any standard, one of the most execrably drawn American comic strips of any era, some theorists maintain that its very lack of artistic merit made it more appealing to its audience because it harbored no pretensions about its drawings or its characters. People apparently felt a kinship with the realism and folksiness portrayed in *The Gumps*, and its soap opera pace and melodramatic plotting kept readership high.

A number of marketing tie-ins between the strip and selected products followed. Two popular songs came out during the early years of the strip, "Oh! Min" (1918; words by Ole Olsen [1892–1963], music by Isham Jones [1894–1956]) and "Andy Gump" (1923; words and music by Harold Dixon [active 1920s]), and a *Gumps* board game materialized in 1924. Several movie cartoons featured the characters, and the family appeared in **Big Little Books** reprints. In 1931 a **radio** program could be heard, the first comic strip to be adapted to the new medium. *The Gumps* ran from 1931 to 1937 on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS radio) network. A succession of **toys** and other collectibles also testified to the popularity of the series.

That popularity spelled financial success for Smith; in 1922, he signed a \$1 million contract (roughly \$12 million in contemporary dollars) with the *Tribune-News*

syndicate. It guaranteed him \$100,000 a year (\$1.2 million) for 10 years, plus a Rolls-Royce automobile for signing, making Sidney Smith the first million-dollar cartoonist. By the 1930s, *The Gumps* ranked at the top of the comics pantheon and in the fall of 1935 the syndicate offered him a new contract: \$150,000 a year for three years (roughly \$2.2 million a year), another new record. He agreed to the terms, but late that same night, while driving home, his car ran off the road, killing him instantly.

Given the success enjoyed by *The Gumps*, Patterson and *Tribune-News* officials wasted no time in finding a successor to Smith. Fellow cartoonist Stanley Link (1874–1957), who had ghosted some of drawing in the early 1930s, initially received the nod, but no contractual agreement could be worked out. As a result, Gus Edson (1901–1966) took over the series in late 1935, a job he would retain until the syndicate canceled *The Gumps* in 1959 because of poor circulation numbers. Edson, unfortunately, proved even less of a draftsman than Smith, plus he lacked the storytelling skills on which his predecessor had capitalized. *The Gumps* suffered, and once-loyal readers deserted the strip, along with the newspapers carrying it.

During the 1920s and until Sidney Smith's tragic death, however, *The Gumps* had no equal. It addressed the concerns of its readers—money, health, family—in straightforward terms. In the grim days of the Great Depression, it stood almost alone among comic strips when it came to talking directly about the economy. Andy Gump invested in the stock market and lost, making no secret of his dimmed hopes. People got sick; family squabbles—serious ones—came out in the stories. The Gumps' less than luxurious standard of living, right down to Andy's comic but rattletrap car, became part of the strip's lore. Smith said these characters were not unlike the audience reading about them. Employing a form of comic naturalism, he established a rapport with his readers unusual for the make-believe world of cartooning. For the Depression years, the underdogs found a voice in *The Gumps*.

See also Automobiles; Comic Books; Games; Serials; Soap Operas

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GUTHRIE, WOODY. A native of Oklahoma and named for President Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924), Woody Guthrie (1912–1967) learned to play the guitar and the harmonica at an early age. A youthful veteran of hard times, Guthrie wandered throughout Texas and Oklahoma, absorbing the flavor of the region and compiling knowledge about various kinds of regional music. Eventually he would write more than a thousand songs, many of which relied on the compositions of others for their melodies.

Guthrie has come down to the present as a major voice in the protest movements of the 1930s. In reality, he enjoyed at best a limited following during the decade; not until the 1940s and after did he come into his own as a significant voice in American music. An early composition, "So Long, It's Been Good to Know Ya" (1935; originally titled "Dusty Old Dust"), became a minor hit. Its music derived from a traditional work by Carson

Robison (1890–1957) called "Ballad of Billy the Kid" that had been written in 1930; Guthrie reworked the material and added his own words. Among his better-known songs, the tune represents his style well. A "Dust Bowl ballad," it reflects the hard times of the Depression, especially the harsh weather and drought conditions experienced by farmers in the western half of the nation. Ironically, the song gained its greatest popularity not in 1935, but in 1951 when a folk group called the Weavers recorded it in a time far removed from depressions and Dust Bowls.

After the limited success of "Dusty Old Dust," Guthrie in 1936 left behind a wife and three children and journeyed westward. A free-wheeling spirit, he cared little about respectability. He would have a series of romances, two more marriages, and several additional children, including contemporary folksinger



Folk singer Woody Guthrie (1912–1967). (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

Arlo Guthrie (b. 1947). He joined the steady stream of migrants, or "Okies," heading for the "promised land" of California. His trek, and that of thousands of others, would be chronicled by author John Steinbeck in his epic *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939), one of the enduring literary works from the decade. From that experience, Guthrie developed a deep-seated sympathy for the downtrodden, and it became a dominant theme in his work.

He eventually reached Los Angeles and in 1937 managed to land a slot on KFVD, a local radio station, playing a mix of hillbilly and traditional folk music recordings. Maxine Crissman (active 1930s), who received billing as "Lefty Lou," shared microphone duties with him, and their show, Woody and Lefty Lou, lasted for two years. During their tenure, they talked and sang over the air, developing a dedicated audience in the process.

A tireless songwriter, Guthrie continued to compose while on the West Coast. He celebrated the poor ("If You Ain't Got the Do Re Mi," 1937), the dispossessed ("I Ain't Got No Home," "Dust Bowl Refugees," both 1938), the region ("Talking Dust Bowl Blues," mid-1930s), and even some outlaws ("Pretty Boy Floyd," 1939). As the 1930s wound down, much of his music took on more of a political edge, and by the 1940s he had moved to compositions about the labor movement and social inequities and injustices. But, contrary to popular belief, that segment of Guthrie's career took place after the 1930s.

The *People's World*, a Communist periodical based in Los Angeles, in 1938 hired Guthrie to write a newspaper column that went by the name of "Woody Sez." In it, he presented himself as something of a homespun, populist philosopher, and he espoused the causes of working people and farmers, a thread he would amplify in his music. Since the *People's World* had Communist Party connections, his association with the paper tainted his reputation in the eyes of many and would haunt him during the 1940s and 1950s, a time of rabid anti-Communism.

Encouraged by his modest successes, and tired of the regimen of broadcasting and writing, Guthrie left Los Angeles in early 1940 and traveled to New York City. Once there, he met many people, including musicians, intellectuals, political activists, and

labor supporters. Friends also introduced him to some of the leaders in commercial music circles, an introduction that led to a contract with RCA Victor Records to organize and record some of his music. He cut 14 sides for the label, and his efforts came out as an album, *Dust Bowl Ballads* (1940; reissued, with additional music, in 1964). The collection enjoyed modest success and that same year the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS radio) hired him to host a network show called *Pipe Smoking Time*, the title a nod to the sponsor, Model Tobacco. Although short-lived, it further broadened his audience and led to other radio appearances.

Woody Guthrie today remains as perhaps the best-known musical spokesperson for the dispossessed. Historically, those in the nation's lower economic echelons, such as laborers and farmers, have often been ignored in popular culture. Because they occasionally found a small voice through music, albeit to limited audiences, protest music flowered during the 1930s as people tried to articulate their woes and anger through song. Pro-labor and anti-business, Guthrie's songs endeared him to workers and angered, in his words, "the bosses," "the fat cats," "the Big Crooks," and "the Greedy Rich Folks"—anyone he saw manipulating and controlling the fate of ordinary working-class people. Guthrie's was not a solitary voice; many singers protested on the side of labor throughout the 1930s. If recorded at all, their music usually could only be heard on obscure labels, and their names have largely been lost, as have the majority of their songs.

Were it not for John Lomax (1867–1948) and his son Alan (1915–2002), knowledge of this rich musical heritage of working-class America, especially that of the southern half of the country, would be limited today. In 1932, the Macmillan Publishing Company accepted John Lomax's proposal for a wide-ranging anthology of American folk-songs and ballads. The Library of Congress, through its Archive of American Folk Song, provided recording equipment so he could capture this music in the field instead of at a studio.

Eventually, Alan Lomax met Woody Guthrie. In March 1940, he recorded several hours of music and conversation with the singer for the Library of Congress, finally released as a multidisc album in 1964. In addition, Guthrie, Lomax, and folksinger Pete Seeger (b. 1919) in 1940 compiled a book of labor-oriented protest songs. Given the times, many considered the collected lyrics too radical, and no publisher could be found. Eventually, however, attitudes mellowed and *Hard Hitting Songs for Hard-Hit People* came out in 1967, a time of renewed interest in folk and protest music.

During his 1940 New York City sojourn, Guthrie heard, over and over, Irving Berlin's (1888–1889) patriotic tribute to the nation, "God Bless America" (1918), a composition that had found new popularity in a 1939 recording by Kate Smith (1907–1986). Guthrie felt that "God Bless America," rousing and sincere as it may be, inaccurately portrayed the country. In response, he wrote "This Land Is Your Land," arguably his best-known composition. The melody came from a country blues called "Rock of Ages" by Blind Willie Davis (active 1930s). The Carter Family, pioneers in popularizing country and blues-influenced music, had recorded this song as "When the World's on Fire," and their version features Maybelle Carter (1909–1978) employing her distinctive guitar style. Guthrie, who had few qualms about "borrowing" the music of others, incorporated the Carter version into his own composition.

He did not record "This Land Is Your Land" until 1944 when Moses "Moe" Asch (1905–1985), the founder of Folkways Records, encouraged him to do so. Initially, his

recording had little public impact. Not until the song reached huge audiences through the versions recorded by such popular artists as Bob Dylan (b. 1941) in 1961, Pete Seeger in 1962, and Peter, Paul, and Mary (Peter Yarrow, b. 1938; Paul Stookey, b. 1937; Mary Travers, b. 1936) in 1962 did "This Land Is Your Land" achieve its iconic status. The song displays Guthrie's yearning for social equality among all Americans and serves as a fitting summation of the career of this "Dust Bowl Balladeer."

See also Best Sellers; Hillbillies; Newspapers; Political Parties; Radio Networks; Songwriters & Lyricists

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HENDERSON, FLETCHER. The career of bandleader and arranger Fletcher Henderson (1898–1952) illustrates many of the problems faced by black musicians in the 1930s. His orchestra could reasonably be called the hottest band in the land at the beginning of the decade, but the rampant racism of the time kept his genius concealed from a potentially huge audience.

Born in the small town of Cuthbert, Georgia, Henderson studied classical **music** with his mother, but received his formal **education** as a chemist. In 1920, he moved to New York City, ostensibly to work in the chemical industry, but his race caused most doors to be closed to him. Henderson therefore began plugging songs for Black Swan, an important black music publishing group. He put together his first band in 1924; that same year he landed a contract with New York's Roseland Ballroom, a job that would last for 10 years and give him a measure of financial security during that time.

During its stay at Roseland, the Fletcher Henderson Orchestra saw many important black musicians pass through its ranks, including trumpeters Louis Armstrong (1901–1971) and Rex Stewart (1907–1967), saxophonists Benny Carter (1907–2003) and Coleman Hawkins (1904–1969), clarinetist Buster Bailey (1902–1967), and arranger Don Redman (1900–1964). Despite the high caliber of musicianship exhibited by the aggregation and the long stay at the ballroom, commercial success eluded Henderson. The band cut a number of **recordings**, but most of them came out on minor labels, or what the industry called "race records," a term indicating that distribution would be directed at a minority black audience.

The Henderson band finally recorded for RCA Victor in 1932, but the company failed to promote it effectively and sales languished. Victor, like its predecessors, limited its distribution of his recordings, focusing on what it perceived as centers of black trade, a practice that kept his music from spreading to a larger (i.e., white) audience. After the contract with Roseland expired, Henderson, never a good manager, found his finances shaky. He met with John Hammond (1910–1987), an important music critic who seemingly knew everyone in the business, and a man who admired Henderson's work. Hammond set up a meeting between Henderson and clarinetist **Benny Goodman** (1909–1986), leader of an up-and-coming **swing** orchestra. As a result, Henderson began selling some of his best arrangements to Goodman in 1934. Among swing enthusiasts, this transaction brought Henderson a measure of recognition, but it arrived in terms of a successful white band.

Although they involved such gems as "Blue Skies" (composed in 1927), "Sometimes I'm Happy" (composed 1927), "King Porter Stomp" (composed 1925), and many others, Goodman's celebrated performances did little to increase Henderson's public name recognition. Within musical circles, however, Henderson's expertise caused other bandleaders to avail themselves of his skills. Examples would include the Isham Jones (1894–1956) orchestra and the Tommy (1905–1956) and Jimmy (1904–1957) Dorsey bands. This kind of work gave Henderson the financial security to continue fronting groups of his own throughout the 1930s, but his bands lacked commercial success. He played piano for Goodman in 1939, a position that accorded him greater visibility with the public than most of his stints as the leader of his own band.

In spite of the commercial frustrations he faced, Fletcher Henderson did as much, if not more, than anyone to define swing. Beginning in the 1920s and continuing through the 1930s, his use of riffs, or repeated musical phrases, along with a skillful interplay between the brasses and reeds, emerged as hallmarks of the new popular style. His use of both freewheeling jazz improvisation and tight, formal arranging gave Henderson's numbers a distinctive quality that other orchestras moved to emulate. For the 1930s, white bands like Benny Goodman, the Dorseys, Harry James (1916–1983), and Glenn Miller (1904–1944) perhaps represented elements of the Henderson approach most faithfully.

As has been the case numerous times in American life, a seemingly invisible black artist helped immeasurably to lay the groundwork for what would later become a dominant part of the majority, or white, culture. Lacking attractive, strongly promoted recording contracts with major companies, and often forced to play in less than ideal conditions, Fletcher Henderson soldiered on, with little expectation of the profits and celebrity that frequently accrued to his white counterparts.

See also Race Relations & Stereotyping

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HILLBILLIES. With the economy struggling and millions out of work, the image of the hillbilly—sly, independent, resilient, able to survive despite the lack of any apparent job—held a certain appeal. The customs and culture of mountain folk, people who live in remote areas on the fringes of society, have long been a part of American humor and folklore. With literary and musical roots dating back to the early days of the republic, the concept of a subculture that has somehow developed on its own has always attracted popular attention.

In the turbulent 1930s, that attention grew into a minor cultural phenomenon, and the term "hillbilly," a word coined in the late nineteenth century and used pejoratively, shifted in its meanings and gained wide circulation in various media. The hillbilly stereotype that emerged has only a slight basis in reality; instead, it arose primarily out of the collective forces of mass media bent on popularizing a figure that would be commercially viable.

During the 1930s, popular hillbilly manifestations occurred in the following ways:

Comic Strips & Cartoons. In 1934, Paul Webb (1902–1985) began drawing single-panel cartoons featuring stereotypical hillbillies that he called "mountain boys" for the newly published *Esquire* magazine. His characters populate a timeless Appalachian–Ozark–Blue Ridge hinterland cut off from civilization, and his sketches epitomize the down-and-out, but never conquered, mountain characters of the public imagination.

That same year, the booming newspaper comic strips welcomed two new additions, Al Capp's *Li'l Abner* and Billy De Beck's *Snuffy Smith*. *Li'l Abner* focused on the creation of an entire hillbilly community, Dogpatch, U.S.A. *Snuffy Smith*, on the other hand, grew out of a recurring figure in the long-running series *Barney Google* (1919–1940s), a sports-oriented strip. De Beck (1890–1942) had casually introduced Snuffy, a Kentucky hillbilly, into one of Barney's adventures; in a short time, he replaced Google, and today the series continues under different artists as *Snuffy Smith*.

Snuffy, a diminutive caricature of the "typical" hillbilly and completely unlike Webb's lean, lanky mountain boys or Capp's Abner, became popular. A moonshine-makin' rascal, he steals chickens, gambles, and lords it over Maw, his long-suffering wife. But he also survives, often by his wits, in a world he never made, one for which he takes no responsibility.

Radio. The countrified comedy dialects of two actors, Chester Lauck (1902–1980) and Norris Goff (1906–1978), led to a long-running radio series called *Lum and Abner* (1931–1954), a show that brought hillbilly humor into American living rooms. Set in the mythic town of Peabody Ridge, Arkansas, the two characters run the old-timey Jot 'em Down Store, and the scripts chronicle their low-key conversations with other members of the community and the occasional visitor. Somewhat in the mold of *Amos 'n' Andy*, another successful offering then running on network radio that employed dialect, *Lum and Abner*, attracted a devoted listenership. With success came several movies, the first of which, *Dreaming Out Loud* (1940), played theaters at the end of the decade.

Music & Recordings. Country music began to make its first appearances on radio stations in the mid- to late 1920s. By the 1930s, this musical format could be heard on many stations, both urban and rural. WLS, a Chicago-based station, broadcast *The National Barn Dance* throughout the decade, whereas WSM, a Nashville, Tennessee, station, carried *Grand Ole Opry*. Thanks to their strong signals and central locations, the two shows attracted large audiences, estimated at anywhere from 5 to 10 million listeners on Saturday nights in back-to-back time slots.

Both programs, along with a handful of others, helped raise public consciousness about country music. As evidence of the growing popularity of such music, mail-order giants Sears, Roebuck and Montgomery Ward soon offered country and hillbilly records in their catalogs.

Movies. Always alert to popular trends, the movie industry wasted little time in releasing hillbilly-oriented pictures. Around the country, theaters advertised both cartoons and feature films with titles like Kentucky Kernals (1934), Mountain Music (1937), Down in Arkansaw (1938), A Feud There Was (1938), Kentucky Moonshine (1938), and Musical Mountaineers (1939). One such film, Spitfire (1934), stars the usually sleek, sophisticated Katharine Hepburn (1907–2003) as a grubby, uncouth

mountain woman. A monument to miscasting, the picture nevertheless suggests how popular images of hillbillies had found a niche in American mass media.

See also Carter Family; The Grapes of Wrath; Woody Guthrie; Magazines; Newspapers; Radio Networks

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HOBBIES. Wanted or not, the Depression brought much more free time into many people's lives. As a result, hobbies, specific activities pursued voluntarily in nonwork hours for pleasure, soared in popularity during these difficult years. Social critics saw hobbies as an acceptable way to use new leisure and recreation hours, and they encouraged all Americans, especially the unemployed, to acquire at least one hobby as a productive activity to fill idle time. Educators and other professionals advocated the positive benefits of an avocation during stressful times, and businesses sponsored hobby shows and hobby clubs for both employees and the general public. Throughout the decade, the mass media—newspapers, magazines, and radio—ran columns, feature articles, and programs describing the leisure pursuits of celebrities and local citizens, and community organizations often featured hobbyists as guests at their meetings.

Hobbies consumed energy in a healthy way, reinforced the work ethic, increased productivity, taught new skills that could be transferred to jobs, and brought about a sense of fulfillment. For young people, a hobby held both immediate and long term benefits: it occupied free time constructively, which meant staying out of mischief; it rewarded hard work; it dispensed information; and it promoted activities good for a lifetime. Some enthusiasts went so far as to advocate hobbies as a means of preventing juvenile delinquency.

Many government and private organizations actively supported hobbies as a part of daily life. School systems provided hobby education in the regular curriculum through a variety of instructional programs; they added free, how-to-do evening classes for adults and joined others in the sponsorship of hobby clubs. Municipalities and recreation centers opened their doors for handicraft guild meetings and work sessions providing supplies, tools, and machinery that many individuals and families otherwise could not afford. Organizations for children and adolescents, such as the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and Camp Fire Girls, expanded their programs to include hobby activities and clubs, and places of worship scheduled opportunities for members to participate in sewing circles and quilting bees.

Hobbies magazine, consolidated from several periodicals, debuted in 1931 and billed itself as a publication for collectors. It sponsored shows in major cities across the country during its heyday. Newspapers likewise created or enlarged hobby sections and Macy's department store in New York City displayed the work of hobbyists regularly.

On radio, *Hobby Lobby*, a human interest program, began broadcasting in October 1937 on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS radio). The host, Dave Elman (active 1930s), interviewed people with unusual hobbies, such things as building lifelike sculptures from burnt toast or collecting elephant hairs. *Hobby Lobby* doubled its audience each year for three seasons and at its peak received 3,000 letters a week from hobbyists who wanted to appear on the program. The rival National Broadcasting Company (NBC radio) put *Hobbies for the Larger Leisure* in its schedule. The show featured experts discussing unique pursuits, both their own and those of others.

Across the country, people engaged in handicrafts such as leather work, woodworking and furniture building, metalwork, basket weaving, and knitting. Gardening provided multiple benefits—the mental activity of learning and decision making, physical activity, a sense of accomplishment, and **food** for the table. More than one survey of leisure activities in the 1930s placed gardening in the top tier. Garden clubs, once the domain of well-to-do society women, experienced a growth in both numbers and diversity of membership. Ceramics, collectibles, coins, model railroads and layouts, watercolors and oils, **photography**, reading—the list of hobbies pursued during the 1930s goes on and on.

Model building, especially model airplanes of various kinds, emerged as one of the more popular pastimes. Media outlets covered this activity and related events almost as eagerly as they did the growing aviation industry. Newspapers and radio stations started model clubs, and in 1934 the largest, Junior Birdmen of America, could boast publishing magnate William Randolph Hearst (1863–1951) as its founder. The Sunday Hearst newspapers carried the "Junior Birdmen Feature Page," which contained information about aviation in general and model building techniques in particular. Municipalities and department stores offered classes in model construction and even established clubs similar to the Junior Birdmen. They published instruction manuals geared to young hobbyists, and held meets that allowed modelers to show off their skills. NBC's Model Airplane Club of the Air reached rural listeners who lacked access to clubs such as those available in larger cities.

The Jimmie Allen Club, an aviation adventure serial, first aired on radio in 1933. Immediately popular, Jimmie Allen, a boy pilot, solves mysteries, hunts for treasure, and races in air shows. Listeners could join the Jimmie Allen Flying Club and receive premiums, such as a set of wings, a membership emblem, or a Jimmie Allen picture jigsaw puzzle. A weekly club newsletter that went out to some 600,000 youngsters included information about flying lessons and model airplane plans.

In the mid-1930s, the Hollywood branch of the Jimmie Allen Club included child stars Mickey Rooney (b. 1920) and **Shirley Temple** (b. 1928). Their membership reflected the coeducational possibilities for both model building and the aviation industry. Interest in the radio show prompted Paramount Studios to shoot a Jimmie Allen movie, *Sky Parade* (1936); the film failed at the box office. Enthusiasm for the radio broadcasts also waned, and the show went off the air in 1937.

With so much emphasis on the benefits of hobbies and learning new skills, some people argued that hobbies like **jigsaw puzzles** or collecting in general lacked productivity, taught few, if any skills, and therefore did not qualify as hobbies. Nonetheless, jigsaw puzzle sales reached into the millions during 1932 and 1933 and remained high throughout the decade. Puzzles became a favorite time killer, and for many, the most popular hobby of the Depression.

Stamp collecting, another passive activity, but one that provided knowledge about places and people, emerged as one of the best-known hobbies of the 1930s. Dating back to the nineteenth century, philately (its official name) gained publicity from an ardent collector, President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945). Not only did he collect, he designed a number of U.S. commemorative stamps during his terms in office. Roosevelt endorsed the hobby as a worthwhile endeavor, and its overwhelming popularity probably grew from the president's celebrity status. The decade saw countless new American commemorative stamps issued by Roosevelt's close friend and postmaster general of the United States, James A. Farley (1888–1976).

Hobbies of every description played a significant role in daily life by easing some of the stress of the uncertain times. Jobs might have been scarce, but the work of a hobby could go on forever; some even led to employment as illustrated by contemporary magazine articles featuring profiles of people who had turned their hobbies into vocations.

See also Fads; Games; Movies; New Deal; Radio Networks; Serials; Teenage & Juvenile Delinquency Films; Toys; Youth

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HOLLYWOOD PRODUCTION CODE. This term refers to a written set of standards governing the language and content of motion pictures. By the early 1920s, many people found objectionable material in movies, a popular medium that attracted large audiences. Scripts and costumes, attitudes and beliefs—both implied and inferred—served as grist for the critics' mills, and Hollywood became fearful that attempts at censorship might be imposed on filmmakers by groups outside the industry. In a move to defuse any concerted efforts to create a form of national review (i.e., censorship), the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors Association (MPPDA) in 1922 created the "production code" to assuage those attacking the freewheeling medium. The code addressed nudity, obscenity, profanity, and a host of other topics, and the MPPDA intended that the studios and producers would handle these issues as a form of self-regulation. To represent both the code and the industry, the MPPDA chose former postmaster general, Presbyterian elder, and Republican Party chair Will H. Hays (1879–1954) to enforce its rulings. He became so associated with the production code and its provisions that his sphere of activity soon came to be called the Hays Office.

Thinking they had blunted, or deflected, most attacks on commercial filmmaking, the MPPDA relaxed, and throughout the 1920s the code did little more than act as a high-sounding shield against any criticism mounted at Hollywood and its practices. Everything functioned on a quasi honor system, with studios agreeing to the terms of the code, but more abstractly than concretely. Interpretative violations occurred with considerable frequency, especially in the areas of overt violence and sex, with few serious attempts to alter movie content. Filmmakers did more or less as they pleased, with scant fear of punishment.

With the advent of sound in 1927, the movies talked, at times outraging various groups with what they said. In a disorganized way, those upset with the morality and tone of films threatened boycotts and censorship, causing some renewed alarm within the industry. In February 1930, the MPPDA adopted a revised production code and established a Studio Relations Committee (SRC) to monitor compliance. The SRC followed a set of guidelines drawn up in 1927 that contained a list of 38 "don'ts" and "be carefuls" for most aspects of filmmaking. Hays hired Joseph Breen (1890–1965), a former reporter and public relations expert, as a spokesperson for this revision, and the studios again agreed to follow its rules. In practice, however, most restrictions remained lax and the code continued to be ineffectual.

During the period 1930 to 1933, the Depression caused movie revenues to drop, a situation that convinced the studios that only with the inclusion of more sex, violence, and profanity would people return to theaters. So, despite the existence of the code and Hays' attempts to bolster its influence, film content tended to ignore its proscriptions and instead grew even more controversial, a situation that brought about renewed criticism. Until that time, any film produced, distributed, or exhibited in violation of code standards faced a \$25,000 fine (roughly \$370,000 in contemporary dollars). So slight a penalty, since a movie might easily make in excess of \$100,000 in profits (\$1.5 million), meant producers could accept the fine and continue to distribute their films. More stringent rules were needed and the impetus came from outside the industry.

Religious groups of all denominations voiced increasing concerns about the questionable content they perceived in movies. As a result, a group of disgruntled Episcopal and Catholic bishops met in 1933 to address their disappointment with the industry. Out of that grew the Catholic Legion of Decency, a series of nationwide citizens' review boards made up of nonmovie people. They watched films prior to their general release and assigned them ratings. If these reviewers found anything objectionable (usually revolving around sex, crime, violence, nudity, and religion) in a picture, they could recommend changes or elisions; if no alterations were forthcoming, they might issue a rating of C for "condemned." The Legion of Decency recommended boycotting any condemned film, an economic action tantamount to outright censorship. Talk also spread in Washington and Hollywood about possible legislation and government controls on movie content being exercised, a very real threat at a time when several states and cities already had their own review boards, and when federal, state, and local agencies of all kinds were rapidly growing and expanding their powers.

Faced with the necessity of doing something to fend off boycotts, censorship, or government intervention, and to quell the growing call for change in the industry, Hays and Breen finally initiated strict enforcement of the code's provisions. Hays made Breen chair of the Production Code Administration (PCA); all scripts had to pass his office's scrutiny. In 1934, any film lacking Breen's and the PCA's seal of approval would be denied theatrical distribution, a draconian measure endorsed by the major studios. Since those same studios controlled most movie theaters, failure to receive PCA sanction became the kiss of death in a medium dependent on box office receipts for survival. Faced with this kind of threat, producers did their utmost not to violate the code for the remainder of the 1930s, and on into the 1940s. Their surrender signaled significant changes in the content of post-1933–1934 American movies, particularly any episodes containing elements of graphic sex, crime, or violence.

The "don'ts" and "be carefuls," so blithely ignored in the past, took on fresh meaning, and new films coming into theaters reflected this change. Rather than negotiate or compromise, Warner Brothers and United Artists in 1934 withdrew the previously released *Little Caesar* (1930) and *Scarface: Shame of a Nation* (1932) from further theatrical distribution ("too much violence," "celebration of gangsters"), and the two movies languished, unseen, for some 50 years before once more going into theaters. By then, discussion of the code no longer concerned anyone, the Legion of Decency had lost its clout, and people could see virtually anything.

In theory, code restrictions were applied equally across the board; that is, no single type or genre of movie merited special treatment. In actuality, after 1934 comedies and cartoons tended to receive milder criticism from the PCA than did dramas and crime pictures. Violence occurring in a cartoon might be accepted by Breen's office, whereas similar acts in a dramatic production would not. Thus the **screwball comedies** and other adult-oriented comedies of the era often escaped the censor's blue pencil, even though their double entendres and sight gags contained material deemed inappropriate by any close reading of the code. On the other hand, a comedy star like Mae West (1892–1980), noted for her risqué dialogue, had to tone down her act to gain code approval, so not all comedy got by easily. Even a blockbuster picture like **Gone with the Wind** (1939) had its moments with the Hays Office, a process that took weeks and illustrates how seriously the code was taken during the later 1930s.

See also Federal Bureau of Investigation; Gangster Films; Propaganda & Anti-Axis Films; Teenage and Juvenile Delinquency Films

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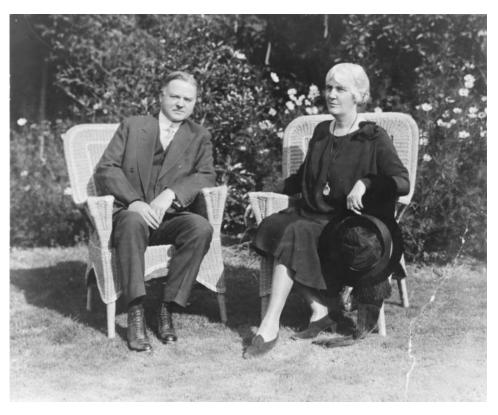
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HOOVER, HERBERT. Born of Quaker parents in West Branch, Iowa, and called Bert as a boy, Herbert Clark Hoover (1874–1964) served the United States as its 31st president from 1929 to 1933. Orphaned at age 10, Bert moved to Oregon to live with relatives in 1885. Shy and withdrawn, he attended the Friends Pacific Academy in Newberg. He then went to Stanford, a new California university, enrolling in 1891. Four years later he graduated with a degree in geology and obtained employment in the mining industry. He learned all aspects of the business, and landed several assignments abroad.

Returning to the United States in 1899, he married Lou Henry (1874–1944), whom he had met at Stanford, and the couple set sail for China for work with the Chinese government. With his considerable foreign experience, Hoover rose rapidly in the mining field, and in 1908 started his own engineering firm. At the same time, he wrote for professional journals, lectured, and published a manual for engineers and managers, all of which burnished his reputation as a progressive and enlightened businessman.

By 1914, Hoover had amassed a private fortune of some \$4 million (\$81 million in contemporary dollars) and retired from active business. When World War I broke out in Europe that year, the Hoovers resided in London; they immediately assisted stranded



Herbert Hoover (1874–1964), the 31st president of the United States, and his wife, Lou Henry Hoover (1874–1944). (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

American travelers attempting to return home. Driven by his Quaker upbringing toward good works, he next established the Commission for Relief of Belgium, an organization that provided millions of tons of **food** to starving people in war-torn Belgium and France.

After the United States entered the conflict in 1917, President Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924) appointed Hoover U.S. food administrator. He had the responsibility of overseeing the overseas distribution of foodstuffs needed by the American and Allied soldiers, as well as maintaining adequate supplies for Allied civilians and people in the United States. Hoover called his program of meatless Mondays and wheatless Wednesdays "food conservation," but many Americans called it Hooverizing. Despite people's carping, the measures proved successful. When the war ended, Hoover accompanied Wilson to Paris as his personal adviser and received considerable credit for reorganizing the shattered European economy. These accomplishments caused the press to laud him as a leading American humanitarian.

Once back in the United States, the Hoovers built a home overlooking the Stanford campus, and he opened mining offices in San Francisco and New York City. Hoover served as secretary of commerce under both Warren G. Harding (1865–1923; president, 1921–1923) and Calvin Coolidge (1872–1933; president, 1923–1929). He reorganized the Commerce Department; from a minor agency it grew into an important and complex organization. Regulation of **radio** and the airways came under his jurisdiction, and

as the **aviation** industry developed, he strongly promoted codes and regulations that led to the Air Commerce Act. In a short time, Herbert Hoover had become one of the most visible men in the country.

Coolidge declined to run again for president in the 1928 election, and Hoover immediately became the Republican favorite to oppose the Democratic candidate, Alfred E. Smith (1873–1944). With a campaign slogan of "A chicken in every pot and a car in every garage," Hoover achieved an overwhelming victory, gaining 58 percent of the popular vote and 444 of the 531 electoral college votes. Because of his private wealth, he donated his presidential salary to charitable organizations.

At the time of the election, the final years of the Roaring Twenties, the stock market had been experiencing a frenzy of activity, reaching unparalleled heights in September 1929. Investors bought stocks on borrowed money, or on margin, by putting only a portion of the needed money down, expecting the rest to come from profits. With no laws to stop them, banks also invested in the stock market, using their depositors' money. Hoover understood the risks involved with this kind of gambling and tried to stop it. He asked for an examination of banking procedures and the passage of laws to reform and strengthen the system, and suggested to the nation's more influential bankers that they cease market speculation, but to no avail. On October 29, Black Tuesday, just seven months after Hoover's inauguration, the stock market crashed.

In the face of the financial panic, Hoover believed that the country suffered from a crisis of confidence and he worked to restore faith in the economic vigor of the nation. He announced that he would keep the federal budget balanced, but would at the same time cut taxes and expand public works spending. He urged business, industry, labor, financial, and agricultural leaders to retain workers' purchasing power through the maintenance of wages.

Speaking as a conservative, he stressed the importance of minimal federal intervention in economic affairs. He believed it important that recovery arise from the willing cooperation of private businesses working with state and local governments and volunteers, not federal handouts. For some time he had strongly supported public-private cooperation, fearing that too much meddling weakened two important American values, individuality and self-reliance. Despite his remonstrances, few listened. His stance on nonintervention led to a public perception that he functioned as a "do-nothing" president and the blame for much of what was going wrong fell on his shoulders.

During 1930 and 1931, the recovery from the Depression swung like a pendulum. By the spring of 1930, the economy started to show some signs of an upswing, but in August a prolonged drought in the Plains states had worsened. Rain had not fallen in any quantity for several years; the once-verdant earth cracked open; parched crops died under a blazing sun. Hoover saw drought relief emanating from state and local municipalities, but people clamored for the president to offer direct federal aid.

Seemingly powerless in the face of calamitous events, Hoover soon found his surname the butt of many jokes. A Hooverville consisted of a collection of tents, cardboard boxes, tarpaper shacks, and the like that served as housing for the homeless. Usually located close to railroad tracks, Hoovervilles multiplied during the early 1930s. "Hoover blankets," accumulated **newspapers** under which the jobless and homeless often slept, provided a different kind of shelter. Scarcity of food forced some to eat small game, all of which got called "Hoover hogs." Rundown shoes, usually with visible holes in the

soles, became "Hoover shoes," and "Hoover leather" meant the cardboard inserted to resole them. "Hoover flags" referred to empty pockets; when destitute people turned their pockets inside out to indicate that they were broke, the exposed white linings somewhat resembled flags. "Hoovercart" and "Hooverwagon" rodeos began in 1933 and swept the country. The events involved hitching mules to the sawn-off back halves of decrepit Model T Fords and racing them through obstacles, the bumpy course a symbol of the equally bumpy economy. Not all Americans opposed Hoover and his programs, however, and those who had faith in the beleaguered president gained the name Hoovercrats.

In 1931, **Grant Wood** (1891–1942), a popular Regionalist painter from Iowa, depicted Hoover's early rural home in a canvas titled "The Birthplace of Herbert Hoover." Hoover held the honor of being Iowa's first citizen to reside in the White House and clearly stood as its most famous resident, although, given the times, not necessarily its favorite son.

In the spring of 1931, Europe sank further into an ongoing economic crisis, an event that negatively affected the American banking system. Hoover presented many proposals to Congress: programs to reform the banking program, to expand public works across the country, and to create the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), an agency that could grant government loans to save banks, farms, railways, and businesses from bankruptcy. Congress passed several public works bills as well as the RFC but rejected the banking reforms. Many of the nation's banks therefore continued to teeter on the brink of insolvency.

The successful establishment of the RFC, however, put the federal government into the role of regulating business, something Hoover philosophically opposed, but he believed it had to be done to counter the current economic dangers. He also allowed direct aid to drought-stricken farmers in the form of foodstuffs and cotton cloth.

Searching for solutions, Hoover signed acts that raised tariffs on a large number of imported items and hiked various taxes and fees, including postage rates. Many saw these moves as betrayals of promises made earlier and felt that they deepened the crisis significantly. By the summer of 1932, an election year, the Great Depression saw 12 million workers unemployed, and 18 million more seeking assistance. Sensing defeat, but stuck in a bind, the Republican convention nominated Hoover to run against the Democrat candidate, **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945). Despite Hoover's ceaseless efforts and limited successes, the public blamed him for the country's problems and Roosevelt won by a landslide, gaining 57 percent of the popular vote and 472 of the 531 electoral college votes.

After this crushing defeat, the Hoovers returned to their California home. For the first 18 months following Roosevelt's inauguration, Hoover remained publicly silent. He devoted his energies to the Boys' Clubs of America and to the Hoover Institute on War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford, a public policy research center founded by him in 1919. Over time, it has amassed a huge archive of documentation related to both Hoover and World Wars I and II.

Starting in the fall of 1934, through both publications and speeches, Hoover became a major critic of the **New Deal**. He simultaneously pursued his own reentry into politics, unsuccessfully seeking the 1936 and 1940 Republican presidential nominations. When war broke out in Europe in 1939, Hoover, as a private citizen, established the

Polish Relief Commission, which for two years fed 300,000 children in the German-occupied territory of Poland.

Following the war, President Harry Truman (1884–1972) sent Hoover on a worldwide mission to assess the needs of the hungry and the capabilities of food-producing countries. For the rest of his long life, Hoover readily accepted periodic assignments from the country's leaders, published extensively, and continued to devote himself to the institute and to Boys' Club of America activities. He partially reclaimed his tattered reputation and lived long enough to receive acknowledgment as both an elder statesman and world humanitarian.

See also Book Clubs; Political Parties; Regionalism

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HOPPER, EDWARD. Born in Nyack, New York, just a few miles north of New York City, painter Edward Hopper (1882–1967) became, in time, a masterful interpreter of urban America. Interested in art from childhood, he studied illustration at the New York School of Art after graduating from high school. Robert Henri (1865–1929), an important American painter from the early twentieth century, served as one of his teachers. The informal leader of the so-called Ashcan School (c. 1908–1918), Henri and a group of young artists broke away from many of the academic restraints of the era, striving for greater freedom and modernism in American art. The Ashcan School emphasized painting realistically, especially unadorned scenes of city life, a theme that often characterizes Hopper's work, although he himself never became a part of the movement.

In 1906, following about five years of study with Henri, Hopper embarked for Europe. Although he pursued no formal study, he painted constantly, refining his own techniques and ideas. He traveled again to Europe in 1909 and 1910, and then returned to the United States and never crossed the Atlantic again.

Hopper supported himself during these formative years through illustration and commercial work. He apparently disliked the assignments, and the work stiffened his desire to be self-supportive through his own art. To achieve this goal, he mastered printmaking and etching. By the mid-1920s, Hopper exhibited his prints with some frequency, and many of the themes found in his mature painting began to appear in this medium.

By the end of the 1920s, Hopper had decided on his primary subject, the nation's cities and towns. American **architecture**, with all its varied styles, fascinated him, and he delighted in looking at buildings from unusual perspectives, as in *City Roofs* (1932). Commonplace architectural details took on importance in his work, causing observers to look at structures anew. With the close of the decade, recognition finally came; galleries and museums regularly showed his watercolors and oils, they slowly started to sell, and he could give up the commercial assignments.

In 1930, Hopper purchased land on Cape Cod. He and his wife would summer on the Cape and spend the remaining months at their apartment in New York's Greenwich

Village. Firmly ensconced as an artist, Hopper commenced to produce a remarkable succession of paintings, many of which have become American classics.

He saw in the city an opportunity to exercise his pictorial skills to their fullest. Texture—concrete, steel, marble, wood, stone—and myriad combinations of forms allowed him to experiment with light and shadow. Few American painters have ever captured those fleeting moments of early morning light (*Early Sunday Morning*, 1930), or the last rays of evening (*Gas*, 1940) as effectively as Hopper. His urban night scenes, interior and exterior, illuminated by murky street lights, dim lamps, and neon, likewise stand as unique, as in *Room in New York* (1932). He chose not to portray the usually brightly lit skyscrapers silhouetted against the sky or the gaudy electric signs that proliferate along a main thoroughfare; his city at night conveys a more intimate quality, and he painted it as if the usual boisterous activities of horns and traffic and crowded sidewalks have come to a halt. Just a few people populate these pictures, "nighthawks" as he called them (*Nighthawks*, 1942). In this regard, he can be contrasted with another important urban painter of the 1930s, **Reginald Marsh** (1898–1954), who features an endless, loud parade of city folk who seem never to slow down amid the bright, garish lights of downtown.

The people in Hopper's canvases usually appear alienated from their environment, as in *Room in Brooklyn* (1932) or *Hotel Room* (1931). An almost eerie quiet pervades his canvases, and no one seems to be communicating with anyone else. His pictures reveal a sense of loneliness, suggesting that his people cannot speak, which gives a forlorn, desolate air to much of his work (*Barber Shop*, 1931). Anything hopeful has gotten away. His paintings project a sense of detachment, and he carefully places the viewer outside the scene. In Hopper's cityscapes, he removes the urban hustle and bustle, replacing it with a visual inertia that stifles all activity (*The Circle Theatre*, 1936).

Edward Hopper resists easy labeling. Since he had been painting well before the onset of the Great Depression, he had mastered an identifiable style years earlier. Some might try to claim Hopper as a Regionalist; like **Thomas Hart Benton** (1889–1975), **Grant Wood** (1891–1942), and other fellow artists, he painted the American scene, and he certainly captured a sense of place in his work. But, despite the loneliness suggested in many of his paintings, he tended—with the exception of some of his New England scenes, especially the watercolors—to avoid the rural emphases found in so many Regionalist works. Even when depicting the countryside, he showed no particular celebration of the richness, the fecundity, found in the land, and he created no heroic images of yeoman farmers harvesting the crops. Neither did he paint nature at her most furious; the howling storms and threatening clouds have no real place in his work. Hopper's rural land-scapes instead focus on light and the textures of the land, not on its symbolic qualities (*The Camel's Hump*, 1931). Like the city in his urban paintings, the countryside appears motionless, the only dynamic element being the play of light upon the scene.

Because he depicts the urban environment as essentially cheerless (*New York Movie*, 1939), a place of alienation, the Social Realists tried at times to claim him. But political or social commentary seldom if ever appears in his compositions. The urban emphasis seems to be the only common denominator between him and them, a tenuous connection at best. The Great Depression does not become a part of his urban compositions, and to suggest economic parallels between his paintings and the world outside them would be stretching a point.

Hopper remained active and productive well beyond the 1930s. In a remarkably steady career that lasted until his death in 1967, he created a body of work that belongs to him alone, a splendid painter who avoided the artistic passions of the day. He gave the world a portrait of twentieth-century America, one that showed a growing urbanism, a gradual assimilation of the past into the present, but done without any sensationalism.

See also Advertising; Illustrators; Regionalism; Charles Sheeler; Social Realism

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HORROR & FANTASY FILMS. It can be argued that "horror" and "fantasy" stand apart as genres of popular film, each possessing its own characteristics. But they also share many traits, especially imagination and the creative use of special effects. Both rely on the viewer's willing suspension of disbelief, and both appeal to predictable emotional responses. For example, most horror pictures attempt to frighten; most fantasy films hope to enthrall. Both do so with cinematic devices that fool the eye and transport spectators to new and unimagined realms. Often, these characteristics get intermixed, making differences in the two genres impossible to define. Does 1934's Black Cat stand as a film adaptation—neither horror nor fantasy—of a nineteenth-century short story by Edgar Allan Poe (1809–1849)? Or does it exist as a fantasy film about the remarkable "sixth sense" residing in a cat? Or does it function as a horror movie designed to frighten audiences with the realization that ordinary, seemingly harmless, things possess monstrous capabilities? Many of the horror and fantasy productions coming from Hollywood in the 1930s blurred such lines, but these quibbles did not deter patrons eager for the latest motion pictures. Especially in the early years of the decade, new fantasy and new horror awaited audiences on an almost weekly basis.

With the Depression a reality that could be forgotten in the confines of a theater, Hollywood rose to the occasion with a series of movies that took horror and fantasy, but especially horror, to new heights. These films had absolutely nothing to do with economics, although many of them made handsome profits for their makers. Watching features like *Dracula* (1931), *Frankenstein* (1931), *The Mummy* (1932), *White Zombie* (1932), *The Ghoul* (1933), *King Kong* (1933), *The Vampire Bat* (1933), *The Invisible Man* (1933), *The Raven* (1935), and *The Walking Dead* (1936), audiences could sit back and, instead of relaxing, be scared out of their wits, or merely entertained, depending on their mood and the story unfolding on the screen. Escapism at its best, these pictures quickly spawned a nearly endless parade of sequels and imitators, such as *Son of Kong* (1933), *The Bride of Frankenstein* (1935), *The Black Room* (1935), *Mark of the Vampire* (1935), *The Werewolf of London* (1935), *The Invisible Ray* (1936), *Dracula's Daughter* (1936), *Revolt of the Zombies* (1936), *Son of Frankenstein* (1939), and *Tower of London* (1939), to name just a few.

The success of the horror and fantasy genres launched countless careers. The following charts list some of the actors and directors who achieved fame working in these areas.

Outstanding Actors in the Horror and Fantasy Genre

Name (birth and death dates)	Representative Motion Pictures (in chronological order)	
Lionel Atwill (1885–1946)	Dr. X (1932), The Vampire Bat (1933), Mystery of the Wax Museum (1933), Murders in the Zoo (1933), Secret of the Blue Room (1933), Solitaire Man (1933), Mark of the Vampire (1935), The Son of Frankenstein (1939)	
Colin Clive (1900–1937)	Frankenstein (1931), The Bride of Frankenstein (1935), Mad Love (1935)	
Boris Karloff (1887–1969)	Frankenstein (1931), The Old Dark House (1932), The Mask of Fu Manchu (1932), The Mummy (1932), The Ghoul (1933), The Black Cat (1934), Bride of Frankenstein (1935), The Raven (1935), The Black Room (1935), The Walking Dead (1936), The Invisible Ray (1936), Son of Frankenstein (1939), Black Friday (1940), Before I Hang (1940)	
Peter Lorre (1904–1964)	M (1931), Mad Love (1935), Crime and Punishment (1935), Stranger on the Third Floor (1940), You'll Find Out (1940)	
Bela Lugosi (1882–1956)	Dracula (1931), Murders in the Rue Morgue (1932), White Zombie (1932), Island of Lost Souls (1933), Night of Terror (1933), The Black Cat (1934), Mark of the Vampire (1935), The Raven (1935), Murder by Television (1935), The Invisible Ray (1936), Son of Frankenstein (1939), The Human Monster (1940), Black Friday (1940); Lugosi also made a number of serials, including The Whispering Shadow (1933), The Return of Chandu (1934), and The Phantom Creeps (1939), Black Friday (1940)	
Claude Rains (1889–1967)	The Invisible Man (1933), Crime without Passion (1934), The Clairvoyant (1934)	
Basil Rathbone (1892–1967)	Kind Lady (1935), Love from a Stranger (1937), Son of Frankenstein (1939), Tower of London (1939)	
Fay Wray (1907–2004)	The Most Dangerous Game (1932), The Vampire Bat (1933), Mystery of the Wax Museum (1933), King Kong (1933), Black Moon (1934)	

Outstanding Directors in the Horror and Fantasy Genre

Name (and Dates)	Representative Motion Pictures (in chronological order)	
Tod Browning (1882–1962)	Dracula (1931), Freaks (1932), Mark of the Vampire (1935), The Devil-Doll (1936), Miracles for Sale (1939)	
Merian C. Cooper (1893–1973)	King Kong (1933), The Monkey's Paw (1933), Son of Kong (1933), She (1935)	
Michael Curtiz (1886–1962)	Doctor X (1932), Mystery of the Wax Museum (1933), The Walking Dead (1936)	
Rowland V. Lee (1891–1975)	Love from a Stranger (1937), Son of Frankenstein (1939), Tower of London (1939)	
Ernest B. Schoedsack (1893–1979)	Rango (1931), The Most Dangerous Game (1932), King Kong (1933), The Monkey's Paw (1933), Son of Kong (1933), Dr. Cyclops (1940)	
James Whale (1889–1957)	Frankenstein (1931), The Old Dark House (1932), The Invisible Man (1933), Bride of Frankenstein (1935)	

The people listed in the charts above virtually defined the horror and fantasy genres during the 1930s. Once audiences identified them with such movies, these actors and directors found it hard to do anything else, especially the actors. For example, Boris Karloff had moved from stock company roles to film acting in 1916 as an extra. By 1919, he had graduated to small parts and found his métier. Some 80 or so movies later, Universal cast him in 1931's Frankenstein, and his grim performance as the monster made him a star. After that, most of his assignments consisted of similar parts, ranging from the title role in The Mask of Fu Manchu (1932) to a mad doctor in The Man They Could Not Hang (1939). Many a marquee dropped his first name; just "Karloff" in lights or on a poster guaranteed a crowd.

Similarly, Bela Lugosi labored in obscurity from 1917 until 1931, working in dozens of forgettable pictures; then he appeared in Tod Browning's *Dracula* and shot to stardom. Hungarian-born, Lugosi affected a peculiar accent when speaking English; if a film called for a strange, menacing character, Lugosi often got the part. *Dracula*, however, proved his defining role, just as *Frankenstein* did for Boris Karloff.

Given the popularity enjoyed by horror films during the 1930s, it took little time for enterprising producers to team Karloff and Lugosi. Their first joint appearance occurred with *The Black Cat* (1934), a retelling of the classic Poe short story. Shortly thereafter, the two made cameo appearances in 1934's *Gift of Gab*, a musical with many guest stars. Success brought about *The Raven* (1935), another Poe adaptation, followed by *The Invisible Ray* (1936), *Son of Frankenstein* (1939), and two mediocre efforts in 1940, *Black Friday* and *You'll Find Out*. Their last pairing occurred in 1945 with *The Body Snatcher*.

Other actors also profited from the vogue for horror movies. Lon Chaney Sr. (1883–1930), "the man of a thousand faces" and a master of makeup, had made a major name for himself playing monsters in the silent era. He did one sound film, *The Unholy Three* (1930), a remake of his previous (1925) hit of the same name, and it predicted great things for his career, but he died in 1930. His son, Lon Chaney, Jr. (1906–1973), carried on his father's traditions, first in a fantasy film titled *One Million B.C.* (1940) in which he plays a prehistoric caveman. The younger Chaney, however, would not make his mark in horror features until later in the 1940s.

Another popular hit, Werewolf of London (1935), stars the little-known Henry Hull (1890–1977) and deserves some attention as the first in a long cycle of werewolf films. The popular novelist H. G. Wells (1866–1946) had penned a frightening story called *The Island of Dr. Moreau* (1896) that deals with a mad scientist and his cruel experiments with animals and human beings, or "beast men." In the first of several motion picture adaptations, director Erle C. Kenton (1896–1980) created what many feel stands as the best of the lot. Called *The Island of Lost Souls* (1933), and starring Charles Laughton (1899–1962) as the evil doctor, it bears comparison with *King Kong*, another picture with dark undertones released that same year.

During the 1930s, fantasy motion pictures never captured the public imagination on a scale to equal that of horror movies. On the other hand, many horror pictures, such as *The Island of Lost Souls*, spilled over into fantasy. Likewise, the various tales of manmade monsters (e.g., *Frankenstein*) and vampire tales (e.g., *Dracula*) depend on strong fantasy elements to convey their stories. For the decade as a whole, *King Kong* stands as the definitive model for this kind of blending.

A fair number of fantasy films nonetheless played theaters, and several attracted wide audiences. Two full-length cartoon features, both created by the genius of **Walt Disney**

(1901–1966), enthralled both young and old in the latter years of the decade: Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs (1937) and Fantasia (1940). Regular features also explored the realm of fantasy. Lewis Carroll's (1832–1898) Alice in Wonderland, a novel written in 1865, has, over the years, received well over a dozen movie treatments; two of them were produced during the 1930s, the first in 1931 and the second in 1933. The 1933 version boasts a roster of Hollywood stars—including such luminaries as Gary Cooper (1901–1961) as the White Knight, W. C. Fields (1880–1946) as Humpty Dumpty, and Cary Grant (1904–1986) as the Mock Turtle—but the end result comes across as a plodding tale. Burdened by a decision to have the actors wear masks purporting to represent their characters, and shot in black and white (quality color prints would not come along until the later 1930s), this Alice in Wonderland hardly qualifies as the stuff of fantasy.

A more exciting fantastic vision emerged with the various *Tarzan* adaptations of the 1930s. The many stories of a man "raised among the apes" captured an enthusiastic audience, and eight different adventures played in theaters between 1932 and 1940.

Two final fantasies from the 1930s merit mention: Lost Horizon (1937) and **The Wizard of Oz** (1939). Both represent Hollywood moviemaking at its best and have become screen classics. Together, horror films and fantasy films constitute an important part of celluloid history. During the 1930s, they jointly stood as a Depression-era genre that provided audiences a welcome bit of escapism far removed from the everyday stresses of modern life.

See also Hollywood Production Code; Musicals; Science Fiction

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HORSE RACING. A true spectator sport, horse racing attracted significant crowds throughout the bleak years of the Depression, although the numbers were admittedly below what the track normally drew. Not until 1936 did attendance again climb toward the totals enjoyed before the crash. The widespread legalization of betting brought with it the lure of easy money, certainly a tempting consideration in those straitened times. Both pari-mutuel and oral betting through bookies flourished, and the track purses reflected a continuing level of public interest.

Several outstanding racehorses made their mark during the 1930s. First came Gallant Fox, "the Bear from Belair," galloping to victories in the Preakness, the Belmont Stakes, and the Kentucky Derby during the 1930 season. Each a race for three-year-olds, winning all three in one season earned the title Triple Crown. Only the second time it had occurred in American racing (Sir Barton had done it for the first time in 1916), it signified the highest honor the sport could bestow and the most ballyhooed accomplishment in racing. Keeping it all in the family, Gallant Fox's son Omaha repeated the feat in 1935. Then, in 1937, War Admiral managed it yet again, making the 1930s an extraordinary decade in terms of Triple Crown winners.



Despite the hard times, people still managed to get to the local track and place a bet or two. "The sport of kings" retained its popularity throughout the 1930s as this crowded grandstand shows. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

Equipoise (1928–1938), nicknamed "the People's Horse" and "the Chocolate Soldier," dominated the sport during the early Depression years, winning Horse of the Year honors in 1932–1933. But another horse displaced Equipoise in the fans' affection later in the decade. Seabiscuit (1934–1947), all the rage everywhere, achieved celebrity status and guaranteed large crowds wherever he appeared. Probably the best-known of the countless race horses of the era, he faded from popular memory after his 1940 retirement. The 2001 publication of Laura Hillenbrand's (b. 1967) best-selling Seabiscuit: An American Legend rekindled public interest and allowed a new generation to learn about him and his impact on American horse racing.

Along with outstanding horses, the 1930s also saw jockey Eddie Arcaro (1916–1997) embark on a career that would eventually make him one of the greatest riders of all time. He posted his first victory in 1932; from then on, there was no stopping him, and owners vied for his services. Arcaro retired at the end of 1961 with 4,779 wins.

On the technical side, the photo finish became a part of racing in 1935. Until then, judges, relying on their eyes, named the victors, no matter how close the call. Although only a handful of dead heats ever emerged with this system each year, it clearly was subject to human error. After the installation of cameras at tracks, the number of ties ballooned, suggesting that miscalls had frequently occurred in the past. Not everyone liked the new technology, but it removed doubts in tight finishes.

Radio and public address systems also became a part of horse racing at this time. Clem McCarthy (1882–1962), with his distinctive gravelly voice, along with a machine-gun delivery, served as the primary network announcer for the sport during the 1930s and 1940s. In 1928, he had the honor of being the first sportscaster to cover the Kentucky Derby on radio; he would continue to do so for the next 22 years, as well as giving avid listeners a running commentary on most other major races of the day.

Because of horse racing's strong visual qualities, Hollywood quickly realized its potential for exciting movie sequences. Just a few of the racing pictures of the 1930s include At the Races (1934), a comedy featuring Edgar Bergen (1903–1978) and his dummy, Charlie McCarthy; and another comedy, David Harum (1934), starring the popular Will Rogers (1879–1935). Rogers also appeared in In Old Kentucky (1935), which was not released until after his death. Early in his career, Clark Gable (1901–1960) did Sporting Blood (1931); after becoming a major star, he topped the billing in MGM's Saratoga (1937). Director Frank Capra (1897–1991) led stars Warner Baxter (1889–1951) and Myrna Loy (1905–1993) through the sentimentality of Broadway Bill (1934), while Kentucky (1938) earned Walter Brennan (1894–1974) an Academy Award for Best Supporting Actor.

Shirley Temple (b. 1928), the sensationally popular child star, made *Little Miss Marker* in 1934, based on a Damon Runyon (1880–1946) racing story; it led to three eventual remakes, along with innumerable variations. **Judy Garland** (1922–1969) and Mickey Rooney (b. 1920), two other youthful performers who enjoyed a big following, would eventually do five pictures together during the decade; their first outing as a team, *Thoroughbreds Don't Cry* (1937), revolves around horse racing. Two contemporary actresses, Ginger Rogers (1911–1995) in *Wine, Women, and Horses* (1937) and Betty Grable (1916–1973) in *The Day the Bookies Wept* (1939), brought a woman's perspective to the sport. Probably the best-known equestrian picture of the decade, however, remains the **Marx Brothers**' *Day at the Races* (1937). The zany trio pretty much takes away any mystique the sport of kings might possess. The Ritz Brothers, sometime cinema and comedy rivals of the Marx Brothers, tried to compete with *Straight*, *Place*, *and Show*, an anemic offering that came out in 1938.

Long associated with wealth, horse racing found a popular following throughout the 1930s. It afforded spectators excitement and escape, and the allure of a big win and monetary rewards tempted fans, rich and poor. A chimera perhaps, but the tracks did a good business despite the Depression, and a succession of celebrity horses kept interest at a high pitch.

See also Fred Astaire & Ginger Rogers; Movies; Photography; Polo

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HOTELS. The hotel business prospered during the 1920s and then went into a sharp decline in the 1930s. For the twenties, occupancy rate stood at a healthy 85 percent and construction reached an all-time peak as both large cities and small towns subsidized the building of hotels to accommodate visitors and bolster civic pride. In many communities, the most prominent building—and frequently the fanciest and most elaborate—was the local hotel (or hotels, since larger cities usually had more than one). They often outshone the local courthouse and city hall. Among the outstanding hotels built during this boom period, the Los Angeles Biltmore (1923), Chicago's Knickerbocker (1927), St. Petersburg Beach's Don CeSar (Florida, 1928), New York's Waldorf-Astoria (1931), and Washington, D.C.'s Mayflower (1925) and Hay Adams (1927) would have to be included in any listing. Many other first-class hotels also went up in this period of unbridled optimism.

The 1931 Waldorf-Astoria was not the first one in New York City bearing that prestigious name; the original, which opened it doors in the late 1800s, closed them in 1929 in order to sell the valuable Manhattan real estate on which it stood. Shortly thereafter, the **Empire State Building** (1931) arose on the site of the grand old hotel. But work soon commenced on the hostelry's successor, an even more sumptuous version of the original.

The onset of national Prohibition in 1920 temporarily impacted the hotel business. Those hotels with bars, cocktail lounges, and dining rooms depended on liquor sales for a significant percentage of their income. Many establishments chose to close their bars and lounges, and some converted their restaurant facilities to sandwich or coffee shops. Since wines fall into the category of **alcoholic beverages**, some predicted that Prohibition would bring about the end of fine dining. Certainly Prohibition had an effect on **restaurants** and any kind of beverage service, but most hotel dining rooms managed to survive the Depression years, albeit with more limited menus and often a reduction in service.

Financial difficulties directly related to the Depression and declining occupancy proved more damaging than Prohibition. By 1932, 80 percent of all hotel mortgages were in default; 32 percent could not cover property taxes from revenues; and 15 percent could not meet payrolls. In the meantime, the occupancy rate for the decade dropped to 65 percent.

Other factors contributed to the decline as well. Prior to the 1930s, hotels located in the downtown sections of cities dominated the lodging industry. Often built near rail-road stations, they proved inconvenient for those traveling by car. Once constructed, such hotels catered to salesmen and others arriving by rail, a practice that continued into the 1930s. Locations in the midst or at the edge of congested business districts made it difficult for **automobiles** to load or unload, and parking presented another set of problems, especially during the evening rush hour.

Since they had been built on expensive land, hotels of necessity charged high prices—a typical room averaged \$5.60 (roughly \$85 in contemporary dollars) as compared to \$2.50 (\$36 in modern terms) for a motel room, and the motel did not suffer traffic woes. With the economic crisis, budget-minded businesses cut employee **travel** allowances, an action that sent once-steady hotel trade to **motels**; vacationers, in the past a potential source of income, likewise sought ways to decrease their traveling costs and opted for **auto camps**, tourist courts, or motels.

Hoteliers recognized the necessity of adapting to motorists' needs and some added more parking spaces. A few even had special automobile entrances constructed.



Roney Plaza Hotel, Miami Beach, Florida, 1925. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

Perception, however, was another problem. Much of the public, particularly people unfamiliar with the routines followed in such establishments, found hotels intimidating. Anyone who went to the **movies** regularly saw **Fred Astaire** (1899–1987) in a tuxedo, or even white tie and tails, and **Ginger Rogers** (1911–1995) in a floor-length gown enjoying cocktails and dinner at a posh hotel, before whirling around the nearby dance floor. This image of dressiness got reinforced in hundreds of films, and not just **musicals**. Gangsters and their molls also frequented these places, as did wealthy professionals, celebrities, and a host of other types from the "upper classes." Although these images might be distortions, or at least exaggerations, popular thinking, erroneous or not, made the larger, more formal big-city hotels off-limits for a considerable part of the population.

In response, many hotels abolished the dress codes that in fact they had long maintained, especially for dining. In particular, the requirement for formal evening attire in the dining room virtually disappeared. But some establishments, again in larger cities, failed to relax dress codes enough to accommodate the casual dress worn for automobile travel or provide free parking and special automobile entrances. Instead, they redecorated rooms, reducing their formality in quest of a more homelike atmosphere, and they tried little things like redesigning menus to appeal to women's and children's special tastes and hiring more female staff to add to the comfort of women guests. Some even deigned to advertise on highway billboards. But this did not suffice; business continued to decline. The glory days of the American hotel had come to a close.

Another kind of accommodation, the resort hotel, usually located in the mountains or at the sea or lakeside, originally targeted wealthy families that arrived by train. Husbands worked year-round in the city so their wives and children could spend the summer months in pleasant surroundings away from urban congestion and heat. As automobiles overtook passenger trains in popularity, many of these resorts began to cater to less affluent vacationers who arrived by car. The hotels constructed parking lots and strove to get their names listed in guidebooks that would make people aware of them. For example, in 1917 Triple A (the American Automobile Association, or AAA) began publishing a widely distributed guide for its members that recommended destinations, as well as lodging for overnight or longer. By the 1930s, many considered it a reliable source of information, and it included resort hotels.

The repeal of Prohibition in 1933 provided a slight boost to the hotel business, especially in cities. With alcoholic beverages again legal, some hotel dining rooms

reopened. Slight improvements in the nation's economy also encouraged modest hotel construction. Plans that had been on hold moved forward; for example, the Statler Hotel chain, which already had properties in Boston, Buffalo, and New York City, built a large new hotel in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in 1937. Conrad Hilton (1887–1979), whose holdings in the hotel business began with the 1919 purchase of the Mobley Hotel in Cisco, Texas, prospered during the 1920s. A native of New Mexico, Hilton had by 1939 built the state's tallest building, the 10-story Hilton Hotel in Albuquerque. The Albert Pick Company boasted 16 hotels in eight states by 1937, and Sheraton had four by 1939. The chains hoped to attract customers through a strong corporate identity that guaranteed satisfaction with all their facilities.

These efforts, though impressive, accomplished little more than to keep the hotel industry alive. The American Automobile Association estimated that in 1929 approximately 75 percent of all travelers lodged in hotels, a number that dropped to 61 percent by 1937 and to only 46 percent in 1939. In an attempt to turn the industry around, the American Hotel Association (AHA) launched an **advertising** campaign in 1938–1939 that highlighted hotel advantages: prestige, service, comfort, central location, and professionalism. But the lodging figures indicate that both vacation and business travelers continued to search for convenience and economy over prestige and service.

See also Fashion; Food; Gangster Films; Leisure & Recreation; Prohibition and Repeal

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I

ICE CREAM. Many tales and myths surround the origin and development of ice cream, including stories that connect this treat with the likes of Marco Polo (1254–1324) and Charles I of England (1600–1649). Whatever the true history of ice cream, the treat probably had its American introduction as early as the mid-1700s.

Some facts about ice cream in the United States include the following: Dolly Madison (1768–1849), wife of President James Madison (1751–1836), served it at the 1813 inaugural ball. A hand-cranked freezer had been invented and patented in 1843. In 1926, the continuous freezer, which yielded a high-quality product, appeared. Since the mid-1800s, ice cream parlors have existed, especially in larger cities, and the dining cars on **trains** once carried ice cream as a standard menu item. Dry ice (solid carbon dioxide) became available in 1930 for, among other things, keeping ice cream cold.

Prohibition, or the Eighteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, made it unlawful to manufacture, sell, or transport intoxicating liquors. It became law in January 1920, and saloons throughout the country closed. As a result, soda fountains and pool halls experienced a significant increase in business. Breweries such as Anheuser-Busch switched part of their product line to ice cream, a momentous change. During the 1920s, the annual national consumption of ice cream increased significantly, from 260 million gallons to 365 million gallons.

With the onset of the Great Depression, annual ice cream production dropped and did not rebound until 1934. In order to survive during this difficult period, ice cream wholesalers searched for markets beyond the traditional ice cream stands and parlors. This led them to **grocery stores and supermarkets**. A major obstacle for expansion into this lucrative market involved the absence of refrigerated cases for **frozen foods** within the stores. In addition, homes lacked refrigerators or ice boxes with freezer space. At best they could accommodate only one or two frozen food packages. But all that quickly changed when grocery stores acquired freezer cases, and the first dual-compartment, dual-temperature home refrigerator appeared on the market in 1939.

As far as grocery stores went, the New York Eskimo Pie Corporation in 1930 temporarily solved the cold storage problem for both stores and homes by providing insulated containers. The company manufactured its ice cream in cylindrical molds that would fit inside refrigerated Thermos vacuum jars. It supplied the grocery store with a large vacuum container for storing the ice cream and smaller ones for customers to take home

with their purchases. Hefty deposits on the take-home containers ensured their return to the grocery store for reuse. When placed in a refrigerator at home they would keep ice cream in a frozen state for 24 hours, or about 7 hours without refrigeration.

In 1931, the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company (A&P), a successful grocery chain, started offering hardened ice cream in pint cartons in its northern New Jersey stores. The following year they added this product to their stores in New York City and surrounding areas while also providing shoppers insulated bags for carrying the ice cream home.

In addition to ice cream in pint cartons and vacuum containers for home consumption, ice cream parlors and soda fountains had long sold individual scoops in cones or dishes. With their easy portability, cones had become popular wherever people walked—city streets, **fairs and expositions**, beaches, and amusement parks. Some researchers credit the 1904 World's Fair in St. Louis as the original home for the cone, but no reliable documentation has been found to identify the inventor of this handy edible container. After the St. Louis exposition, however, the manufacture and sale of cones proliferated and continued throughout the 1930s.

Creating novel shapes for ice cream and other frozen treats represents another industry focus during both the 1920s and 1930s. Harry B. Burt Sr. (active early 1920s—d. 1926) of Youngstown, Ohio, in 1923 had been granted patents for what he called the Good Humor Sucker, a chocolate-covered ice cream bar. To promote his new product, Burt painted a delivery truck white, equipped it with bells, dressed drivers in white uniforms, and sent them into local neighborhoods to sell directly to the consumer. After Burt's death, the Good Humor Corporation of America began granting franchise arrangements nationally. During the 1930s, Burt's inspired scheme of the Good Humor Man ringing bells and selling ice cream from a truck became a familiar scene in communities across the United States.

Frank Epperson (b. 1894–active in 1920s) in 1924 received a patent for the Popsicle, frozen ices on a stick that came in seven fruit flavors. Shortly thereafter, he sold his rights to the Joe Lowe Company of New York City, a firm that offered a double-stick version of the Popsicle during the Depression. The sticks kept the eater's hands clean, and two sticks allowed a budget-minded family to purchase one treat that could be broken apart and shared by children.

Christian Nelson (1893–1992) owned a small Iowa ice cream shop in the 1920s and created a candy he named the "Temptation I-Scream Bar." In 1934, Nelson followed the example of Popsicle by placing his chocolate-covered ice cream bar on a stick and calling it an Eskimo Pie. Within a short time, Eskimo Pies had national distribution.

In 1929, Clarence Vogt (active 1920s) of Louisville, Kentucky, applied for a patent for a continuous freezer, a device that cooled the ice cream mix. The machine pumped the cooled ice cream into a reservoir, and then forced the mixture through a vacuum pipe into a freezer where the mix quickly reached the desired consistency. Before receiving the patent, Vogt sold his rights to the Cherry-Burrell Corporation. By 1932, Cherry-Burrell had advanced the process, so that their machines could harden ice cream in about five minutes. Almost half the ice cream manufactured in the United States came from their continuous freezers by the end of the decade.

The ice cream companies founded in the 1930s displayed various growth patterns—some remained local or regional, some closed after a period of time, and some eventually spanned most of the country. Howard Johnson's, Friendly's, and Dairy Queen are representative of those operations that attained national recognition.

Howard Johnson (1896–1972), a New England businessman, in 1925 used his mother's ice cream recipe to manufacture three classic flavors—vanilla, chocolate, and strawberry. He enjoyed success with a soda fountain in his drugstore in the Wollaston section of Quincy, Massachusetts, and that encouraged him to open beachfront ice cream stands along the coast. By the 1930s, his enterprises had expanded to include family-style restaurants serving full meals, as well as hot dogs and what in time would become his trademark, 28 flavors of ice cream. By the end of the decade there were 107 Howard Johnson's in the eastern United States.

In Springfield, Massachusetts, two brothers, S. Prestley Blake (b. 1915) and Curtis L. Blake (b. 1917) in 1935 sold ice cream at a business they called the Friendly Ice Cream Company. Their 5-cent double-dip cones (about 75 cents in contemporary money) attracted lots of customers and five years later they opened a second Friendly shop in West Springfield where they added **food** to the menu. Within a decade the Blakes had locations throughout Massachusetts and Connecticut. In 1979, Friendly became a part of Hershey Foods Corporation, and in 1988 the business, now part of an investor group, changed its name to Friendly's.

J. F. McCullough, along with his son Alex (both active 1930s), Iowa-based ice cream manufacturerers, owned the Homemade Ice Cream Company in Davenport. The father and son shared a belief that ice cream tasted better in the soft creamy form that it takes before going into the freezer step of the continuous freezer process. The two worked on creating a recipe and a machine for producing a commercially viable soft-frozen dairy product, and on August 4, 1938, they held an introductory sale at a friend's ice cream store in Kankakee, Illinois. Within two hours they had sold over 1,600 portions of soft ice cream at 10 cents each (about \$1.45 in contemporary money), a rather high price at the time. The McCulloughs continued to improve the process and the dispensing machines. By 1940, they had opened their first soft ice cream store in Joliet, Illinois. At one point during the development of this product, the McCulloughs admired a herd of cows and J. F. commented, "Cows, the queen of the dairy." Shortly thereafter, their business carried the name Dairy Queen.

The manufacture of ice cream by the end of the 1930s had moved from labor-intensive factories to a production process using continuous freezers. The consumer could purchase ice cream in several different forms, choose from a nearly endless variety of flavors, and shop at innumerable outlets. Ice cream appeared on menus in restaurants, in the dining cars of trains, and at White House events. It had become as American as apple pie.

See also Candy; Design; Desserts; Leisure & Recreation; Prohibition & Repeal

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Good Humor Ice Cream. http://www.icecreamusa.com/goodhumor/know.asp

ICE SKATING & HOCKEY. Ancient ice skates, with bones serving as the blades and leather thongs for tying them to the feet, have been found in a glacial valley in Switzerland, suggesting the sport had been developed some 3,000 years ago. Over that span of time, little has changed other than the evolution and sophistication of the skate itself.

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, skating found enthusiastic participants. By the early twentieth century, standards for freestyle and figure techniques had been put in place, and ice skating had become both a participatory and a spectator sport. Sanctioned competitions replaced the older, more informal, displays of skill.

During the 1930s, people enjoyed skating when the weather permitted, but the sport lacked a broad base of official support. Even ice hockey remained essentially undiscovered in much of the United States; an activity far more popular in neighboring Canada. Figure skating, on the other hand, achieved visibility in the 1930s thanks to one person in particular. Sonja Henie (1912–1969), a native of Norway, emerged as ice skating's first truly big star. Until her rise to fame, earlier skaters—Jackson Haines (1840–1875), Irving Brokaw (1870–1939), Charlotte Oelschlagel (aka Charlotte Hayward; active early twentieth century), Maribel Vinson Owen (d. 1961)—had enchanted onlookers with their skills, but places to witness exhibitions of skating prowess existed only in the larger cities, and so skating had relatively few fans in the United States. Before Sonja Henie, "the Norwegian Doll," and without television to bring this visual sport into the nation's living rooms, most people knew little about it.

Henie had won, among other titles, the world's figure skating championship in 1927; she would successfully defend it for a decade. The title, however, carried little prestige across the Atlantic in the United States, where people viewed it more as a European victory. But Henie also earned gold medals for figure skating in the 1928, 1932, and 1936 **Olympic Games**, and the resultant publicity fanned her celebrity throughout the Western world. After her victories in 1936, she retired from competition and joined a professional American skating revue. Then she tried the **movies**—American movies. Eleven motion pictures would follow, with six of them produced during the 1930s.

Henie proved an instant hit with audiences. Possessed of limited acting ability, she relied on her skills as a skater, plus the talents of a host of set designers and choreographers, and a big budget for her staged production numbers. Screenwriters cannily placed her movies in a winter wonderland that allowed lengthy displays of her expertise on ice, with the result that films like *One in a Million* (1936), *Thin Ice* (1937), *Happy Landing* (1938), and *Second Fiddle* (1939) garnered few critical raves, but they drew in the curious, and they convinced millions of people to go out and buy a pair of skates. During Henie's years of stardom, the number of skating rinks in the United States increased dramatically, and she doubtless inspired untold numbers of would-be Olympians to try some jumps and spins on frozen ponds and lakes. She also freed women of the constricting outfits propriety had demanded. In her competitions and her movies she wore short skirts, and women skaters everywhere began to imitate her. A new era in skating attire had begun.

Ice hockey likewise struggled to gain popular acceptance. Although the sport probably dates back to some time in the seventeenth century, most scholars agree that the modern variant came into being around the mid-nineteenth century. With acceptance came rules and organization. The Stanley Cup, hockey's most prized trophy, had its inception in 1892, and several Canadian leagues competed for it. Professionals replaced amateurs as enthusiasm for the game grew, and 1917 saw the birth of the National Hockey League (NHL). Although it consisted almost entirely of Canadian players and teams (Winnipeg,

Ottawa, Toronto, Montreal, Halifax, etc.), the NHL nonetheless stirred interest in the United States.

Amateur hockey flourished in American schools and colleges in the years following World War I, laying the groundwork for a solid base of players and fans. In the northern tier of states, hockey actually outdrew basketball, and a haphazard network of teams played throughout the 1920s. In 1924, the Boston Bruins gained admittance to the NHL, opening the doors to American money and additional teams. The league continued its growth and split into Canadian and American divisions, with the New York Rangers successfully winning the coveted Stanley Cup in 1933 and 1940. The Chicago Blackhawks accomplished it in 1934 and 1938, and the Detroit Red Wings emerged victorious in 1936 and 1937. These American teams might have had mainly Canadian players on their rosters, but U.S. fans took pride in hometown franchises beating their once-mighty northern neighbors. Not until after World War II would American-born hockey players begin to make their influence and numbers felt.

Hollywood, attracted by the growing popularity of the game, the relatively small size of a hockey rink, and the sometimes explosive encounters between players, attempted several low-budget pictures about the sport during the 1930s. *King of Hockey* (1936), *The Game That Kills* (1937), *Idol of the Crowds* (1937), and *The Duke of West Point* (1938) typify the hockey films of the era. *Idol of the Crowds* features John Wayne (1907–1979) in a completely uncharacteristic role as a chicken farmer turned hockey player.

See also Design; Education; Fashion

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ILLUSTRATORS. During the 1930s, American illustrators created a collective body of work that merits attention. They carried on a tradition begun in the nineteenth century, one that celebrated the illustration as a form of visual art that could stand beside those works produced by their more "serious" counterparts. In **magazines**, books, posters, and seemingly endless **advertising**, these frankly commercial artists turned out thousands of pictures, often polished, sophisticated compositions that could be displayed in almost any museum. Generally realistic in their treatment of subjects, they reflected changes and trends in American culture, but they also offered their vast audiences a high level of consistent aesthetic excellence. Although most Americans were not aware of the movements and leaders in the rarified world of high art, they did not lack exposure to significant paintings and drawings.

Critics through the years have shunted aside most American illustrators, calling their work too narrative or too commercial, maintaining that it lacks any serious purpose other than telling a story or promoting a product. This kind of derisive attitude has long been the bane of much popular culture; elitist critics find it difficult to accept work aimed at a

mass audience. The situation worsens if the illustration finds a large, receptive audience. If so many people like it, can it possibly be any good?

Throughout the nineteenth century, and on into the twentieth, illustrations—as opposed to photographs—dominated both publishing and advertising. Oils, watercolors, wood block prints, etchings, pen and ink, and many other techniques remained the preferred media for many artists, even after printing technology allowed the economical reproduction of photographs. Not until the late 1920s did the photographic illustration (or no illustrations at all) begin to replace more traditional forms of artistic expression, a trend that continued through the 1930s. What began slowly grew steadily during the early years of the economic collapse; by the mid-1930s, **photography** ruled advertising, displacing many illustrators and changing the face of the medium. For their part, book and magazine publishers, suffering dwindling profits, often stopped including illustrations in the pages of their products. Illustrators faced a shrinking market.

The following events occurred in the magazine world between 1929 and 1939: in 1929, Youth's Companion, long a user of illustrations in its content, ceased publication; in 1930, The Century went out of business. The original Life magazine closed up shop in 1936, bought by the owners of Time magazine in order to begin the "new" Life, a weekly journal that utilized photographs almost exclusively. Finally, in 1939, Scribner's Magazine, one of the last survivors from the nineteenth century, stopped publishing, another victim of the times and changing tastes. For illustrators, about the only bright spots in this dismal chronology occurred when two new magazines, bucking the trends, made their debuts. In 1925 the New Yorker came on the scene, a periodical that used drawings freely and featured illustrated covers. Several years later, in the depths of the Depression, Fortune magazine had its 1932 premiere, a sophisticated business journal that likewise boasted illustrated covers and articles. Both enjoyed success during the decade, exceptions in an industry beset with falling profits and difficult decisions.

Not all was lost; old stalwarts like the **Saturday Evening Post**, Collier's, McCall's, Cosmopolitan, and others continued to employ illustrators, as did many advertisers. But the encroachment of photography, along with economic belt-tightening, pointed the way to the future. By the end of the 1930s, far fewer traditional illustrations graced books, magazines, and advertising.

Without a doubt, the most successful illustrator—financially and in terms of public recognition—for the 1930s was Norman Rockwell (1894–1978); his closest competitor, probably N. C. Wyeth (1882–1945). Neither Rockwell nor Wyeth, however, completely dominated the field of illustration. Numerous other artists also found lucrative assignments and turned out high-quality paintings and drawings. Most, however, have been forgotten, although many of their works, especially in the wide-ranging area of advertising, linger in the memory. Those familiar with advertising art of the 1930s certainly can recall examples like the beautiful Breck girls for Breck Shampoos, a series initiated by Charles Sheldon (1889–1960). The handsome men modeling Arrow collars and shirts came mainly from J. C. Leyendecker (1974–1951), whereas more feminine beauty appeared in endless, but anonymous, Coca-Cola ads. Otis Shepard (1893–1969) initiated the modernistic, airbrushed Wrigley twins for Wrigley chewing gum.

The following list, hardly inclusive, names just some of the important illustrators active during the 1930s. Notable or distinctive achievements accompany the mention of the artists; all these artists found steady employment during the Depression years and their work continues to draw praise.

Some Significant American Illustrators of the 1930s

McClelland Barclay (1891–1943): his sophisticated Body by Fisher illustrations helped form perceptions about automotive art.

Howard Chandler Christy (1873–1952): a fine portrait painter, his "Christy girls" raised the standards of feminine beauty in illustrations.

T. M. Cleland (1880–1964): noted for his striking architectural compositions.

Dean Cornwell (1892–1960): an artist who gained fame as a muralist.

Albert Dorne (1904–1965): a prolific contributor of illustrations for stories in the Saturday Evening Post.

Anton Otto Fischer (1882–1962): a popular artist, his marine paintings appeared frequently in both books and magazines.

James Montgomery Flagg (1877–1960): best remembered for his patriotic depictions of Uncle Sam during World War I, Flagg became a favorite of sophisticates and celebrities in the postwar years.

Peter Helck (1893–1988): a master of automotive art, as well as depicting almost anything else mechanical.

John Held Jr. (1899–1958): most famous for his humorous beaux and flappers during the 1920s, Held moved on to more serious themes in the 1930s.

Dorothy Hood (1902–1970): one of a handful of women active in illustration, Hood created distinguished **fashion**-oriented ads.

Rockwell Kent (1882–1971): often thought a "serious" American artist, but capable of carefully rendered and stylized drawings extolling expensive consumer goods for clients like Rolls-Royce **automobiles** and Steinway pianos.

Neysa McMein (1888–1949): another woman who made a name for herself, McMein created many covers for McCall's magazine and also did celebrity portraiture.

Maxfield Parrish (1870–1966): a popular artist, his paintings accompanying ads for Mazda lamps (GE light bulbs) appealed to a large public, and his Brown & Bigelow calendars circulated in the millions.

George Petty (1894–1975): his ads for Jantzen bathing suits celebrated the female form and led to the famous "Petty girl" pinups of World War II.

Willy Pogany (1882–1955): especially skilled in pen-and-ink illustration.

Norman Price (1877–1951): a strong historical sense informed many of his book illustrations.

Henry Raleigh (1880–1944): an illustrator for some of the most famous names in American literature whenever their stories appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post*.

Robert Riggs (1896–1974): particularly adept at portraying circuses and prizefights.

Mead Schaeffer (1898–1980): a favorite for creating illustrations for boys' adventure stories.

Jessie Willcox Smith (1893–1935): she focused on illustrations for children, but also did over 200 Good Housekeeping covers.

Two final illustrators deserve mention: Leslie Thrasher (1889–1936) and Haddon Sundblom (1899–1976). Both made unique contributions to the field. Thrasher, not a well-known name today, ranked among the leading illustrators of the 1920s and the first half of the 1930s. An accomplished painter, he earned his first significant commission in 1912 when he sold a cover to the esteemed Saturday Evening Post. Only 23 at the time, this contract placed him in the big leagues. After that breakthrough, Thrasher found himself in demand. A dream assignment came his way in 1926 when the editors at Liberty magazine, a rival to the Saturday Evening Post, offered him the chance to do a new cover each week for \$1,000 per cover (roughly \$11,000 in contemporary dollars). In a remarkable streak of creativity, he produced 360 cover illustrations for Liberty. The relationship came to an end in 1932, when shrinking revenues forced the publishers to cancel the contract.

Although not up to Rockwell's standards, Thrasher's work nonetheless represents good old-fashioned realism. Narrative in its approach, many of his *Liberty* covers depict the life and times of "Lil," a typical middle-class woman who also happens to be very attractive. Lil works as a stenographer, has a boyfriend whom she eventually marries, and ultimately gives birth to a baby boy. The storyline, one that would be echoed in Chic Young's (1901–1973) enormously popular comic strip *Blondie* then just beginning to run in many **newspapers**, attracted a wide audience for each successive cover. Readers liked Lil, contributing plot and picture ideas of their own in a contest that *Liberty* sponsored. A forgettable movie, *For the Love o' Lil* (1930), with Sally Starr (1909–1996) in the title role, capitalized on Lil's fame, as did a weekly **radio** show. These crossovers demonstrate how popular culture themes, when successful, seldom remain limited to a single medium.

Sundblom contributed an advertising image that has demonstrated, over the years, the power of effective illustration. An illustrator for the Coca-Cola Company, Sundblom in 1931 produced the first of a yearly Christmas painting for the firm featuring his version of Santa Claus. For the next 30 years, he depicted Santa Claus making his merry rounds, a frosty bottle of Coca-Cola in hand and enjoying "the Pause That Refreshes." His interpretation of jolly old Saint Nicholas created the modern-day Santa that now dominates Yuletide imagery and has been so accepted by the public.

An instant success—rotund, ruddy complexion, big smile, twinkling eyes, and all the rest—Sundblom's image was soon imitated by every other illustrator in the country. Not that Santa did not already exist in his red suit prior to 1931, but he tended to be more of an elfin figure, at times almost a gnome. And earlier Santas did not display much cheer; they could in fact appear somewhat frightening. N. C. Wyeth did several interpretations of Santa Claus before Sundblom came on the scene, but his man behind the beard seems sinister, hardly someone parents would want associating with little girls and boys. Norman Rockwell, who had himself painted some less-than-merry Saint Nicks earlier in his career, wisely adopted Sundblom's version of Santa in the 1930s, divorcing his new efforts from his previous work. Today, the 1931 Santa Claus of Haddon Sundblom has become a virtual generic model, imitated, reproduced, with little tinkering allowed.

The 1930s, following the standards established in preceding decades, proved a rich period for American illustration, but on a reduced scale. Unfortunately, too many skilled practitioners of the craft from the 1930s have been forgotten or labored in obscurity and remained anonymous.

See also Comic Strips; Gas Stations; Life & Fortune; Movies; Soft Drinks

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INTERNATIONAL STYLE. A term that identifies an architectural style that grew in importance and popularity throughout the 1930s. New York's Museum of Modern Art mounted an important show in 1932 that it called, simply Modern Architecture. Organized by architectural historian Henry-Russell Hitchcock (1903–1987) and architect Philip Johnson (1906–2005), this seminal exhibition displayed the work of a number of contemporary architects, most of them European, and employed the phrase "International Style" to describe their work. It traveled for almost two years and visited many American cities. In conjunction with the show, Hitchcock and Johnson coauthored *The International Style: Architecture since 1922* (1932), a book that introduced many people to both the term and these new **design** trends.

Hitchcock and Johnson argued for the rejection of classical detailing and ornamentation, stating that a building should be "honest"; it should be a reflection of itself and its underlying structure, not disguised to fit an arbitrary style. To them, the modernism of the 1930s celebrated a marriage of art and industrial design, and in saying this, they rejected most applied ornamentation. Their repudiation of decorative elements opened the way for the unadorned skyscraper that would characterize so much American **architecture** for the remainder of the century and became the hallmark of the International Style . The hubcaps and hood ornaments of the **Chrysler Building**, so beloved by generations of onlookers, were declared passé even as the skyscraper rose and the 1930s emerged as a transitional decade.

Only a few years earlier the Neoclassical Revival and Beaux-Arts Classicism had been the rage for larger commercial and public buildings in the United States. In 1934, John Russell Pope (1874–1937), an architect steeped in tradition, received the commission to design the Jefferson Memorial in Washington, D.C.; three years later he returned to do the National Gallery of Art, and most people found his traditional, classical designs entirely appropriate. Yet many American architects knew that such construction lagged behind ongoing international trends.

The threat of a new war in Europe prompted the steady emigration of architects to the United States. They introduced fresh, modern concepts to the nation, and their American counterparts realized a new, more austere and linear approach to design would eventually rule the day. Austrian-born Richard Neutra (1892–1970) arrived in 1923, one of the first of many émigrés. He settled on the West Coast, and his Lovell House (1929; Los Angeles) received considerable acclaim, an early signal that change blew in the wind. The construction of the Lovell House consisted of a light metal frame, white panels, and wide expanses of glass, resembled nothing previously seen. He followed that ground-breaking design with several more residences, including the Von Sternberg House (1935; also in the Los Angeles area), solidifying his reputation as a pioneering architect.

Rudolf Schindler (1887–1953), another Austrian, moved to the U.S. in 1914 in an effort to meet Frank Lloyd Wright (1869–1959), one of the leading American architects of that time. Not only did he connect with Wright, he also worked with fellow countryman Richard Neutra. Schindler's work with reinforced concrete and plain, unadorned facades placed him in the International Style school and furthered the cause of modern architecture in the United States.

While Neutra and Schindler went about creating distinctive buildings on the West Coast, several other Europeans settled in New England. Walter Gropius (1883–1969), an architect who in the 1920s founded the famous German Bauhaus (it loosely translates as "house for building"), fled his native land in 1934 with the rise of Nazism. He made his way to Harvard University's Graduate School of Design, a welcoming refuge that also took in his compatriot Marcel Breuer (1902–1981), a Hungarian designer.

In 1937, Gropius built his own house in Lincoln, Massachusetts, and it serves as a good example of the new International Style. Its flat roof, smooth, taut facades, rectilinear shapes, and use of pale colors effectively sum up this approach to architecture. On the interior, the house features an open floor plan and functional, but not particularly decorative, furniture. For American designers, the influence of these foreign architects had immeasurable impacts, and the insularity of the profession in the United States received a stiff challenge.

Not everything in the International Style revolved around residential designs. One of the earliest major commercial structures to reflect such changes went up in the City of Brotherly Love in 1932, the Philadelphia Savings Fund Society (PSFS) building. Jointly designed by an American, George Howe (1886–1955), and a Swiss émigré, William Lescaze (1896–1969), the PSFS skyscraper shed existing traditions and boldly proclaimed itself a part of the International Style. Howe broke with his own past and embraced the more advanced thinking espoused by Lescaze. By so doing, the pair created the first major American office structure clearly inspired by European modernism.

Located in the heart of downtown Philadelphia, the lower portion boasts highly polished granite that leads to a distinctive rounded corner. Shops occupy the ground level, and banking business is transacted on the second floor. The main shaft, built of limestone with gray brick spandrels, rises smoothly from the base with flush windows and minimal decorative elements. At the top, the letters "PSFS" are integrated into the tower. The final result represents a sharp break from anything that went before it.

Aware of these modern currents flowing across the Atlantic, American architects wasted no time in articulating their own interpretations of the International Style. Raymond Hood (1881–1934), along with John Mead Howells (1868–1959), employed elements of this new vision with their Daily News Building (1930) in New York City. Another important departure from tradition, and located in the shadow of the **Art Deco** Chrysler Building, the Daily News Building similarly possesses an ornate Art Deco facade at its base, but there the resemblance ends. The brick-covered steel frame of the building shaft remains unadorned, a soaring tower devoid of the decorative touches usually applied to skyscrapers. And at its top, the building simply ends—no ornamented cornice, no classical pyramid, nothing—making it something of a prototype for the sleek, modern towers that typified the International Style.

Hood followed the Daily News Building with the McGraw-Hill Building (1930–1931), a revolutionary structure clad in glass and blue green terra cotta over a steel

frame. From one angle it appears to be an Art Deco skyscraper, complete with setbacks, but from another it resembles a smooth slab that reaches into the New York sky. Clearly, the International Style had begun to make inroads on traditional design, and Hitchcock and Johnson chose it, in their eponymous book, as an example of the new style.

Rockefeller Center (1930–1940), one of the great construction projects of the Depression—or any other era, for that matter—also reflects Hood's influence. From its beginnings until the architect's untimely death in 1934, Hood actively participated in the development of this mammoth complex. His RCA Building (1934), the centerpiece of the development, echoes the earlier Daily News Building, but stands on its own as a splendid example of his modernist sensibilities.

Hood also contributed to the 1933–1934 Century of Progress Exposition (Chicago World's Fair). Although much of the architecture displayed at that modernistic fair reflects the prevailing influence of Art Deco and Streamlining, Hood's work on the Electrical Building displays elements of emergent styles, among them European modernism, or the International Style.

Another New York firm, Shreve, Lamb & Harmon, further transformed the urban skyline by designing a building reflective of these new trends. The **Empire State Building** (1931), possibly the most famous skyscraper of them all, soared into the air, a structure that had Art Deco roots, but one that in its sleek, smooth facade also looked to the future. The Empire State Building cannot be considered an International Style tower, but it possesses traits that later structures would emulate.

Not everyone embraced the International Style. Art Deco and the newer Streamlining enjoyed adherents who appreciated at least some applied ornamentation. For much of the decade, these two approaches actually overshadowed the stark austerity of the International Style, and not until after World War II would this form of modernism emerge as dominant, particularly when applied to high-rise office towers.

See also Fairs & Expositions; New York World's Fair

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IT HAPPENED ONE NIGHT. In American cinema, looniness got transferred to a type of comedy entirely new to the screen. Aptly named screwball comedies, these popular pictures set up ridiculous plot situations that then are resolved in equally ridiculous ways. One of the first movies to articulate the genre, and still a favorite, It Happened One Night (1934) offers a laugh-filled story that defies reason, but reason has little to do with screwball comedies. Directed by Frank Capra (1897–1991), it stars Clark Gable (1901–1960) and Claudette Colbert (1903–1996). At the time, studio publicists touted Gable as an action hero, a ladies' man with muscles, and Colbert had just played a very feminine romantic lead in Cleopatra (1934), a Cecil B. DeMille (1881–1959) costume epic. No one thought of either actor as a comedian.



Clark Gable (1901–1960) and Claudette Colbert (1903–1996) in a scene from It Happened One Night (1934). (Courtesy of Photofest)

In this landmark picture, Gable and Colbert enthusiastically trade wisecracks and engage in physical comedy, revealing themselves to be skillful comic artists. The movie revolves on a simple premise, one that drives most screwball comedies: when will the two antagonists realize they are in love? Director Capra keeps the waters roiled as the would-be lovers work their way up the East Coast by Greyhound bus, by decrepit car, and, in a classic bit of visual comedy, by hitchhiking. Closed **gas stations** and mechanical breakdowns compound their woes. Of course, love wins out in the closing frames, but not before lots of misunderstandings, coincidences, and turmoil have their time on screen. It hardly sounds funny, but funny it is, and the fast-moving script and tight direction keep it that way. Hollywood seemed to agree: 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 again until 1975 with *One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest*.

Colbert portrays a flighty, but wealthy, young woman, a stock figure in numerous screwball comedies, who has rejected her fortune in a quest for independence. Gable portrays a sturdy, cynical but sensible, reporter who winds up in Colbert's company. The mid-1930s marked a period when the **Hollywood Production Code** rigidly controlled film content, especially anything having to do with sex. Screenwriters had to work overtime to sneak anything by the censors, but a review of Hollywood movies

from the era would show that they frequently succeeded. Not that *It Happened One Night* contains anything off-color—far from it—but it gleefully displays a liberal sprinkling of suggestiveness, all in good taste. The subtext of sex that drives most screwball comedies took on an unrivaled sophistication during the decade, resulting in a series of adult films in all the best senses of the term.

In a classic scene, Gable and Colbert have stopped for the night at an auto camp, the 1930s term for a crude cross between a motel and a roadside cabin. They have to share a tiny room, and so he rigs a clothesline and hangs a blanket, "the wall of Jericho," as a barrier between the twin beds. Colbert borrows a set of Gable's pajamas because she has none of her own with her. Popular mythology says that millions of women, after seeing the movie, demanded man-styled pajamas of their own. Myth or not, the whole episode carries a wealth of sexual innuendo that culminates with the two having breakfast the next morning, just like a married couple. Fortunately for audiences, code officials allowed the scene to be kept in the movie, even with its rather obvious implications. And, much later, the wall would come tumbling down.

Screwball comedies marked a shift in movie content. Although they rely on stereotypes to a degree, they do so by turning them around. For example, *It Happened One Night* does not concern itself with sophisticated lovers living in a luxurious **Art Deco** world; its milieu remains very much 1930s Depression America. Crowded **buses** full of working-class passengers, decrepit **auto camps** run by suspicious proprietors, and the grim reality of being broke provide the background for this picture. The theme of the movie, however, derives from tradition, the idea of reconciliation, of letting love eventually resolve any conflicts. But the success of this and other screwball comedies also demanded that every conceivable obstacle be placed in the lovers' way and that resolution come about in a zany, comedic way.

See also Automobiles; Fashion; Motels; Movies; Social Consciousness Films; Spectacle & Costume Drama Films

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J

JAZZ. Throughout the twentieth century, jazz, possibly the country's most original art form, dwelt on the musical margins, a format created in the late nineteenth century principally by black Americans. The music grew out of a heritage of oppression and segregation, which in its earliest forms traced some of its roots back to Africa and the Caribbean. Jazz served as a form of artistic expression for black musicians unable to play in the more popular white bands. Negligible white audiences existed for this new music, and thus it matured in obscurity. Not until after World War I, as the nation lurched into the Roaring Twenties, the so-called Jazz Age, did it begin to attract a broader, more diverse audience. For the general public, any music lively and loud constituted jazz. For many young white musicians, the syncopated rhythms of jazz proved irresistible; soon white bands began trying to reproduce this raucous, often improvised, music, much to the dismay of their elders.

For the later 1920s and on into the 1930s, the greatest advances in jazz occurred in Harlem, the sprawling center of black population and culture in New York City. Throughout the 1920s, musicians flocked there, leaving behind the older New Orleans sounds, in order to hone their skills and find sympathetic colleagues. Ironically, many of the black cultural and moral leaders of the day turned deaf ears to jazz, striving instead to promote more "acceptable" white formats. Thus little about jazz will be found in writings about the much-vaunted Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s and 1930s. Despite this lack of community support, jazz nonetheless flourished, a sub-rosa expression of art and music, one that would lead to experimentation and eventually the advent of so-called modern jazz.

Innovators like **Duke Ellington** (1899–1974), James P. Johnson (1891–1955), Willie "the Lion" Smith (1987–1973), Art Tatum (1909–1956), and Fats Waller (1904–1943) cut their artistic teeth in Harlem clubs and at "rent parties," gatherings where the hat would be passed in order to pay the rent, and some of the best jazz of the day served as entertainment. The hard times of the early 1930s saw a continuation of the musical ferment in Harlem, much of which occurred unnoticed by white critics or listeners living just a few segregated blocks away.

Despite the musical advances transpiring in Harlem, along with Chicago, Kansas City, and the Southwest, the band that in the late 1920s garnered the most popular attention performed under the baton of white bandleader Paul Whiteman (1890–1967), the self-styled "King of Jazz." Although many would argue the highly arranged selections that

Whiteman played hardly constituted jazz, he nonetheless introduced white audiences to a kind of popular music that employed a rhythmic base and ensemble playing that scores of later bands would emulate. In addition, Whiteman had a decided flair for recognizing talent. Bix Beiderbecke (1903–1931), a cornetist hired by Whiteman, showed immense promise as a lyrical player. Bing Crosby (1903–1977), one of the premier vocalists of the twentieth century, joined the band in the later 1920s and would subsequently influence legions of singers; he early on displayed an ability to incorporate jazz phrasing into his renditions of even the most mediocre pop songs. Many other musicians who would attain stature among jazz instrumentalists passed through the Whiteman orchestras. He went far in introducing jazz elements to audiences everywhere, although it would be difficult to argue that his arrangements rivaled anything then being done by the relatively anonymous Harlem groups.

By the end of the 1920s, jazz—New Orleans style, riverboat, Chicago, Harlem, ragtime, Dixieland, dance band, instrumental, and vocal—had earned a proper place in any catalog of musical styles. Purists might insist on including only those groups that played the original music of New Orleans, but others wanted the hottest licks by a new generation of musicians who had assimilated popular music, dance tunes, and jazz. With the onset of the 1930s, jazz had become a complex amalgam of styles and approaches, now played by blacks and whites alike, but still perceived by many as "Negro music" dwelling on the margins of artistic legitimacy. Associations with jazz and drinking, drugs, crime, and other assorted vices continued to plague it, and the racial connotations also blocked its full-scale acceptance by the purveyors of popular culture.

For most Americans during the early 1930s, innocuous pop music dominated. Growing out of the European tradition of written scores and careful arrangements, the format placed little emphasis on improvised solos or unusual rhythmic patterns. Society dance orchestras took few chances; even the most up-tempo arrangements always suggested tight control; innovation and emotional expression had no place in such music. "Sweet bands" led by the likes of Eddy Duchin (1909–1951), Wayne King (1901–1985), Guy Lombardo (1902–1977), and Anson Weeks (1896–1969) pleased patrons with genteel, superficial fox trots. Many boasted radio shows, and their bland arrangements held few surprises. Beneath this languid surface, however, new currents churned the musical waters.

As the 1930s progressed, in a number of places in the Midwest and Southwest, as well as New York's Harlem, **recordings**, radio remotes, and appearances by bands led by **Count Basie** (1904–1984), **Fletcher Henderson** (1898–1952), Chick Webb (1902–1939), and others offered pleasant surprises to those willing to listen. Soloists, such as trumpeters Louis Armstrong (1901–1971) and Roy Eldridge (1911–1989), pianists Earl Hines (1903–1983) and Mary Lou Williams (1910–1981), and saxists Coleman Hawkins (1904–1969), Johnny Hodges (1906–1970), and Lester Young (1909–1959), expanded the vocabulary of both their instruments and the music they played. These aggregations and musicians, primarily black at first, paved the way for the most popular music of the period, **swing**.

Jazz came the closest it has ever come to truly widespread popularity during the brief period called the swing era, roughly the mid-1930s to the mid-1940s. Although jazz played an all-important role in the evolution of the swing phenomenon, it seldom breached the barricades of mass popular culture. Instead, jazz directed its appeal to innumerable subgroups, avid followers of particular forms of the music, fans who often disdained other styles and performers. Much of the swing so associated with the 1930s

certainly grew out of jazz, just as much jazz of the time likewise borrowed from swing, but those who embraced swing might genuinely profess an ignorance about the larger subject of jazz itself (and vice versa).

Swing cannot be defined as jazz, at least not jazz in any academic definition of the term. It exists as an amalgam, a mix of dance music, popular songs, standards, and jazz that receives a rhythmic emphasis that causes the music to "swing," to be danceable, music to snap the fingers in time. Since its inception, jazz has always "swung," that is, it has always relied on rhythm as a pulsating force to carry a composition forward. The time assigned a song, such as 2/4 or 4/4, has little to do with the jazz feeling, or lack thereof, imposed on a tune—even a 3/4 waltz can be made to swing when performed by the right musicians. Hoagy Carmichael's (1899–1981) "Stardust" (originally composed in 1927), for example, may be a soulful, jazz-inflected ballad when played by a tenor saxophonist or a romantic pop tune when sung by a popular singer. For jazz, the right musicians, the right arrangements, the right improvisations, can impart a quality to a performance different from anything in the purely popular idiom.

Jazz had started the decade still in its relative infancy. Forward-looking musicians and performers, like Basie, Benny Carter (1907–2003), Hawkins, Henderson, and Tatum, remained in the minority. In the public mind, jazz and Dixieland (i.e., traditional, jazz-inflected music) remained virtually interchangeable terms. As the 1930s progressed, however, more complex compositions and arrangements, along with more of a break with the past, began to change people's perceptions about the music. Small combos that emphasized disciplined musicianship and soloists willing to work with a song's chord structure as well as its melody, signaled change in the wind. Big bands, such as Ellington's, played compositions that demanded concentration on the listener's part. The easy, toe-tapping music that once said "jazz" had been replaced by a more serious approach; it might still be rhythmic and danceable, but it no longer sounded like the jazz of the 1920s.

With swing in the ascendancy in the later 1930s, the lines separating jazz and swing grew increasingly blurred, and most people probably did not care. The Benny Goodman (1909–1986) band, one of the most popular of the day, could perform "I'm Always Chasing Rainbows" (originally written in 1918 for a Broadway musical) with a vocal by Helen Forrest (1917–1999), and a flag-waving instrumental arrangement of "Stompin' at the Savoy" (written in 1936 as an up-tempo dance number) in the same evening. Worlds apart, the rendition of "I'm Always Chasing Rainbows" might be categorized as swing or simply a sweet pop number, whereas "Stompin' at the Savoy" would more likely be identified as jazz. Same band, two songs, but with confusion reigning over definitions and categories. By the end of the decade, a band like the one led by Glenn Miller (1904–1944), arguably the most popular swing aggregation of them all, seldom had any jazz labels attached to it. Miller's band, with a number of respected jazz musicians in its ranks, played swing and popular music and little else.

The discussion might best end as a purely academic one. Jazz and swing remained inextricably linked during the 1930s and both had their ardent defenders. Jazz, more intellectual—more cerebral, perhaps—than swing, evolved into more categories than its close relative. Swing, more commercial, more oriented to popular music than jazz, had much the larger following for awhile, but faded more quickly. Jazz went on to other formats, reinventing itself as it did so. It has changed, but even today it is still jazz.

See also Alcoholic Beverages; Jitterbug; Musicals; Race Relations & Stereotyping

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JIGSAW PUZZLES. Whether intricately hand-cut from wood or mechanically stamped from cardboard, jigsaw puzzles emerged as one of the most popular diversions available to people during the Depression. This kind of puzzle can be traced back to England and the mid-1700s, and has enjoyed varying levels of favor ever since. Once considered an activity for children, the jigsaw puzzle began to attract adults around 1900 and erupted into a full-fledged fad in the 1930s.

Prior to the Depression, most puzzles consisted of pictures glued to thin wooden boards which were then meticulously cut, using a jigsaw, into various shaped pieces. The interlocking puzzle, although it did exist, proved rare. As a rule, the pieces merely matched up and could be easily disturbed. A slight breeze, a jarred table, could undo hours of patient work. For the times, they also carried a high price tag, given all the hand cutting. Priced at anywhere from a penny to 2 cents per piece (roughly 15 to 30 cents in contemporary money), a 500-piece puzzle could cost up to \$10 (or \$150 in the present), a small fortune for the Depression era. Bookstores and other outlets often rented puzzles for just a few cents a day, putting them within reach of a growing legion of fans.

Following the 1929 stock market crash, sales of puzzles began a perceptible climb. By the beginning of 1932, over 2 million of them sold weekly, and both retailers and manufacturers took notice. That same year, the die-cut cardboard puzzle had its introduction. Heavy die-cutting machines stamped the pieces from cheap fiber boards. Capable of endless reproduction, these new variations on an old diversion could be mass-produced so cheaply that almost anyone could then afford them. From newsstands to Woolworth's to up-scale department stores, the new cardboard puzzles flooded the marketplace. At first, they cost about 69 or 79 cents (roughly \$10 or \$12 in contemporary money), although merchants often gave them away as premiums for buying other items in the store. Some clever marketers even used puzzles as a form of advertising; the pieces formed a picture of a particular product and served as giveaways along with a purchase.

By late 1932 and early 1933, their peak years, the cardboard puzzles sold at the rate of 10 million units a week. To entice still more sales, dealers featured brand-new "picture puzzle weekly," "weekly jig saw," "jiggety jig," "jig of jigs," and "jig of the week" and patrons lined up, usually on Wednesdays, to buy the latest offerings, often on sale for only a quarter (about \$4 today).

Jigsaw puzzle clubs sprang up everywhere, and members swapped favorites with friends, another means of keeping costs down. The rapid upswing of jigsaw popularity gave rise to some cottage industries. Many individuals earned a bit of extra money by laboriously hand-cutting plywood boards into puzzles. Despite the success of die-cut products, the wooden variety continued to have its fans, and many how-to **magazines** touted turning home workshops into small puzzle factories for profit. Patience, a good eye, along with sharp blades for a small, powered jigsaw meant that a few of these entrepreneurs could make a reasonable living turning out intricate puzzles.

During the height of the craze, over 200 professional firms entered the die-cut side of the business, while some 3,000 home craftsmen labored over their jigsaws. Puzzle

contests and races (who could assemble one the fastest) proliferated, and several songs—"My Jig Saw Puzzle of Love," "You Made a Jig-Saw Puzzle Out of My Heart"—played on the radio. A periodical, *Jigsaw Puzzles*, could even be found on newsstands.

In their heyday, the puzzle fad exerted a beneficial effect on portions of the moribund economy. For example, the Upson Company, located in Lockport, New York, had been a leader in the manufacture of wallboard during the 1920s. The Depression, however, all but ended the construction business. But employees at Upson found that the fiber board used in making wallboard could also serve as the backing for a die-cut jigsaw puzzle. Out of that discovery grew one of the most popular puzzle brands of the 1930s: Tuco. Tuco, a play on the Upson Co., featured a wide variety of colorful mounted pictures. They came in bright, identifiable boxes and, because they used inexpensive materials, cost little. The company, along with a handful of other manufacturers, did well in the darkest years of the Depression, shipping up to 50,000 new puzzles a day at their peak.

Tuco's success also illustrates the nature of **fads**. After the puzzle mania had passed in the 1940s, Upson attempted to continue its Tuco line. A fickle public, however, gradually turned away from the one-time industry leader, and in 1980, despite diversification, the Upson Company declared bankruptcy. Ironically, the expensive, hand-cut wooden puzzles that cardboard virtually replaced have retained a small, but loyal following. Now commanding true premium prices, craftsmen still meticulously cut hundreds, sometimes thousands, of small pieces for dedicated aficionados.

Psychologically, puzzles may have attracted people during the Depression because of certain positive qualities. For someone out of work and with little to look forward to, the jigsaw puzzle provided not just temporary entertainment. It also gave the person who had the patience to complete it a sense of accomplishment, a small success in a time that needed any little victories one might achieve. Of course, a really difficult puzzle also consumed considerable idle time, an important consideration for anyone with little to do.

All crazes must eventually cool down, and puzzles proved no exception. For the first half of the 1930s, jigsaw puzzles constituted a fad of unusually large proportions. As the Depression waned, so did enthusiasm for jigsaw puzzles, but sales remained high throughout the decade, and the austerity of the war years helped them retain a measure of popularity.

See also Leisure & Recreation

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JITTERBUG. Throughout the latter half of the 1930s, millions of Americans attended **swing** concerts; millions more listened on their radios and purchased **recordings** by their favorite bands and soloists. Swing thrives on rhythm—infectious, snap-your-fingers, toe-tapping rhythm—although it also can usually be hummed, whistled, and even sung. But for a whole generation of devotees, swing meant dancing. The 1920s may have had the Black Bottom, the Charleston, and the Varsity Drag, but



With the wide acceptance of swing, the jitterbug became one of the decade's most popular dance styles. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

these veterans evolved into new steps, and the 1930s boasted the Big Apple, the Lindy Hop, the Little Peach, the Shag, the Suzy Q, and Truckin'—an entirely new and contemporary collection that could easily be summed up in one word: jitterbug. Fast and furious, improvised or practiced, the jitterbug and its countless variants had people dancing as never before.

Before swing inundated everything, most popular **music** of the early 1930s could be danced to, and for a majority of people this translated as the fox trot, a relatively staid combination of medium-tempo steps. But dance crazes come and go in all decades, and the Depression years awaited something new and different. As had long been the case with much American musical culture, innovation often took place, as it did with blues and **jazz**, in the segregated black community. In this instance, change manifested itself in a body of music associated with big bands and swinging arrangements, and the energetic dancing that accompanied them.

Popular anecdote has it that this new style of dancing initially received the name Lindy, or Lindy Hop. A direct precursor of the better-known jitterbug, the name derived from Charles Lindbergh (1902–1974), or "Lindy," as many fondly dubbed him. The man who in 1927 had "hopped" the Atlantic Ocean, the first person to fly solo across that body of water, had become a national hero. In this somewhat acrobatic dance, partners "took off" and "landed," executing steps that suggested flight. If nothing else, the Lindy caused a couple to put on a performance, or, as the slang of the day would have it, "to

cut a rug" (i.e., the couple's dance steps are so good—so "sharp"—that they destroy the rug or carpeting beneath their feet). The always-debonair **Duke Ellington** would compose, in 1937, a little ditty he called "I've Got to Be a Rug Cutter."

The inclusive term "jitterbug" arose to collectively identify a number of distinctive exhibition-style dances, several of which provided onlookers as much pleasure as the dancers themselves. Those who excelled in their efforts were known as "shiners," presumably because of their ability to shine on the dance floor. "Jitterbug" itself functioned as a verb or a noun: to jitterbug meant to dance, usually frenetically, and usually to swing-style music. The term itself probably derives from the jerky, or "jittery" motions that occur in the dance, and in nonmusical slang a "jitterbug" defined a person—possibly inebriated or similarly impaired—who had the "shakes," the "jitters." The dance received the same name, and when referring to people, a jitterbug could either be a dancer or, more broadly, any devoted swing fan.

In some circles, instead of the longer word, people preferred the simpler "bug," In 1934, the popular bandleader Cab Calloway (1907–1994), a colorful individual in his own right and someone who always stood in the forefront as a source of catchy terms to describe the latest popular culture trends, had released a recording bearing the simple title "Jitterbug." An up-tempo dance number composed by trumpeter Edwin Swayzee (1905–1935), this tune introduced the word to a wide public. Although momentum for the jitterbug had been growing, it now had quasi-official sanction as a song title, and it quickly grew into a full-fledged fad.

Calloway followed his recording by publishing a slim volume titled Cab Calloway's Hepster's Dictionary: The Language of Jive in 1936. It served as an insider's guide to the argot of jazz and swing then growing among fans and underwent several printings and revisions. "Jive" meant, at the time, either the language of swing music or the music itself, although those limited interpretations quickly broadened. For example, "frisking the whiskers" means what musicians (i.e., "cats") do in rehearsal; "knock" suggests obtaining something, as "I'll knock me some bread," when "bread" means money; and "cat," "hepcat," and "hepster" all designate knowledgeable friends, companions, musicians—those "in the know."

The movies and the recording industry quickly picked up on the growing popularity of the jitterbug. Hollywood released a number of short musical features, such as *Jitterbug Party* (1935), *Jitterbugs* (1938), *Public Jitterbug Number One* (1939), along with several animated cartoons. Even the classy **Fred Astaire** (1899–1987) **and Ginger Rogers** (1911–1995) performed "The Waltz in Swing Time" (music by Robert Russell Bennett [1894–1981]) for the 1936 movie musical *Swing Time*. Some of the many recordings that flooded the market included titles like "Got the Jitters" (1934), "Rug Cutter's Swing" (1934), "Call of the Jitter" (1934), "They Call Us Jitterbugs" (1935), "*Life* Spears a Jitterbug" (1938; a parody on a popular feature in *Life* magazine called "*Life* Goes to a Party"), "Jitters" (1939), and "Jitterbugs on Parade" (1939), to name only a few of the releases.

The mecca for devoted jitterbugs soon became the Savoy Ballroom. A huge uptown nightclub in New York's Harlem, it opened its doors in 1926 and called itself "the Home of Happy Feet." Throughout the heyday of the jitterbug, the Savoy's management had to replace the hardwood dance floor every three years. "Stompin' at the Savoy" (1936) served as an appropriate anthem of the era. Jointly written by **Benny Goodman**

(1909–1986), Edgar Sampson (1907–1973), and Chick Webb (1902–1939), with lyrics by Andy Razaf (1895–1973), this up-tempo dance classic shares its lineage with both Goodman's orchestra and Webb's Savoy house band.

Other dances associated with the jitterbug craze, but hardly jitterbugs in and of themselves, included the Shag, Truckin', and the Lambeth Walk, all popular in the later years of the decade. In the first, small hops and kicks served as the order of the day. Truckin' involved shrugging the shoulders rhythmically, plus raising an arm and pointing a forefinger upward. The Lambeth Walk, an import from England, had couples walking forward and then backward with their arms linked. At the proper moment, they would thrust their thumbs into the air and say "Oy!" Each enjoyed its moment of fame, and the Shag, with variations, lives on today.

Nothing, however, equaled the classic jitterbug itself. Danced to medium or up-tempo numbers, the faster the better for most fans, it calls for many steps and constant motion. In all its manifestations, the jitterbug generally met with disapproval from dance teachers, schools of dance, and others connected with more traditional forms of expression. Most predicted its imminent demise from the mid-1930s onward, although the predicted death never arrived; if anything, the patient got better and better with time, so that by 1940 many a former naysayer had attempted a step or two. The jitterbug represented a form of sexual equality and freedom for couples. It also helped signal the emergence of a mass **youth** culture, a culture that even hinted at racial harmony, although that would be a long time coming. Perhaps the jitterbug's main appeal lay in the title of a 1939 hit tune penned by Sy Oliver (1910–1988) and Trummy Young (1912–1984), and generally associated with the Jimmy Lunceford (1902–1947) band: "Tain't Wha'cha Do (It's the Way That You Do It)."

See also Aviation; Count Basie; Fads; Fletcher Henderson; Jukeboxes; Life & Fortune; Magazines; Marathon Dancing; Glenn Miller; Musicals; Race Relations & Stereotyping; Radio; Your Hit Parade

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JUKEBOXES. Music served as one of the most pervasive forms of popular culture in the 1930s, and the lowly jukebox emerged as an effective carrier of all the latest hit songs. For a nickel, and often six or seven plays for a quarter (or about 75 cents and \$3.65, respectively, in contemporary money), a listener could select from dozens of single records, and the ubiquitous machines catered to every taste.

The roots of the term "jukebox" remain murky, but probably can be traced to the American South. A "juke" meant a house of prostitution in West Africa, and the word made its way to the United States during the days of slavery. Like most transitions, it took on new meanings in the slave states. Cheap dance halls in the South sometimes came to be called "jukes"—with an alternative spelling of "jook"—and occasionally even the dances themselves took on the term. Small bands and combos had traditionally played in these juke joints, but in the late 1920s coin-operated record machines

began to replace the live music. In a matter of time, "juke" shifted in meaning from locale and dance to the machine supplying the music, from a nameless "record machine" to a "jukebox." From those shady beginnings, jukebox has evolved into an innocent term with no connections to its past, although manufacturers persisted in calling them "multiselector phonographs," "automatic coin-operated phonographs," and the like.

The forerunners of the contemporary jukebox can be traced to the late nineteenth century, but not until 1921 did anything resembling the modern record changer arrive on the scene. In 1927, a coin-operated model had been perfected by the Automatic Instrument Company (AMI). Shortly thereafter, J. P. Seeburg, Rudolph Wurlitzer, and the Rockola (later Rock-Ola) companies entered the business.

The reopening of lounges, bars, and nightclubs following the repeal of Prohibition in 1933 signaled a need for music. Cheaper than any band, jukeboxes became standard fixtures, springing up everywhere. Their popularity, coupled with their appeal to a youthful, nondrinking, audience, meant that jukeboxes also appeared in **ice cream** parlors, soda fountains, and **restaurants**—anywhere music might boost business. Customers enjoyed the cheap entertainment jukeboxes provided, and proprietors saw them as a lure for more customers.

By the end of 1933, about 25,000 jukeboxes could be found scattered across the country. The total skyrocketed to over 100,000 by the mid-1930s, 225,000 by 1937, and it just kept climbing. Wurlitzer, the leading manufacturer of coin-operated machines, was turning out 45,000 a year by 1939, and its competitors boasted equally impressive numbers. At the close of the decade, more than 400,000 coin-operated jukeboxes played the latest hits, and millions of listeners and dancers supplied them with endless nickels and quarters.

Jukeboxes represented a godsend for the record industry, which was beset with problems throughout the Depression years. Toward the end of the 1930s, these insatiable machines consumed 720,000 records a week, 30 million a year, or almost half of all phonograph **recordings** sold in the country. A successful record got endlessly repeated, both in its original version and by imitators. In order to appease their public, musicians sometimes found themselves in stylistic ruts. Managers and record companies felt musical artists had to keep sounding like their most recent hit, an approach that stifled creativity. On the other hand, colorblind jukeboxes provided black musicians the best possible outlet for a mass audience. Although they replaced live musicians who might otherwise be performing at a dance hall or club, in its mechanical way, the jukebox served as an equalizer in a segregated music world.

Despite the widespread exposure, songwriters and lyricists, along with many musicians, objected to the use of recordings for both jukebox and radio play. They felt that coin-operated devices and radio stations deprived both composers and performers of income, since most of them received no royalties when a patron's nickel keyed a song or a disc jockey spun a record. Belatedly, ASCAP (the American Society of Composers, Arrangers, and Producers), an organization dedicated to protecting the performing rights of musicians and songwriters, stepped into this debate. In late 1939, broadcasters and jukebox owners retaliated by forming BMI (Broadcast Music Incorporated). A long, bitter fight over musicians' rights erupted, one that would not be resolved until the mid-1940s. The dispute illustrated the increasing impact the jukebox had on the recording industry and on popular music.

Another form of technologically enhanced music also emerged in the 1930s. Muzak, a service that piped recorded music directly to restaurants, dancehalls, factories, and offices, made its debut in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1934. Armed with a catalog of soothing background melodies, Muzak made no attempt to play or promote the latest hits or dance numbers. Instead, the company packaged programmatic music that required no concentration, a subliminal sound massage that had no impact on the popular music business.

With their sinuous curves, shimmering plastic and shiny chrome, neon tubes and flashing lights, the jukeboxes of the 1930s reflected the popular **Streamlining** of the era. They represented modern urban **architecture**, skyscrapers in miniature. More importantly, jukeboxes made money, both for the establishments housing them and for the music business. During the **swing** era, jukeboxes helped encourage **fads** and styles in music, and because of their ubiquity, they went a long way in determining a record's popularity.

See also Design; Jitterbug; Prohibition & Repeal; Race Relations & Stereotyping; Your Hit Parade

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K

KERN, JEROME. Born into a middle-class family in New York City, Jerome Kern (1885–1945) studied music first with his mother, received more formal instruction in city schools and colleges, and completed his formal education in Germany. Like many of his contemporaries, at the beginning of his professional musical career, Kern worked as a song plugger on Tin Pan Alley, that section of 28th Street in Manhattan between Fifth Avenue and Broadway where songwriters and lyricists, arrangers, and pluggers congregated and interacted with music publishers; it eventually came to mean the popular music business in general. A song plugger's job involved taking new tunes to different publishing houses in hopes of getting them printed and distributed as sheet music. They had to convince reluctant firms that the songs and lyrics they plugged stood the best chances of commercial success.

Kern finally realized that he should be writing and plugging his own music, and in 1903 enjoyed some good fortune with a piece called "Mister Chamberlain." It featured lyrics by P. G. Wodehouse (1881–1975), a popular writer who would become a frequent collaborator in the early days of Kern's career. The following year, along with several others, Kern's name appeared on the playbill of a short-lived Broadway musical, *Mr. Wix of Wickham.* Buoyed, he determined to make his mark as a composer in musical theater and to collaborate with the best lyricists in the business.

He persevered, and eventually saw major stage hits like *Sally* (1920), with lyrics by Clifford Grey (1887–1941) and Buddy DeSylva (1895–1950); *Sunny* (1925), lyrics by Otto Harbach (1873–1963) and Oscar Hammerstein II (1895–1960); and *Show Boat* (1927), lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein II. As he established his name, Kern also built up a priceless network of musical associates on whom he could call, so that by the end of the 1920s he had established his name on Broadway. For audiences hungry for some old-fashioned romanticism, Kern's theater work provided it, making him a commercial and artistic success.

Always in demand, he completed the music for five shows from 1929 to 1939, starting with *Sweet Adeline*, a production that again featured the lyrics of Oscar Hammerstein II. It opened in September 1929, just prior to the stock market collapse. A deliberate exercise in nostalgia—the original "Sweet Adeline" had been composed in 1903 by Harry Armstrong (1879–1951)—the play focused on the Gay Nineties and tried to re-create a sense of innocence. Reality intruded with the crash, however, and the show closed.



Composer Jerome Kern (1885-1945). (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

Although few remember *Sweet Adeline*, they may recall one of Kern's tunes from the show, "Why Was I Born?" Essentially unchanged, the play reappeared as a film, starring Irene Dunne (1898–1990) in 1935.

A versatile composer, and one with an eye for financial success, Kern saw great potential in the world of movie music with the coming of sound in the late 1920s. His association with Hollywood began early and lasted throughout his life. Universal Studios in 1929 had rushed out a sound-and-silent mix of Kern's 1927 stage classic *Show Boat*. Billed as a "Super Talking Picture," the production left much to be desired. The studio abbreviated portions of the original, substituting new, non-Kern material. With improving sound technology, *Show Boat* saw a second, more faithful movie adaptation in 1936, one that played on screens with much better results.

Sally, a film version of the 1920 play of the same name, premiered on screen in 1929. The producers unfortunately altered the score, bringing in new numbers, but at least the Kern-Hammerstein classic "Look for the Silver Lining" survived studio meddling. Sunny, another Kern production, was adapted for film in 1930; it had first played on Broadway in 1925. Although both the play and the film have long since been forgotten, "Who?" and "Sunny" live on from the score.

In 1931, Jerome Kern returned to Broadway. With the reliable Otto Harbach as his lyricist, Kern wrote the music for *The Cat and the Fiddle*. Subtitled "A Musical Love Story," two romantic standards, "She Didn't Say 'Yes'" and "The Night Was Made for Love," came from the play. The following year, Kern reunited with Hammerstein for *Music in the Air*. This work produced two more classics, "I've Told Ev'ry Little Star" and "The Song Is You," and despite the severity of the Depression, played for over 300 performances.

But all the foregoing productions may have seemed like dress rehearsals for 1933's *Roberta*, one of the true masterpieces among American stage **musicals**. Working again with Harbach, Kern created some of his loveliest melodies. "Smoke Gets in Your Eyes" and "Yesterdays" both come from *Roberta*, followed by "Let's Begin" and "The Touch of Your Hand." With such a splendid score, the plot becomes almost secondary. Produced in the worst days of the Great Depression, the story concerns the glamorous world of high **fashion**, hardly the most popular topic of the period. But Kern had mastered serving up escapism in his music, and such a romantic diversion probably functioned as a tonic for many in the audience. *Roberta* played for a respectable 295 performances and enjoyed a film adaptation soon thereafter.

With the success of *Roberta* still fresh in everyone's minds, Kern returned to Hollywood. Not until 1939 would he again compose for the theater, when he and Oscar Hammerstein II joined forces for *Very Warm for May*. A box-office failure, it closed out Kern's Broadway career, although he would continue to write for the movies. Despite its lack of commercial success, *Very Warm for May* did yield "All the Things You Are," another standard that has stood the test of time.

Once ensconced in the film capital again, Kern worked on converting his theatrical scores for the **movies**. With few changes, 1931's *The Cat and the Fiddle* adapted well to the screen in 1934, giving singing star Jeanette MacDonald (1903–1965) a good vehicle for her vocal skills. It was promptly followed by *Music in the Air* (1934), a show that had entertained Broadway audiences in 1932. It now appeared on movie screens across the land in a 20th Century Fox production with the esteemed Gloria Swanson (1897–1983) in the lead.

Not all of Kern's Hollywood work revolved around revisions of his Broadway successes; he also scored original movies. In 1935, *I Dream Too Much* came out; it features the then-rising opera star Lily Pons (1898–1976), which helps to explain the film's somewhat stilted, operatic presentation. The movie, designed around contralto Pons' singing, demonstrates that Kern doubtless felt more at home writing popular melodies than trying to fit his style to a particular singer. *I Dream Too Much* does mark, however, the first picture in which Kern teamed up with lyricist **Dorothy Fields** (1905–1974), a collaboration that would blossom in time.

Roberta, such a big hit on the Broadway stage in 1933, received the movie treatment in 1935. The third musical to feature Fred Astaire (1899–1987) and Ginger Rogers (1911–1995), it served as the first, but not the last, matchup of Jerome Kern with the two stars. This popular picture employs the original score Kern had put together with Otto Harbach, plus two new numbers with lyrics by Dorothy Fields and Jimmy McHugh (1894–1969). The resultant soundtrack, one of the best ever for any Hollywood musical, offers all the stage originals, plus a couple of new standards by Fields and McHugh, "Lovely to Look At" and "I Won't Dance."

On the heels of *Roberta* came *Swing Time* (1936), the third Kern-Fields outing and their second picture with Astaire and Rogers. Many people would hold that *Swing Time* ranks as the best of the nine movies the dancers made together during the 1930s. That judgment comes in no small measure because of the superlative score that graces the movie. "The Way You Look Tonight," the Academy Award winner for Best Song in 1936, highlights the picture. But *Swing Time* contains almost nothing but highlights: "A Fine Romance," "Pick Yourself Up," and the lilting "Waltz in Swing Time." All of these timeless songs became popular hits and embellished the careers of everyone involved.

Show Boat, which had been attempted as a silent-plus-sound movie in 1929, came to the screen a second time in 1936 (it would be remade yet again in 1951). The all-star production features Irene Dunne, **Paul Robeson** (1898–1976), Helen Morgan (1900–1941), and a host of others. The original music, such as "Ol' Man River," "Make Believe," and "Can't Help Lovin' Dat Man," sparkles. In addition, this adaptation adds several new numbers—"Ah Still Suits Me," "I Have the Room above Her," and "Gallivantin' Around"—and they take nothing away from the original.

Never resting on his laurels, Kern continued to create film scores. Paramount Pictures came out with *High*, *Wide*, *and Handsome* in 1937, yet another production featuring lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein II. A mix of history picture and musical, it purports to tell the story about the quest for petroleum in nineteenth-century Pennsylvania. The fact that Paramount felt impelled to couch a historical event in musical terms perhaps suggests some timidity on the studio's part to focus on a little-known page from America's past. Although few recall the movie, "The Folks Who Live on the Hill," a romantic song that never refers to oil or American history, has become a standard, one beloved by generations of vocalists.

When You're in Love (1937), cowritten with Dorothy Fields, stars Grace Moore (1898–1947), a prominent Metropolitan Opera star, and resembles the earlier Lily Pons show-piece I Dream Too Much (1935). Not particularly memorable, When You're in Love allows Moore to take a stab at bandleader Cab Calloway's (1907–1994) signature "Minnie the Moocher," a 1931 novelty number that had become a hit for him. By 1937, with everyone climbing onto the swing bandwagon, it may not have seemed too outlandish an idea for an opera star to tackle Cab Calloway and an up-tempo tune, although later generations might disagree.

The capable Irene Dunne takes the lead in *Joy of Living* (1938), a combination of screwball comedy and musical. It boasts both a story and lyrics by Dorothy Fields. Little separates the jump from traditional musicals to offbeat comedy, and in fact the term "musical comedy" effectively bridges any gap between the two genres. The bright and cheery *Joy of Living* boasts several standards like "You Couldn't Be Cuter" and "Just Let Me Look at You."

For his final film score of the decade, Kern worked yet again with Fields, and the two created the music for *One Night in the Tropics* (1940). This bit of fluff stars the rising comedy team of (Bud) Abbott (1895–1974) and (Lou) Costello (1906–1959) and features "You and Your Kiss," "Back in My Shell," and "Simple Philosophy." Abbott and Costello might seem a far cry from the majesty of *Show Boat*, but Kern functioned as a popular—and commercial—composer. In retrospect, he wrote much of his music for decidedly inferior movies, yet much of it lives on, while the films themselves have been mercifully forgotten.

As the 1940s progressed, Jerome Kern continued to write for the movie medium. Only his untimely death in 1945 stopped his prolific pen, but he had been responsible for the scores of some 24 movie musicals. Of that total, 10 consisted of reworkings of his previous stage plays, and these often included new music. His compositions could also be heard incidentally, and often uncredited, in a number of other pictures. His lyricist collaborators—Dorothy Fields, Oscar Hammerstein II, Otto Harbach—have to be counted among the best of the best, and collectively they made a lasting impact on American popular song.

See also Screwball Comedies

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KING KONG. An immensely popular 1933 movie, it established new standards for special effects. Released by RKO Radio Pictures in 1933, *King Kong* stands in many ways as the decade's definitive fantasy film. It tells the story of Kong, a mythic "king of the great apes," and his forcible abduction from a primitive milieu to the skyscrapers of New York City. A variation on the Beauty and the Beast tale, its simple, touching plot resonated with Depression-era audiences who longed to escape the ongoing economic crisis just outside the theater door.

Codirected and coproduced by Merian C. Cooper (1893–1973) and Ernest B. Schoed-sack (1893–1979), the picture saved the struggling studio from bankruptcy and has remained a popular favorite for years. Credit for the movie's memorable special effects goes to Willis O'Brien (1886–1962), a master technician who had made his mark with *The Lost World* (1925), a similar cinema fantasy that deeply influenced the design of *King Kong*. O'Brien employed every device then known to filmmakers, but contrary to popular belief, no men in ape suits parade before the cameras. Kong, a composite of models, both full-scale (the massive head, in particular) and miniature (most of the action scenes), lumbers through his role, tiny arms and legs manipulated by studio craftsmen. Still photographers captured these movements on film and editors arranged the frames into coherent sequences, while carefully constructed sets create an illusion of reality.

Although acting and characterization become secondary elements in *King Kong*, its story of an unspoiled creature thrust into an urban nightmare plays on recurring concepts of the "simple life" and the evils of the big city, in this case New York. Forgoing the special-effects route, contemporary gangster films like *Little Caesar* (1931) and musicals such as *42nd Street* often employed similar imagery, where the vast, impersonal city threatens the weak and innocent. Certainly Kong carries a primeval innocence with him, and he meets his end while atop the brand-new *Empire State Building*. This classic finale, army biplanes buzzing around an impotent Kong, a tiny, screaming Fay Wray (1907–2004) grasped in his furry paw, has become an iconic moment in American movies. All the frustrations, all the fears, of the public, powerless against the faceless, relentless forces of modern life, find expression in those closing frames. Kong falls; he cannot defeat these things he does not understand, a fitting fable for the depths of the Depression.

The overwhelming commercial success of *King Kong* led RKO to rush out *Son of Kong* later that same year. Again displaying the talents of Cooper and Schoedsack, the sequel proves that a movie needs more than just special effects or a unique character to sustain it. "Baby Kong" possesses none of the nobility of his illustrious father. The mystery and the grandeur are gone, and *Son of Kong* soon languished at the all-important box office.



The famous climax to King Kong (1933) with the giant ape atop the Empire State Building. (Courtesy of Photofest)

Other studios learned that special effects—centered movies like *King Kong* could make money, and the 1930s witnessed a succession of pictures that relied more on technology than they did narrative strengths.

See also Architecture; Horror & Fantasy Films

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LEISURE & RECREATION. Leisure, the condition of having free, unhurried time, and recreation, the pursuit of enjoyable activities to occupy leisure time, became challenging realities for many Americans during the 1930s. In the midst of an economic crisis, people faced the need to fill nonwork hours with meaningful diversions.

Widespread layoffs during the Great Depression had caused a disproportionate segment of the adult population—a peak of 24 percent in 1933—to experience what could be called "imposed leisure." Efficient new technology contributed to unemployment; while some people retained their jobs they worked reduced hours with the imposition of the five-day workweek. In addition, the National Recovery Administration (NRA; 1933–1936), a New Deal program, exacerbated the situation by requiring decreased overtime for those covered by NRA codes. By 1935, two-thirds of employed Americans worked fewer than 40 hours a week, down from as high as 48 hours just a few years earlier.

A number of factors precipitated these changes in the national work experience. Prior to the Depression, Americans had begun experiencing a transition from a rural, agrarian society to an urban, industrial one. Recreational activities had become increasingly affordable and available to ordinary Americans. Attitudes and behaviors around leisure and recreation shifted, moving from a society of spectators to one of active participants. Also, vacations, once a perquisite reserved for the very few, entered the spectrum of daily life, as did expanded holiday observances. This new leisure emerged as a permanent feature of modern, industrial America, a right for all citizens. Its imposition led to a better quality of life, as municipal, county, state, and federal governments began spending money to promote recreation.

Immediately following the stock market crash of 1929, the majority of citizens continued to work. As unemployment began to grow, however, more and more people struggled financially. As a means of controlling family expenditures, recreational activities took place in or near one's home. A survey of 5,000 people commissioned by the National Recreation Association in 1934 on the use of leisure hours reported reading as the most common activity, followed by listening to the **radio**, conversation, gardening, and visiting. Results also indicated that, although they were engaged in these activities, a majority of respondents wanted to be doing something else, such as participating in sports, attending a play, or taking automobile excursions.



Poster advertising free band concerts. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

Many Americans during the 1930s engaged in recreational pursuits other than those covered in the survey. Games like Monopoly and activities like knitting and jigsaw puzzles also occupied increasing amounts of people's time. Card playing, a popular pastime, ranged from poker and blackjack among blue-collar workers to contract bridge for white-collar groups. Others enjoyed bowling, billiards, pool, penny-a-card bingo, and punch cards, especially city dwellers. For individuals uncertain about how to fill their free hours, in November 1933 the first issue of Leisure, the Magazine of 1000 Diversions came off the presses. Filled with suggestions for family entertainment, Leisure merged in 1938 with another popular magazine, Yankee, and continued to address the question of spare-time activities.

The widespread availability of personal automobiles and mass transit systems, especially buses, allowed for some diversions away from home, such as taking a Sunday drive to visit friends or relatives; traveling to a picnic site or park; fishing; and hunting. Attendance at spectator sports, however, decreased, as did some other leisure pursuits, because of costs. The chart at the top of the facing page illustrates the changes in participation in paid commercial recreation as the nation moved into the Great Depression and the subsequent

resumption of activities that began in 1934 with recovery. A recession toward the end of the decade created a second decrease in business for the motion picture industry.

The lower chart on the facing page shows expenditures for leisure activities and reveals similar information that begins with an initial drop occurring in 1930, followed by decreases in all areas for 1931–1933. An especially significant change (–48%) took place from 1930 to 1931 in the purchase of radios, records, and musical instruments. Again, a turnaround in spending starts with the recovery in 1934 and then slows in 1938 because of the recession. In only one category, "Wheel Goods, Durable Toys, Sport Equipment, Including Boats & Pleasure Aircraft," do the expenditures for 1939 exceed those of 1929.

Not everyone viewed increases in leisure time as a positive development. Some sociologists, along with psychologists, scientists, educators, and politicians, saw increased leisure and accompanying recreational activities as a problem. Through numerous articles and books on the subject, they voiced a collective fear that passive recreation could lead to physical and psychological problems, a fear that energy

not expended through work would be released in unhealthy, immoral, or illegal ways. They also worried that adults, mostly men, suddenly out of work and with time on their hands, might experience psychological problems related to feelings of diminished self-esteem.

Participation in Selected Recreational Activities

Year	Number of Bowlers	Motion Picture Average Weekly Attendance (in millions)	Hunting Licenses (in millions)	Fishing Licenses (in millions)
1929	147,000	80	6.429	n/a
1930	219,000	90	6.901	n/a
1931	224,000	75	6.368	n/a
1932	197,000	60	5.777	n/a
1933	148,000	60	5.742	4.858
1934	168,000	70	5.918	4.856
1935	216,000	80	5.988	5.121
1936	267,000	88	6.658	5.832
1937	329,000	88	6.86	6.902
1938	482,000	85	6.903	7,436
1939	535,000	85	7.511	7,858

Source: Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970

Personal Consumption Expenditures

Year	Radios, Recordings, and Musical Instruments (in millions)	Toys, Sport Supplies, Nondurable (in millions)	Wheel Goods, Durable Toys, Sport Equipment, Including Boats & Pleasure Aircraft (in millions)	Books, Maps, Magazines, Newspapers, and Sheet Music (in millions)
1929	\$1,012	\$336	\$219	\$847
1930	\$921	\$281	\$172	\$776
1931	\$478	\$266	\$159	\$732
1932	\$268	\$207	\$110	\$581
1933	\$195	\$181	\$ 93	\$571
1934	\$229	\$200	\$118	\$606
1935	\$248	\$216	\$136	\$639
1936	\$333	\$242	\$171	\$698
1937	\$385	\$269	\$210	\$761
1938	\$339	\$268	\$210	\$735
1939	\$420	\$285	\$228	\$780

Source: Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970

Many concerned parties promoted government intervention in the area of leisure as the answer to potential problems. President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945), during the first one hundred days of his administration, saw to it that leisure and recreation received attention. The construction of recreational facilities in both cities and rural communities became a major priority.

One piece of New Deal legislation, the Works Progress Administration (WPA, 1933–1943; name changed to Work Projects Administration in 1939), received money from the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA; 1933–1935), the first federal allocations given for recreation. Charged with encouraging the unemployed to make use of their free time by improving physical, artistic, and intellectual capabilities, director Harry L. Hopkins (1890–1946) designated at least 30 percent of the WPA budget over its lifetime toward the most extensive recreation projects ever seen in the United States. The program went in two directions: to repair or build recreational facilities and to provide leadership training programs to ensure that these sites would receive proper use and supervision. Every state participated, and the program completed 12,700 playgrounds, 8,500 gymnasiums and recreation centers, 750 swimming pools, 1,000 ice skating rinks, and 64 ski jumps, and employed almost 49,000 individuals.

In 1935, Federal One, a program established under the auspices of the WPA, organized the arts into four major areas: Federal Art Project (FAP; 1935–1943), Federal Music Project (FMP; 1935–1943), Federal Theatre Project (FTP; 1935–1939), and Federal Writers' Project (FWP; 1935–1943). In addition to providing meaningful work relief for many unemployed artists, this effort made paintings, sculpture, writing, music, and plays available to people, thereby enhancing the leisure options of the general population.

Another government initiative, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC; 1933–1942), directed its efforts primarily to renewing the nation's forests. Along with this work, the participants also contributed to an increase of recreational and travel possibilities by constructing campgrounds complete with picnic shelters, swimming pools, fireplaces, and restrooms. Two scenic highways started by the CCC, the Blue Ridge Parkway (begun in 1935, completed in 1987) and the Natchez Trace Parkway (begun in 1937, completed in 2005), continue to offer pleasurable touring experiences.

Those who encouraged government intervention in helping Americans cope with their increasing spare time also advocated the need to involve the participants in constructive leisure pursuits. Many CCC work camps included instruction and activities in arts and crafts, such as work in leather, wood, and metal, as well as music, dramatics, reading and discussion groups, sports, nature walks, and hiking. Another program under the auspices of the WPA, the National Youth Administration (NYA; 1935–1943), enabled young people to remain in school; for those not attending an educational institution, the NYA provided training for future employment. Some of the NYA projects enhanced the nation's recreational options. For example, NYA participants helped in the development of New York City's public parks, renovated a boys' club building in Rhode Island, and built a community center in Oklahoma to be used by Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and 4-H clubs.

The federal government may have led the way in promoting improved and increased recreational opportunities, but local governments, businesses, and industries also participated, a step that many thought would mean continuation of the programs after federal assistance ended. Cities and towns, for instance, built enduring facilities such as **golf** courses. Local YMCAs and YWCAs provided important resources with indoor tracks,

swimming pools, gyms, and game rooms. With new playing fields available, employers established **softball** teams for their employees and organized summer leagues hoping to promote physical fitness and provide a constructive use of leisure.

Then, as now, not all recreational activities involved the government or some outside group or program. Individuals often look for activities that simply amuse or fill an empty hour. Thus, in 1930, countless people enthusiastically embraced a fad called **miniature golf**, one that sprang up without any assistance from official agencies of any kind. Hobby clubs of every description likewise appeared, and some municipalities, along with schools and businesses, joined the WPA in sponsoring them. **Stamp collecting** proved particularly popular. Civic clubs, such as Rotary and Kiwanis, and fraternal associations like the Masons, Moose, and Elks, also offered members opportunities to share interests and group experiences.

Robert and Helen Lynd (1892–1970; 1896–1982), authors of *Middletown*, an influential 1931 study of everyday American life in Muncie, Indiana, returned to that community in 1935. Their visit produced *Middletown in Transition* (1937), and it reported findings similar to those made by the National Recreation Association—a gain in the popularity of gardening, listening to the radio, and adult reading. The authors found that **movies** remained a widely enjoyed entertainment. Recreational facilities and the events they sponsored, such as supervised playgrounds and parks, swimming pools, sports grounds, play centers, public square dances, concerts, and open-air theatrical performances, also increased in number and usage.

The following chart shows the growth in recreational facilities nationally between 1929 and 1939 in municipal and county parks only. New Deal programs acquired land for increasing the number of state and national parks, with 400,000 acres being added between 1933 and 1935; they oversaw the construction of facilities of the types listed at these sites. These figures clearly reflect the trends of the decade. While membership in private golf courses and country clubs decreased, municipal golf courses and tennis courts remained crowded. Beaches and swimming pools likewise saw heavy use. Some park personnel might lose jobs because of a lack of funds, but lifeguards continued to be employed. Baseball (or hardball) declined in popularity as did the number of baseball diamonds between 1929 and 1939. Softball, however, bloomed as the nation moved out of the Depression, and it displaced the national pastime as evidenced by the lack of statistics prior to 1934 and its significant growth thereafter. All other listed facilities ended the decade with a number greater than in 1929.

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Year	Baseball Diamonds	Softball Diamonds	Tennis Courts	Bathing Beaches	Swimming Pools	Golf Courses	Playgrounds under Leadership
1929	4,024	n/a	7,960	409	1,010	299	7,681
1930	4,322	n/a	8,422	457	1,042	312	7,677
1931	4,396	n/a	8,804	470	1,093	323	7,685
1932	4,161	n/a	9,267	472	1,094	374	6,990
1933	5,572	n/a	9,921	530	1,148	370	7,434
1934	3,838	5,313	9,420	496	1,016	343	8,384

Municipal and C	County Park and Re	creation Areas (Continued))
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Year	Baseball Diamonds	Softball Diamonds	Tennis Courts	Bathing Beaches	Swimming Pools	Golf Courses	Playgrounds under Leadership
1935	3,669	6,896	9,313	488	1,038	332	8,062
1936	3,568	7,369	10,029	516	1,142	354	9,490
1937	3,923	8,384	11,031	569	1,063	378	9,618
1938	3,902	8,833	11,310	564	1,162	354	9,712
1939	3,846	8,995	11,617	548	1,181	358	9,749

Source: Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970

American popular culture, by its very nature a form of leisure, offered up countless movies, endless radio programming, and books and magazines of every description. Seldom, however, did these vehicles of popular culture make the subject of leisure—what is it? what do you do with it? how is it best spent?—a part of their content. Youth with too much free time became the focus of several movies, such as anything featuring the Dead End Kids, a popular series. Juvenile delinquency also received attention in pictures like Wild Boys of the Road (1933) and Reformatory (1938). On the other side of the coin, a handful of films, such as the well-received Andy Hardy movies, "discovered" adolescence, but they seldom explored the ramifications of leisure other than depicting teenagers and their activities.

Radio likewise steered clear of any discussions of the changing relationship between work and leisure, and followers of dramatic shows, soap operas, or serials learned little about the debates over the uses of free time. Popular fiction followed similar patterns, relying on an audience with time to read novels and stories and avoiding reminders for those very readers that abundant leisure concerned a number of social critics.

In all, the 1930s witnessed growth in a variety of recreational activities as Americans learned to cope with unemployment, reduced work hours, scarce resources, and additional free time. Those voicing concerns about increased nonwork hours claimed any accompanying problems could be solved through funded programs and, indeed, the federal government, as well as municipal, county, and state governments, responded, advancing America's recreational opportunities and facilities by at least a decade. Reviews of the work of various New Deal agencies indicate success also with **education** about the uses of leisure time and its acceptance as a part of daily life.

See also Best Sellers; Book Clubs; Comic Books; Fads; Hobbies; Marathon Dancing; Pulp Magazines; Teenage & Juvenile Delinquency Films

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LIFE & FORTUNE. Two significant magazines, products of the same publisher, made their debut in the 1930s: Life and Fortune. Although Life came along in 1936, six years after Fortune, it shortly became one of the most widely read (or looked at) magazines in the history of American publishing, and soon overshadowed, at least in terms of readership and advertising volume, its older sibling. Both periodicals reflect the genius of Henry R. Luce (1898–1967), destined to become one of the most important figures in the history of American journalism.

Along with Briton Haddon (1898–1929), Luce in 1923 founded *Time*, the nation's first weekly newsmagazine. The two men, friends and classmates at Hotchkiss and Yale, saw a need for a periodical that would summarize the preceding week's events. An overnight success, *Time* served as the foundation of a publishing empire that would grow significantly during the 1930s. Haddon's untimely death in 1929 put Luce in charge of the entire operation, and he



Cover of Fortune magazine. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

energetically pursued their once-shared dreams for the next several decades.

In January 1930, just as the Great Depression began to make its enormous impacts felt, Luce introduced *Fortune*, a slick, thick monthly publication devoted to commerce. *Fortune* evolved from the business section of *Time*, and despite the steep economic downturn then being experienced by the nation, the magazine promised to focus its editorial content on corporate America, a risky choice in the eyes of many. Plus, when *Fortune* first appeared on newsstands, it carried a cover price of \$1 per issue, unheard of then for a magazine. In equivalent contemporary money, a single copy would cost over \$12.00, or almost \$150 for a one-year subscription. Nevertheless, the upstart journal quickly snared an enthusiastic, albeit selective, audience.

Oversize and eye-catching, Fortune delivered a curious mix of business reporting with a liberal editorial stance. Articles about the right to strike, business ethics, exposés about shoddy manufacturers, and the need for government oversight in some industries belied Fortune's assumed procapitalist position. Luce wrote that his new magazine would strive to reflect "industrial life" through reporting and pictures, and it succeeded admirably, as it continues to do today. An outstanding editorial staff hired the best writers and illustrators to be found. The pictures of photojournalist Margaret Bourke-White (1906–1971) graced the inaugural 1930 issue, just as they would, six years later, the premier edition of Life. Distinguished authors like James Agee (1909–1955), Dwight

Macdonald (1906–1982), and Archibald MacLeish (1892–1982), writers seldom associated with the world of business, brought their talents to bear on a variety of issues, contributing incisive critiques of social problems and analyses of cultural changes. Somehow, the innate conservatism of Henry R. Luce coexisted with the avowed liberalism of many of his staffers.

After the recession of 1937–1938, Fortune retrenched a bit editorially. Many of the young, progressive writers associated with the magazine's founding departed, replaced by staffers more comfortable with a less investigative, less confrontational approach to American enterprise. And, as World War II loomed at the end of the decade, covering the business implications of an international conflict took center stage.

One aspect of *Fortune* that will be long remembered involves its distinctive cover art. Featuring the work of the nation's top illustrators, and printed on quality heavy stock, each month's issue carried work by such creative individuals as Constantin Alajalov (1900–1987), Ernest Hamlin Baker (1889–1975), Miguel Covarrubias (1902–1957), Peter Helck (1893–1988), Diego Rivera (1886–1957), and **Charles Sheeler** (1883–1965). Antonio Petruccelli (1907–1994) enjoyed the distinction of creating the greatest number of entries, 21 between 1933 and 1939. Ernest Hamlin Baker's 14 efforts put him in second place. These artists, seldom bound by breaking current events, enjoyed great latitude in choices of, and approaches to, subject matter, setting the magazine apart from all other American periodicals of the day.

Despite the business orientation found in much of the magazine's editorial content, the journal's illustrators obviously enjoyed free rein in the realm of stylistics. Many Fortune covers display a forward-looking sense of modernism, and a few even border on avant-garde abstraction. The illustrative matter possesses an aesthetic quality of its own. Paintings and drawings could depict farmers or fishermen, a high-flying airplane or a trailer truck in heavy snows, a roller coaster or a battleship. The associations with "business" might be more conjectural than apparent, but the publication's devotion to art established a tradition of excellence that readers soon associated with Fortune as a whole.

The gathering clouds of World War II brought about—not unexpectedly—a heightened focus on that conflict, and the covers lost some of the eclecticism they had expressed during the 1930s. At the conclusion of the war, *Fortune* never regained the expressionistic freedom of the Depression years. Although a number of the illustrations from the 1930s reflect the **Regionalism** and **Social Realism** then in vogue, they seldom follow artistic fashion for its own sake. Instead, they show an independence of spirit that led to some of the most enduring illustrations in the annals of American magazine publishing.

After the successful premiere of *Fortune*, Luce introduced *The March of Time* on network radio in 1931, a weekly dramatization of the news that also served as a promotion for *Time*. It later went to a film version for theaters in 1934. Rapidly emerging as a media tycoon, Luce envisioned yet another new publication, something that could complement both *Time* and *Fortune*. Many of his ideas for this venture came from Clare Boothe Brokaw (1903–1987), an accomplished editor and playwright; the two married in 1935, and Clare Boothe Luce exerted considerable influence in the direction the pioneering magazine would take. Both believed that the weekly news summaries that defined *Time*, along with some of the visual qualities that so enhanced *Fortune*, could be incorporated

in a true pictorial journal. Their vision coalesced with the November 1936 publication of *Life*.

The title comes from a humor weekly that had first appeared in 1883. This namesake had fallen on hard times in the 1930s, forcing its owners to put the venerable journal 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 rights to the name, but his new venture held little else in common with the original publication.

When the slim first edition of *Life* arrived at newsstands, it cost a dime (about \$1.50 in contemporary money) and offered more photographs than text. But it intrigued people, and it sold out wherever it could be found. Subsequent issues also did well, making *Life* one of the most successful magazine startups ever. Within four months, it boasted newsstand sales in excess of 1 million copies a week. Its early success almost spelled disaster; Luce had predicted sales in the neighborhood of 250,000 copies a week, and he predicated **advertising** rates on that figure. The lower the circulation, the lower the ad rates, and so Luce had to make up the per copy costs from corporate coffers, since the dime paid for the magazine did not cover production costs. The company lost several million dollars with those early issues, although it would recoup its losses manyfold once it could boost advertising rates to a figure that more closely matched actual circulation.

Luce took no chances with his new publication. He employed the best photographers available, with the result that the pictorial quality of *Life* remains unequalled. Margaret Bourke-White had the honor of providing the first cover, a stark black-and-white study of the then-incomplete Fort Peck dam in Montana; her work also serves as the basis of a visual essay on the lives of workers at this **New Deal** project, a joint venture of the Public Works Administration (PWA; 1933–1939) and the Army Corps of Engineers.

The arts of painting and **sculpture** always played a significant role in *Life*'s content, usually with photographic reproductions. Thus editors might run an article titled "New Deal Decorates the Old Deal's Buildings" (January 1937) covering the efforts of muralists in federal Washington, D.C. Or they might commission a famous artist like Rockwell Kent (1882–1971) to create accompanying illustrations for a piece. In the fall of 1937, Kent contributed futuristic pictures depicting possible scenarios detailing the eventual end of the earth; they ran with a feature about a show at the Hayden Planetarium.

Numerous continuing sections also piqued reader interest. Each week the magazine ran "Speaking of Pictures," a collection of photographs about the odd or unusual. "Life Goes to a Party" sent photographers to various social events around the country; "Movie of the Week" reviewed a new Hollywood release, accompanied with shots taken from the film in question and often with other studio publicity as well; and the self-explanatory "People" showcased the famous and not-so-famous. By September 1939, with war breaking out in Europe and already raging in Asia, *Life* began a series titled "The War in Pictures," an editorial admission of the conflict's certainty. In keeping with the magazine's title, the focus of both the **photography** and the print content continued to be on items of human interest, that is life.

Throughout the 1930s, a veritable who's who of artists and photographers displayed their work on *Fortune*'s and *Life*'s covers. Inside, the two magazines maintained the highest standards, *Fortune* with brilliant essays on commerce and associated topics and *Life* with picture spreads that came to define photojournalism.

See also Federal Art Project; Political Parties; Radio Networks

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LI'L ABNER. In August 1934, *Li'l Abner*, a comic strip about hillbilly life, made its first newspaper appearance; it would ultimately become one of the most successful new series of the 1930s. Its creator, Al Capp (1909–1979), occupies a unique position among cartoonists: he, along with a handful of the hundreds of artists who have written and drawn American **comic strips**, is revered a poet of his profession. That select group includes such names as Richard Felton Outcault (1863–1928; *The Yellow Kid*), George Herriman (1880–1944; *Krazy Kat*), Walt Kelly (1913–1973; *Pogo*), and Charles Schulz (1922–2000; *Peanuts*), innovators who raised the lowly comic strip from newspaper entertainment to an art form.

Capp (née Alfred Gerald Caplin) brought to his hillbilly satire a lyricism and innocence that stand in sharp contrast to the darker sides of human nature he also explored. Together, these seeming opposites combined to make one of the most enduring—and endearing—strips in the history of the medium.

Like most of his counterparts, Capp struggled to create a series that would appeal to a broad public. While ghosting much of the drawing and writing for Ham Fisher's (1901–1955) popular boxing strip *Joe Palooka* in the early 1930s, he introduced a character called Big Leviticus. This loud, rowdy hillbilly brawler caught on, and Capp knew he needed to pursue this concept. He left Fisher in 1934, although Fisher wisely continued using Big Leviticus in *Joe Palooka*. After his departure, Capp began marketing a strip of his own. Eventually, he found a taker with United Features Syndicate.

Abner Yokum, along with Daisy Mae, Mammy, Pappy, and the other denizens of Dogpatch, U.S.A., a collection of dilapidated shacks located somewhere in the Ozarks, delighted readers. His sprawling cast of bizarre, often grotesque, characters brings a new meaning to the word "stupidity"; unschooled, unclean, and uncouth, they embark on adventures that defy description. The city slickers who occasionally appear in Dogpatch also give humanity a bad name. But despite all their failings, a kind of innocence pervades their actions. And Capp, always in control, displays a fondness for his players, even as he humiliates them. Abner, in particular, remains optimistic, a kind of latter-day Appalachian Pangloss, ever the naïf in a world he will never comprehend. Social satire at its best, *Li'l Abner* punctured pompousness; these people may not be the salt of the earth, but they are no worse than their "betters." The comic strip challenged the established social order of the real world, a bracing commentary on the threatened or changing norms of Depression America.

The figure of the hillbilly has long been a part of American humor. In 1931, *Lum and Abner*, two apparent country bumpkins, began a long (1931–1953) run on **radio.** *The National Barn Dance* went on network radio in 1933, as did *Grand Ole Opry* in 1939 (both had begun earlier, but broadcast to limited audiences). Novelist **Erskine Caldwell** amused readers with the shenanigans of Jeeter Lester in *Tobacco Road* (1932) and

followed that with another big seller, God's Little Acre, in 1933. Clearly, the hillbilly's day had arrived. Veteran cartoonist Billy DeBeck (1890–1942) had created a popular strip called Barney Google in 1919. It enjoyed a large circulation, but for insurance he introduced a hillbilly figure in 1934, the same year as Li'l Abner's debut. Snuffy Smith, pretty much a moonshining ne'er-do-well, quickly bypassed the regulars of Barney Google in appeal, causing the strip to be renamed Barney Google and Snuffy Smith in the late 1930s. DeBeck's series employs almost no satire; it depends instead on simple rustic humor and familiar mountain stereotypes.

Not so *Li'l Abner*. The dialect of Dogpatch consists of Capp's phonetic mispronunciations of much of the English language. Double exclamation points demand emphasis and heavy inking catches the eye. It matters not how Capp's characters speak but what they say. Loaded with puns and parody—plus a running commentary on the sad state of humankind—the strip attacks government, organized **religion**, marriage, do-gooders, and any other sacred cows that come within range. Readers loved it.

Because poetry relies on a unique voice, *Li'l Abner* transcends jokes, envisioning a world of its own that no one else can imitate. The syndicates that owned the rights to *Krazy Kat* and *Peanuts* knew better than to try to carry on the strips when their creators died, and so it was with *Li'l Abner*. Capp died in 1979, but his series had ended with his retirement in 1977. No longer the favorite it had been in its early years, it quietly expired; the once fresh and bright satire of 40 years earlier had grown coarse and brittle and Capp knew the time to quit had arrived. Ironically, *Snuffy Smith* has continued on into the present, dependable and predictable; although Billy DeBeck died in 1942, the series has been penned by replacement cartoonists.

For about a year, 1939–1940, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC radio) attempted a broadcast version of *Li'l Abner*, but it lacked listeners, sponsors, or both and quickly disappeared. An earnest attempt to replicate the strip on screen, but one that relies on real actors and not cartoon figures, came about in 1940. Largely forgotten today, *Li' Abner* the movie enjoys a certain resemblance to *Li'l Abner* the comic strip. It revolves around Sadie Hawkins Day, Capp's 1937 invention whereby women can openly pursue males and ask them to social events, a special day that caught on in high schools and colleges across the country. Some merchandising of Abner and Dogpatch items, such as buttons, cards, and the like, occurred during the decade, but not on any grand scale. The glory days for *Li'l Abner* tie-ins lay in the future. For most of the 1930s, attention remained focused on the strip itself.

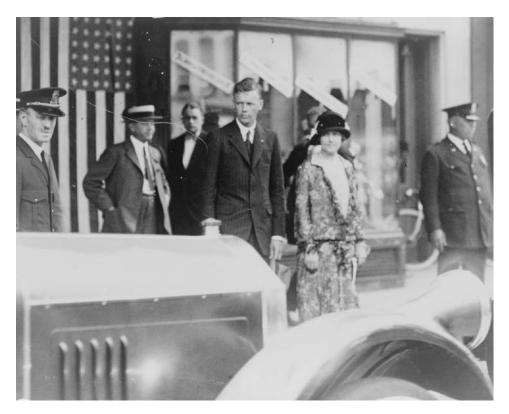
See also Hillbillies; Movies; Newspapers; Radio Networks

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LINDBERGH KIDNAPPING. On the evening of March 1, 1932, the infant son of famed aviator Charles A. Lindbergh (1902–1974) disappeared from his New Jersey home. Authorities immediately suspected kidnapping and soon thereafter received a convoluted series of ransom notes. A frenzied search ensued, and in April the



Charles A. Lindbergh (1902–1974) and his wife, Anne Morrow Lindbergh (1906–2001). (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

Lindberghs paid \$50,000 (roughly \$740,000 in contemporary dollars) to the mysterious party or parties involved in the abduction. The ransom proved futile, and on May 12, 1932, workers found the child's partially decomposed body not far from his home.

In the meantime, the entire country followed the investigation into the kidnapping. Leads, most of them false, kept popping up, and police, state, and federal officers pursued them all. With the death of the child, outrage supplanted curiosity. With the grisly discovery of the body, President Herbert Hoover (1874–1964) sensed the temper of the nation and made the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) the clearinghouse for the case; henceforth, all information pertinent to the kidnapping would go through that agency. The U.S. Congress, likewise reacting to the tragic cycle of events, enacted the so-called Lindbergh law. This 1933 statute made kidnapping a federal felony and provided the death penalty for anyone so convicted. In addition, if state lines had been crossed in execution of the kidnapping, or if threats or ransom notes depended on the U.S. Mail for delivery, federal agents (i.e., the FBI) took precedence over all other law enforcement officers and controlled the investigation.

The Lindbergh case dragged on into the fall of 1933. President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) increased the FBI's powers, giving it exclusive jurisdiction over all aspects of the investigation, but a solution still eluded everyone. Clues, most of them useless, accumulated as the search proceeded. Finally, in August 1934—over two years after the

abduction—authorities began to match some of the gold certificates used in the ransom payment to a narrow geographic area where these suspect bills appeared. Several alert individuals linked the certificates to Bruno Richard Hauptmann (1899–1936), a carpenter of German descent. In September, investigators found other incriminating evidence at Hauptmann's residence, enough that prosecutors indicted him for murder in October.

For five weeks, starting in January 1935, Hauptmann stood trial in Flemington, New Jersey. A small, out-of-the-way community, Flemington hosted what pundits called "the trial of the century." The proceedings generated a carnival-like atmosphere, as reporters and radio announcers from all parts of the country flocked to the tiny county courthouse. Readers and listeners hung on every word emanating from the packed courtroom. Ultimately, a jury found Hauptmann guilty of first-degree murder. Unsuccessful appeals followed, and on April 3, 1936, the state of New Jersey electrocuted Bruno Richard Hauptmann.

Considerable controversy has dogged the aftermath of the Lindbergh trial, with some saying officials anxious to close an embarrassing case railroaded Hauptmann and allowed the guilty parties to go free. Others maintain that the evidence clearly convicted him and the verdict stands as a just one. Certainly a heinous **crime** had been committed; Charles Lindbergh represented American idealism and heroism, and many associated an attack on him and his family as tantamount to an assault on American values. The resolution of the case reflected favorably on the FBI, and the agency emerged stronger, with greatly increased powers and jurisdiction. The publicity surrounding the proceedings demonstrated the powerful influence of contemporary mass media. **Newspapers** and radio could sway and inflame public opinion, and thanks to technology they could reach a far larger audience than ever before.

See also Aviation

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LITTLE CAESAR. One of the first (1930) and most successful and memorable of a rash of **gangster films**, its release ushered in a new genre of **movies**. Motion pictures often follow cycles of popularity, and public taste tends to embrace one kind of film, then another, and then another after that. Those movies fortunate enough to be both produced in, and reflective of, any particular cycle, usually do well. Those that fall outside the cycle are as a rule doomed to oblivion, at least as far as the fickle public goes. For the early sound era, gangster pictures constituted one such cycle.

The majority of Hollywood films about criminals follow a predictable pattern: a small-time mobster (juvenile delinquent, sociopath, thief, etc.) rises in his "profession." He covets wealth and power, but ultimately he must pay. Following a lengthy and celebrated period of good fortune, he suffers an abrupt downfall. In many ways, this pattern acknowledges—with the exception of the downfall—the American myth of success, the story of the self-made man who goes from rags to riches. For many onlookers, especially in the Depression 1930s, legitimate pathways to this goal had closed. For the movie gangster, other avenues beckon. He basks in a certain mystique, a glamorous figure who happens to live life on the wrong side of the law.



Edward G. Robinson (1893–1973), the titular star of *Little Caesar* (1931). (Courtesy of Photofest)

Little Caesar introduces audiences to Cesare Enrico "Rico" Bandello, a violent criminal. Rico never drinks; he has nothing to do with women, loose or otherwise; and he remains doggedly focused on his climb to the top. Except for his nasty habit of killing people, he fits the American model of upward mobility well. Edward G. Robinson (1893–1973), already a Hollywood veteran by the time of Little Caesar, brilliantly portrays Rico on the screen. As he must, Rico dies at the conclusion of the picture, but the role functioned as a breakthrough that led to a long and successful career for Robinson. He would go from being typecast as a mobster in early films like Night Ride (1930) and Outside the Law (1930) to varied character parts, including police officers (Bullets or Ballots, 1936) and G-men (Confessions of a Nazi Spy, 1939). Little Caesar, however, remains Robinson's most memorable characterization.

Directed by Mervyn Leroy (1900–1987), the film soon became the prototype for virtually all subsequent gangster movies for years to come. As an early sound film, the dialogue, clichéd and almost corny to modern ears, established in the popular mind how criminals talk. For example, "the boys," "gorillas," and "mugs"

represent fellow gang members; a "torpedo" carries a gun and shoots people; "dicks" and "flatfoot" refer to the police; "molls" and "skirts" are terms for women; and "the goods" (as in "I've got the goods on you") suggests incriminating information. As a result, throughout the 1930s, most movie gangsters speak in an underworld argot that comes more from the imaginations of screenwriters than it does from reality.

In addition to talking in a stylized way, the characters in *Little Caesar* evince a topsyturvy code of behavior. Women serve as mere background, props, to the male leads. Feminine traits, like gentleness and sensitivity, should be avoided by men, even the good guys. Rico, devoid of love and caring, struts and snarls his way across the screen, intimidating everyone, intent only on attaining power over others. This kind of characterization forces almost the entire cast to react in a similarly two-dimensional way, and the movie creates a dark, sleazy universe of evil with few bright spots showing normal, decent human behavior. Even the violence, more imagined than visual, seems unrelenting, to the point that the *Hollywood Production Code*, in effect since 1930 but not actively enforced until 1934, insisted the movie be taken out of circulation. The code prohibited explicit violence and plots that rewarded criminal acts, and certainly *Little Caesar* has more than its share of both, imagined or otherwise. After its 1934 disappearance, the film did not go back into general circulation until 1953, when Code restrictions began to be relaxed.

Many people think the character of Rico Bandello has been adapted from the sordid career of Al Capone (1899–1947), probably the best-known of a host of gangsters who rose to notoriety during the early 1930s. But a number of historians and movie scholars suggest that the real model for Rico was "Sam" Cardinella, a minor but violence-prone

Chicago gangster, and that only a few elements of Capone's life fit the movie. Whether based on Capone or Cardinella, Rico's sensational rise to and fall from power parallel events then taking place in the country's large cities, especially Chicago and New York. Movies reflect their times, and the United States did suffer a wave of lawlessness in the last years of Prohibition.

The success of *Little Caesar* assured imitation. In short order, marquees promised action and thrills with titles like *The Public Enemy* (1931), starring James Cagney (1899–1986) as another seemingly tragic gangster; *Scarface*; *The Shame of the Nation* (1932), with Paul Muni (1895–1967) creating a Capone-like figure (Capone's nickname was Scarface, the result of a 1918 bar fight); and a host of lesser-known movies focusing on crimes and criminals.

See also Crime; Dick Tracy; Federal Bureau of Investigation; Prohibition & Repeal; Teenage & Juvenile Delinquency Films

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LITTLE ORPHAN ANNIE. One of the most conservative and topical comic strips ever to grace the pages of American newspapers, Little Orphan Annie represents the personal vision of its creator, Harold Gray (1894–1968). A product of the Chicago Tribune/New York News syndicate, Little Orphan Annie first began running in the summer of 1924. The title comes from an 1885 poem by James Whitcomb Riley (1849–1916), an immensely popular versifier of the late nineteenth century, whose work many Americans would have known at that time. Gray changed the dialect "Orphant" of the poem to the more correct "Orphan," but much of Riley's homespun philosophy about hard work, respect for elders, and a cheerful outlook on life appear in the comic strip.

Although Gray cannot be considered a realistic artist, he does succeed as an expressionistic one. Annie lives in a dark world of shadows, with threats around every corner. Like his fellow cartoonist Chester Gould, who created *Dick Tracy* in 1931, Gray shows a mastery of the use of solid areas of black; in both cases, it heightens mood and focuses attention. From the beginning, Gray's somber frames suggest the **movies** of the day, with Annie the star, always in the foreground, acting out a kind of continuing morality play. Since he did not do faces well, few close-ups appear in the strip; instead, Gray gives the reader a kind of film set, or tableau, with a series of medium- and long-shot depictions of his main character.

Annie herself is of indeterminate age, perhaps 10 or so at the beginning, and a few years older as time goes by. During the 1930s, possibly the most successful period for this long-running series, Annie appears to be about 12 or 13, but a remarkably mature 12 or 13, ready to take on any challenge. Accompanied by her faithful and ageless dog, Sandy, Annie moves through an America beset by many problems. But hard work and

self-reliance, or "grit," a popular word for the times, provide the keys to happiness. A supporting cast, especially "Daddy" Warbucks, who serves as her surrogate father and occasional benefactor, moves in and out of the series, but usually the stories revolve around Annie, alone, and acting on her own. At a time of great unemployment and economic uncertainty, Annie's continuing homilies about looking out for oneself, while at the same time helping those in need, carried considerable significance.

Speech balloons crowded with dialog vie for space within each frame in *Little Orphan Annie*, one of the wordiest comic strips in the history of the genre. Annie herself has something to say about each and every ongoing event. This reliance on constant chatter gives Gray the chance to inject his own ideas into the balloons, and he seldom misses an opportunity to voice his opinions. In so doing, he makes Annie and himself kindred spirits, sermonizers on the virtues of private enterprise, small government, and the need for law and order, with "Daddy" Warbucks in the background as an oracle, reinforcing his ward's beliefs.

Despite her faith in capitalism and its rewards, Annie lives in constant tension. Her security can be swept away in a moment, and she regularly encounters poverty and turmoil. But her pluck, along with occasional luck, carries her through this world, and she never loses her inherent optimism. Like the characters in a modern-day *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678), those whom she meets personify human attributes. The villains have names like Ward Heeley, Bill McBribe, Mr. Chizzler, and Claude Claptrap, so there can be no doubt about their activities or intent. But the insecurity manifested in the comic strip reflects 1930s America. For millions of devoted readers, *Little Orphan Annie* represented a level of realism unmatched by others.

This devotion resulted in considerable merchandising of the little redhead in the red dress. Two movie adaptations, one in 1932 with Mitzi Green (1920–1969), the other in 1938 with Ann Gillis (b. 1927), played the nation's theaters. In 1930, *Little Orphan Annie* debuted on radio, earning the distinction of being the first of many late afternoon serials aimed at a juvenile audience. It would remain on the air until 1942, and most of that time Ovaltine, a powdered chocolate drink mix, sponsored it. The serial also pioneered in the promotion of premiums. Decoder rings, complete with top-secret user manuals, and Ovaltine shaker mugs have become collector's items, along with Annie rings, toys, games, Big Little Books, watches, and a host of other items. Grit, spunk, pluck, gumption—for a country mired in an economic depression, *Little Orphan Annie* personified those peculiarly American traits, and she demonstrated that anyone possessing them could overcome anything.

See also Advertising; Coffee & Tea; Youth

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MAGAZINES. From the early nineteenth century on, magazines have occupied an important place in American cultural life. By the beginning of the 1930s, some 4,500 different periodicals circulated throughout the nation; at the end of the decade, despite the economic upheaval of the Great Depression, that figure had grown to over 6,000 titles. The vast majority of these magazines consisted of small-circulation publications catering to individual professions, businesses, and activities. Only a handful—50 to 100 at the most—could be called "general interest" magazines. But this small percentage distributed millions of copies to a diverse population, whereas the more specialized periodicals claimed select niche audiences and had far fewer readers per title. Any discussion of popular American magazines must therefore focus on this limited sample of large-circulation publications, not the larger world of specialty periodicals.

The technology that permitted the fast, widespread distribution of general-interest magazines was already well established by 1930. Linotype machines and web presses could print thousands of copies in almost no time; folding machines could put the final product together; and an efficient postal system could deliver mail virtually anywhere. When the Depression decade commenced, the circulation of magazines with large, diverse readerships stood at approximately 80 million; by 1940, it had grown close to 100 million. Clearly, the industry had more than weathered the crisis. Just a few titles—about 25 in all—led the way, such as the American, Collier's, Good Housekeeping, Ladies' Home Journal, Liberty, McCall's, Reader's Digest, and the Saturday Evening Post.

Just as important, **advertising** revenues, the lifeblood of a mass magazine, had stood at an all-time high in 1929; they made a significant rebound during the 1930s after suffering a sharp decline in the first years of the crisis. By 1939, although still not as high as a decade earlier, they nevertheless had recouped sufficiently that the future looked bright. Only a few titles went under during this period, and enough new publications came on the marketplace to offset those losses.

Some notable American magazines, often old friends in thousands of homes, did disappear. Without adequate readership and advertising revenue, sentiment alone could not sustain them. Mainstream titles like the *Literary Digest* (1890–1938), *Scribner's* (later called the *Century*; 1870–1930), the *Smart Set* (1900–1930), *Vanity Fair* (1913–1936), and the oldest of them all, the *North American Review* (1815–1939), ceased publication

during the 1930s. Several new ventures—such as Advertising Age (1930), Fortune (1930), Broadcasting (1931), Family Circle (1932), Esquire (1933), Newsweek (1933), U.S. News & World Report (1933), Bride's Magazine (1934), Mademoiselle (1935), Yankee (1935), Consumer Reports (1936), Life (1936; ceased regular publication in 1972), Look (1937; ceased publication in 1971), Popular Photography (1937), Woman's Day (1937), U.S. Camera (1938), and Glamour (1939)—attracted millions of readers.

In addition, older well-known journals such as the American (founded 1911; ceased publication in 1956), Better Homes & Gardens (1922), Collier's (1888; ceased publication in 1957), Cosmopolitan (1886), Good Housekeeping (1885), House Beautiful (1896), Ladies' Home Journal (1883), Liberty (1924; ceased publication in 1951), Reader's Digest (1922), Redbook (1903), Saturday Evening Post (1821; ceased publication in 1969), Time (1923), and Vogue (1892) remained firmly ensconced in the magazine marketplace throughout the decade. During that time, a number of monthlies achieved the vaunted circulation level of approximately 1 million copies per issue, including the American, Cosmopolitan, Good Housekeeping, Ladies' Home Journal, and Reader's Digest. Of all the weekly general-interest magazines, only three could boast a steady circulation that exceeded 1 million or more copies: Collier's, Liberty, and the Saturday Evening Post.

First appearing on newsstands in 1924, the now-forgotten *Liberty* came into being as the shared child of two metropolitan **newspapers**, the *Chicago Tribune* and the *New York Daily News*. It featured some of the tabloid sensationalism of its parent *Daily News* but never could develop a solid advertising base. It consistently lost money—even as it built a large circulation—and Bernarr Macfadden (1868–1955), a colorful multimillionaire made rich from other publishing ventures, bought the struggling weekly in 1931.

A colorful, self-proclaimed "physical culturist," Macfadden had burst upon the magazine scene in 1899 with *Physical Culture*, a journal promising long life and good health through diet and exercise. *Physical Culture* proved wildly successful, and an emboldened Macfadden in 1919 introduced *True Story*, the first of an extensive line of confessional magazines he would put out. It, too, did extremely well, giving him the financial clout to try whatever he wanted in the publishing field.

Macfadden also reigned over 10 newspapers, among them the notorious *New York Evening Graphic*, or the "PornoGraphic" as those who detested its sensationalism called it. This tabloid journal gained a reputation for tampering with photographs—what the editors called a "composograph"—to capture certain effects. Readers, however, eventually tired of its menu of sex and scandal and the *Evening Graphic* died in 1932. That setback proved only temporary; in 1935 the combined monthly circulation of all the other Macfadden magazines totaled over 7 million copies.

He, and others, capitalized on a public fascination with inexpensive, exciting fiction and nonfiction by publishing a new line of titles called "pulp magazines." Descendants of the dime novels of an earlier era and similarly printed on cheap paper and featuring low cover prices, they quickly captured an enthusiastic share of the market during the 1920s and 1930s. A host of look-alikes fought for precious newsstand space: *True Detective Mysteries*, *True Lovers*, and *True Romances* seldom told the truth, whereas *Modern Screen*, *Motion Picture*, *Silver Screen*, and countless other movie pulps exploited gossip in the film industry. *Amazing Stories*, *Astounding Stories*, *Dime Detective*, *Dime Mystery*, *Thrilling Detective*, *Thrilling Mystery*, and *Thrilling Wonder* provided the thrills, although *Spicy Adventure*, *Spicy Detective*, and *Spicy Western Stories* probably promised more than they

could deliver. The perfect distraction for people with time on their hands, the pulps gave a momentary escape from the harsh realities of the Depression and proliferated throughout the period between the World Wars.

By purchasing *Liberty*, Macfadden acquired a title different from most other general magazines. For example, it attached a "reading time" note to each article, a small block that guaranteed a particular piece would take no more than "5 minutes, 30 seconds" to read (the numbers of course varied). A gimmick, to be sure, but it reflected the American obsession with doing things quickly and efficiently. The articles themselves tended toward the tawdry and sensational, with breathless prose on Al Capone, Huey Long, and other celebrities perhaps more notorious than illustrious. Macfadden employed *Liberty* as his personal soapbox, urging voters to reelect **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945) in 1936, a stand that placed him and his magazine poles apart from the more conservative *Saturday Evening Post* and *Reader's Digest*.

Under Macfadden's guidance, *Liberty* gained readers, but it bore the reputation of being directed at the working class, not the more affluent middle class. Advertisers, rightly or wrongly, stayed away, placing their precious ad dollars in other publications they saw as potentially more profitable to them. Despite circulating a million or more copies each week, *Liberty* remained starved for advertising revenues. After a lingering decline, it finally expired in 1951. With its demise, the nation lost one of its most popular and unusual magazines, one that made no pretensions about being elitist or intellectual.

Among the newcomers to the magazine ranks of the 1930s, *Esquire* attracted considerable attention following its 1933 introduction. One of the first American journals to employ target marketing, it attempted to identify exactly who read it and then approached potential advertisers with readership profiles created for just this purpose. Since *Esquire* claimed to be a "gentleman's magazine," it sold itself accordingly. As a result, clothiers, various liquors, automobile companies, and the like bought space in the magazine, and it soon showed a profit. Sophisticated but always tasteful, *Esquire* usually escaped the onus associated with more sexually oriented "men's magazines," a fact not lost on advertisers.

Following the success of *Esquire*'s foray into target marketing, *Fortune* (founded 1930) did likewise and became one of the most advertising-heavy monthly magazines in the country. *Fortune*'s sister publication, *Time*, followed suit and did well, especially in light of the competition from two 1933 news-oriented entries, *Newsweek* and *U.S. News & World Report*. In 1936, *Life*, a pictorial journal of the week's events, entered the market-place, and it provides the best example of target marketing. Its immediate acceptance by middle-class readers and resultant huge circulation convinced advertisers that *Life* held a key to reaching large audiences. By 1939, just three years old, *Life* could charge more for ad space than any of its competitors and had no lack of takers.

The covers gracing American magazines also deserve mention. Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, most magazine covers consisted of full-color reproductions of original works—oils, watercolors, pastels, drawings, cartoons, woodcuts, and so on. Although photographs and striking typography occasionally made up a cover, they did not dominate the industry until well after World War II, when the economies of time and reproduction costs gave them a significant edge over the more expensive, hand-done alternatives.

Many artists and **illustrators** made good livings creating cover art. The best known of them would be **Norman Rockwell** (1894–1978), particularly because of his long association with the *Saturday Evening Post*, a magazine for which he created a remarkable 322

covers over a period spanning the years 1916 to 1963. The talented Leslie Thrasher (1889–1936) provided a simplified version of the nostalgia created by Rockwell. Beginning in 1926, Thrasher painted 360 covers for *Liberty*, a streak that came to an end in 1932 only because of Depression belt tightening.

Many other individuals likewise made frequent appearances with the American Magazine, Collier's, Fortune, Good Housekeeping, Ladies' Home Journal, Liberty, and a host of others. Artists like Constantin Alajalov (1900–1987), Joseph Binder (1898–1972), Miguel Covarrubias (1902–1957), Erte (1892–1990), Paolo Garretto (1903–1991), J. C. Leyendecker (1874–1951), Paul Rand (1914–1997), and Edgar F. Wittmack (1894–1956) stand out among the leaders for the period.

Covers serve as a reader's introduction to a magazine, so publishers lavished considerable attention and expense on that aspect of their periodicals; an unattractive cover might deter a possible newsstand sale. But the subjects and their depiction also perform an additional task: they offer a quick, visual essay on styles, manners, and mores. Any survey of magazine covers from the 1930s, or any other period, for that matter, would reveal a wealth of information on countless aspects of American culture. Many such covers did not relate directly to the inside content of the magazine; they instead reflected the season (Christmas, Easter, etc.), or evoked moods—happy, humorous, nostalgic, sad, youthful—and often presented self-explanatory vignettes that stood on their own merits.

Mass-circulation American magazines as a rule paid little heed to the Depression, instead filling their pages with fiction, a few facts, and lots of entertaining features, such as puzzles, jokes and cartoons, interviews, photo essays, reviews, and the like. Their wide, diverse readership suggests they offered a form of journalistic escapism for troubled times and successfully functioned in this role.

See also Automobiles; Crime; Fashion; Life & Fortune; Movies; Photography

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MARATHON DANCING. A competitive form of dancing, it awarded the couple that stayed out on the floor for the longest total time a prize, usually cash. In addition, all the contestants received room, board, and some even a paltry salary for as long as they participated. This kind of contest first appeared around 1928, but the fad had run its course by the beginning of the 1930s. Given the hard times, however, dance marathons held a peculiar appeal and found a new lease on life with the Depression. In the early, dark days of the economic collapse, people flocked to them, either to observe others or to pick up a few dollars and try for the prizes.

The rules were simple: a couple had to dance, or at least keep moving, for an hour. When 60 minutes had passed, they got 15 minutes off, and then they had to be back on the floor for another hour. If one fell asleep while dancing, the other had the responsibility for keeping him or her upright and mobile. Together the two could make \$20 to \$30 a week (roughly \$295 and \$440 in contemporary money) just holding each other up and shuffling their feet, plus they got two cots and eight free meals a day. Dancing all day and long into the night consumed an enormous quantity of calories, so they usually received rich, filling meals.

June Havoc (b. 1916; then called June Hovick), later a Broadway and Hollywood star, holds the dance marathon record: 3,600 hours of continuous dancing. She and her partner, Elmer "Sparkplug" Dupree (active 1930s), remained upright and moving for over 21 weeks, or about five months, in 1934. For their efforts, the pair shared a prize of \$40 (roughly \$600 in contemporary money). In 1935, Horace McCoy (1897–1955) published a novel titled *They Shoot Horses*, *Don't They?* This harsh, unsparing story worked its way up the best-seller lists and its title says it all; the dance marathons could hardly be called fun, and entrants suffered mightily for meager prizes, a few dollars, and free **food**.

Despite the hardships and the slim chance of winning, hundreds danced, and hundreds of others watched. To finance the food and shelter, along with the prizes, dance marathons charged spectators admission. Day after day, and long into the night, these onlookers observed the number of dancers dwindle as exhaustion thinned the ranks of participants. At times, as with the Hovick-Dupree team, the audience had to come back for weeks on end, and the nickels and dimes taken as admission added up for the promoters.

Several Hollywood films, such as *The Lottery Bride* (1930), *Sailor's Luck* (1933), and *Hard to Handle* (1933), attempted to capture some of the grittiness of these degrading exhibitions, but only *Hard to Handle*, with James Cagney (1899–1986), came remotely close. In reality, the cheap dancehalls, the pall of smoke over everything, and the exhausted dancers exceeded anything the movie studios could stage.

By the mid-1930s, dance marathons had again lost their crowd appeal. The worst of the Depression appeared to be over, and a greater sense of optimism pervaded the country. The virtual despair that characterized the many marathons seemed out of place, and so most locations closed their doors and sought other entertainments for the public.

See also Best Sellers; Fads; Leisure & Recreation; Movies

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MARCH OF TIME, THE (RADIO & FILM). A remarkable series of film and radio documentaries underwritten by *Time* magazine, *The March of Time*, set new standards for broadcast journalism. Editorial and production control resided with the newsmagazine's board of directors, a conservative group chaired by Henry R. Luce (1898–1967), the founder of *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune* magazines. Given its unique status as the editorial arm of a popular periodical, *The March of Time* often forsook journalistic



Filming an episode of *The March of Time*, a long-running and popular documentary series. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

objectivity in order to present a point of view endorsed by its owners. The programs presented hundreds of vignettes about the news of the day, going beyond the head-lines to present insightful interpretations of events.

Radio broadcasts began in 1928. The first transmissions, 10 minutes in length, emanated from Cincinnati, Ohio, and immediately found a receptive audience. That same year, *The March of Time* went into syndication, gaining national network status in 1931 with the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS radio). In 1937, the show shifted to the National Broadcasting Company (NBC radio), where it would stay until 1944. It moved to the new American Broadcasting Company (ABC radio) in late 1944 and continued broadcasting new episodes until the summer of 1945 when it went off the air.

The radio show usually employed 30-minute productions that played weekly. During the 1935–1936 season, however, *The March of Time* tried a new approach; it could be heard nightly in 15-minute performances, but the experiment lasted only a year. In the fall of 1936, it went back to the half hour format, a move that allowed more preparation and greater depth with the featured stories. *The March of Time* series went off the air between 1939 and 1941, but returned in order to cover much of World War II. Over the years, various sponsors associated themselves with the show, but one of the most consistent advertisers turned out to be *Time* magazine itself. The weekly periodical enjoyed exclusive sponsorship through the final eight years of broadcasting.

During its lengthy radio life, The March of Time employed a number of leading announcers as narrators for the aural documentary. Among the best known can be

counted Westbrook van Voorhis (1903–1968) and Harry Von Zell (1906–1981), two broadcasting personalities whose voices millions recognized. Van Voorhis, with a distinctive, at times mellifluous, style, took over most of the announcing chores in 1933.

In addition to narration, the show frequently staged dramatizations of newsworthy events. In time, many different actors impersonated Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) and Herbert Hoover (1874–1964), Benito Mussolini (1883–1945), Adolf Hitler (1889–1945), Winston Churchill (1874–1965), and an unending series of other public figures. In order to add to an air of authenticity, the producers employed elaborate sound effects, an important contribution since the radio version could of course not use film clips. Because breaking news does not wait for producers and directors, the staff had to be ready for last-minute changes in scripts, and a fresh but important story might supersede a scheduled one. It all made for a hectic atmosphere, but one that relied on professionalism and a readiness to adapt to any situation.

The movie version of *The March of Time* premiered in theaters in 1934 and would run until 1951, when the pressures of **television** news brought about its demise. Throughout its run, Westbrook van Voorhis ably narrated the show once more. The vision of filmmaker Louis de Rochemont (1899–1978), who served as chief producer, deeply influenced the look of *The March of Time*. This visual counterpart to the radio version gave birth to the contemporary docudrama, the blending of the factual documentary with dramatic additions. Combining actual newsreel footage with dramatized segments, the show smoothly mixed truth with fiction based on fact, thus enlivening history, but at the expense of total, complete accuracy. Viewers witnessed a heightened reality, one in which actors often assumed the roles of people, living and dead, for dramatic effect.

Unlike regular 10-minute theater newsreels that chronicled the week's events and usually included such noncontroversial ephemera as beauty contests, sporting events, and the latest gadgets in brief sequences, *The March of Time* film documentaries ran once a month for approximately 20 minutes. The producers tackled just a handful of important news stories during that brief time on screen, often controversial ones involving politics, economics, or military subjects, giving them far more attention than did competing forms of journalism. As a rule, one story in particular dominated each "issue" of the show, receiving up to 15 minutes of discussion and dramatization.

The series also had the editorial courage to discuss contemporary issues in frank, unequivocal language and images, and often took a partisan stance, much to the distress of its critics. Almost from its inception, the series dealt with fascism, neutrality, isolationism, and especially German National Socialism, or Nazism, and the rise of Adolph Hitler. Virtually alone among news organizations of the 1930s, *The March of Time* made no secret of the threat to democracy posed by the Axis powers, a threat that would ultimately require an Allied response.

Despite its in-depth stories, its skillful dramatizations, and its editorializing, the series still had to compete with other entertainment features in the theaters where it played. Usually consigned to the middle of a so-called double bill, it ran with previews, cartoons, and other short subjects. Thus its careful discussions of current events constituted a small part of the larger theatrical offering. In the eyes of most of the audience, *The March of Time* doubtless lacked the impact of two full-length **movies** featuring top Hollywood stars.

See also Advertising; Radio Networks

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MARSH, REGINALD. Born into an affluent family, Reginald Marsh (1898–1954) showed an aptitude for drawing and painting at a young age. After graduating from Yale in 1920, he set his sights on becoming an illustrator, moved to New York City, filling sketchbooks with everything he saw around him, a habit he would continue throughout his life. In 1925, Marsh joined the newly founded *New Yorker* magazine as a staff cartoonist, and later took a position drawing for the tabloid *New York Daily News*. These jobs gave him the freedom to wander the city streets, from Harlem to the Bowery, observing and sketching. He especially liked Coney Island, with its sea of bathers, teeming boardwalk, and garish sideshows. These experiences appeared in the many paintings he produced during the 1930s that chronicle life in the American metropolis.

For Marsh, a city street has nothing in common with one of **Charles Sheeler**'s (1883–1965) empty factory complexes any more than it does with **Grant Wood**'s (1891–1942) immaculately planted Iowa hillsides. The city and its teeming streets, as *In Fourteenth Street* (1934), are raucous, honky-tonk places, full of gritty details he makes no attempt to hide. The cheap neighborhood theater in *Twenty Cent Movie* (1936) may not be a downtown palace, but it possesses plenty of hustle and bustle along with its double features, and he plunges the viewer into the midst of noisy chaos, a place of visual turbulence.

Many painters of urban America, particularly Sheeler and Edward Hopper (1882–1967), present their city scenes as eerily quiet, creating an overriding feeling of loneliness, as if people cannot connect with one another. There exists a sense of detachment—they often place viewers at a distance from the subject, making them look across considerable space at the scene. Perhaps in some ways this device reflected the Depression economy, frozen and silent, unable to move. But not Reginald Marsh: he takes the opposite tack. He examines, up close, the big, crowded milieu familiar to millions of Americans. For example, the title *Ten Shots*, *Ten Cents* (1939) refers to a penny arcade sign, but the parade of people passing under the marquee capture the viewer's attention, not the words above them. Sheeler's and Hopper's carefully wrought city scenes make the onlooker ponder, but Marsh's resemble a candid snapshot, a moment in time.

Like many artists of the day, Marsh participated in the Federal Art Project (FAP; 1935–1943), a New Deal program that provided employment for painters and others needing assistance. From this came several mural commissions, such as *Transfer of Mail from Liner to Tugboat* (1936) and *Atlantic Liner in Harbor with Tugs* (1937) in the New York Customs House. Thanks to these commissions, along with his own vibrant paintings, Reginald Marsh achieved a modest popular success.

Although he enjoyed satirizing the rich in many of his works, he made no attempt to ennoble the poor and downtrodden; both play their roles and exhibit a sense that they accept their lot and belong in this environment. Because he will not judge either the city or its denizens, many of the Social Realists of the 1930s saw Marsh as an outsider,



A drawing by Reginald Marsh (1898–1954) of a Depression-era breadline. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

an artist fearful of taking sides in a politically charged era. But Marsh's celebration of city life also put him out of step with the Regionalists, since his version of the American scene conflicted with the more bucolic, nostalgic one supported by many in that movement. In one picture after another, Marsh recorded the growing urbanism of the United States, and his candor in depicting the life of a large American city (in his case, almost always New York City) places him more in league with the Social Realists than with the Regionalists. To that end, he even contributed black-and-white illustrations to Fortune magazine during the depths of the Depression. His scenes, often featuring the unemployed and the destitute, might seem a surprising choice for a business-oriented periodical, but the editors had few qualms about addressing the economic calamity, and they often turned to art as a means of showing how widespread its effects had become.

Whatever Marsh's classification, a human comedy parades across the many canvases and drawings he produced in the 1930s. Rich and poor, blacks and whites, silly and stately, from burlesque to the Bowery—they all crowd into his vibrant scenes. A master at depicting the human figure, he often alluded to classical antecedents for poses. He even published a textbook, Anatomy for Artists, in 1935. Thus bathers on a Coney Island Beach may resemble, at times, Grecian athletes, as in Lifeguards (1933) or Coney Island (1936). But a sly humor, something missing from much of the decade's other art, also permeates these pictures; beside the splendidly muscled youth sprawls an older man, unkempt and fat. Bums loaf in the sunlight, sharp-eyed panhandlers size up the crowd. He satirizes the whole of humanity and plays no favorites, but neither does he create villains. A voluptuous, Rubenesque woman plies the oldest profession in Hudson Bay Fur Company (1932), and Marsh celebrates her obvious sexuality, just as he delights in portraying a gaggle of wide-eyed men gaping at a burlesque queen in Star Burlesk (1933).

For viewers of his art, Marsh provides choice front row seats, so they get to see it all. He invites celebration—plunge in; this is the city, this is the way it is, and there's no need to be cerebral about it.

See also Thomas Hart Benton; Illustrators; Life & Fortune; Magazines; Regionalism; Social Realism

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MARX BROTHERS, THE. A spirit of anarchy has often been present in American movie comedy, and that spirit never came more fully to the fore than in the pictures made by the Marx Brothers during the Depression decade. The five brothers—Groucho (1890–1977; b. Julius), Chico (1887–1961; b. Leonard), Harpo (1888–1964; b. Adolph), Zeppo (1901–1979; b. Herbert), and Gummo (1892–1977; b. Milton)—learned their comedic craft in the rough and tumble of vaudeville during the 1920s. Gummo, the least known of the quintet, dropped out of performing in the late 1920s and turned to management, something he practiced successfully with his own siblings. The remaining brothers enjoyed one movie hit after another during the 1930s, although Zeppo, usually cast as the straight man, also retired from active performing after the 1933 release of *Duck Soup*. He turned to business, became a Hollywood agent, and worked with his brother Gummo.

Early on, the Marxes had found success on Broadway with *The Cocoanuts*, a 1925 musical by George F. Kaufman (1889–1961) that featured **music** by **Irving Berlin** (1888–1989). Although much of their humor involves visual slapstick, it also relies on verbal comedy. The machine-gun repartee of Groucho, enhanced by the pseudo-Italian dialect of Chico, requires audiences to listen, and listen carefully, lest they miss some of the steady string of jokes. In 1929, Paramount Pictures released a film version of *The Cocoanuts*, and audiences loved it, successfully launching the Marx Brothers into the new world of talking **movies**. Their nonstop dialogue could never have been adequately handled by silent films, since audiences would have spent most of their time reading cards. Thereafter, the Marx Brothers entertained Depression moviegoers with a new comedy almost yearly; between 1929 and 1940, they starred in 10 films, and most of them did well.

Following The Cocoanuts came Animal Crackers (1930), Monkey Business (1931), Horse Feathers (1932), Duck Soup (1933), A Night at the Opera (1935), A Day at the Races (1937), Room Service (1938), At the Circus (1939), and Go West (1940). Although crowds flocked to any new Marx Brothers offering, after A Night at the Opera their films display a gradually diminished zaniness, the anarchic humor no longer flows as effortlessly, and the frenetic pace that marked the first five pictures grows progressively slower. While the country remained mired in the Great Depression, the Marx Brothers provided a hilarious, devilmay-care antidote to the glum conditions outside the movie theater; with a gradual recovery of sorts in the second half of the decade, it seemed the nation no longer required their patented brand of madcap comedy, humor that held nothing sacred.

Despite the slowdown in their later films—and even then, the brothers come across as funnier than any other comedy teams of the era—they created a series of movie classics that continue to live into the present. Margaret Dumont (1882–1965), a fine actress given the thankless task of being the foil to Groucho's constant wisecracks and schemes, accompanies them in six of their films during the 1930s. Typecast as a rich, befuddled society lady, unsure of what is going on around her, she adds immeasurably to the antic fun of the convoluted plots. Her role as a person of wealth and social standing who lacks any common sense doubtless played well to Depression-era audiences.

For many, two films, *Duck Soup* and *A Night at the Opera*, represent the Marx Brothers' greatest achievements. In *Duck Soup*, the politics of aggression and war get stood on their ear; with war clouds already forming in Asia and Europe, the brothers' inspired insanity reveals how quickly events can get out of hand. Initially not terribly popular with audiences, the film acquired a cadre of devoted fans that slowly grew, and today most movie buffs consider *Duck Soup* a classic of American cinematic comedy.

A Night at the Opera, the film that immediately followed Duck Soup, also has its ardent supporters. In this movie, Groucho, Chico, and Harpo take on the bastions of elite culture, making a shambles of everything they encounter, especially the institution of opera. Many citizens, rightly or wrongly, thought high culture the exclusive, inviolable property of the wealthy guardians of taste. Such attitudes provide fertile ground for the brothers' relentless attacks. The have-nots emerge victorious over the haves, another chapter in the old story of low culture taking on high art, with buffoonery winning out over elitism. A Night at the Opera supplies the kind of rude comeuppance Americans so enjoy.

The Marx Brothers continued to make movies into the 1940s, but their efforts come across as dim reflections of their earlier zaniness. Between 1929 and 1937, however, they had no real rivals, and their patented brand of humor thumbed its nose at Old Man Depression, always with a joke at the ready.

See also Circuses; Football; Horse Racing; Hotels; Musicals; Screwball Comedies

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MILLER, GLENN. A Midwesterner by birth, (Alton) Glenn Miller (1904–1944) played trombone in a number of regional bands that toured for dancing in the mid- to late 1920s. Never an exceptional instrumentalist, Miller began arranging, in addition to his playing, for such bandleaders as Red Nichols (1905–1965), the Dorsey Brothers (Tommy, 1905–1956; Jimmy, 1904–1957), and Benny Goodman (1909–1986). These experiences led to a position with the Ray Noble (1903–1978) orchestra in 1935, and this steady employment allowed Miller to polish his arranging skills.

In a decade crowded with different bands, Miller realized that success demanded a distinctive "sound" that people would recognize and like. He experimented with various instrumental voicings, and discovered that a clarinet playing the melody an octave over the other reeds created a light, danceable sound. Commercial success, however, did not immediately fall on the heels of his discovery.

In 1937, Miller broke from Noble and organized an aggregation of his own. This initial effort, although it hinted at things to come, went nowhere and he had to break it up. He continued to write arrangements and formed a second band in 1938. This time around, Miller hired excellent sidemen, and he had the good fortune to land Ray Eberle (1919–1979), Marion Hutton (1919–1987), and the Modernaires (a singing group; active 1930s & 1940s) as his vocalists.

The orchestra attracted some favorable attention, and cut a number of **recordings** for several labels. These early efforts did not sell extremely well nor did they produce quite the

sound Miller had been looking for, but they nonetheless served notice that the new band possessed the ability to play outstanding dance **music**. At the same time, Miller himself had developed a personable, easygoing stage manner that listeners and dancers enjoyed.

Good fortune nodded in the group's direction in the fall of 1938 when RCA Victor, a leader in the recording field, signed a contract with the orchestra. For the first time, records captured the inimitable "Miller sound," and in the early months of 1939, several hits followed. The band's engaging theme, "Moonlight Serenade," composed by Miller, with lyrics by Mitchell Parish (1900–1993), listeners found especially captivating, and people soon associated it with the orchestra. A companion piece, "Sunrise Serenade," a 1939 composition by pianist Frankie Carle (1903–2001) and lyricist Jack Lawrence (b. 1912), likewise had its admirers. Soon, other popular favorites like "Tuxedo Junction" (1939; music by Erskine Hawkins [1914–1993], Julian Dash [1916–1974], and William Johnson [active 1930s]), "Little Brown Jug" (1939; traditional; arranged by Bill Finegan [1917–2005]), and "Pennsylvania 6-5000" (music by Jerry Gray [1915–1976], lyrics by Carl Sigman [active 1930s, 1940s]) came out on Victor's Bluebird label.

Success begets success, and Miller soon found himself playing casinos, hotels, ball-rooms, and packing in the audiences. The radio networks, which could not seem to get enough swing orchestras on the air to satisfy fans, discovered Miller just as his career took off. At the end of 1939, the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS radio) inaugurated Chesterfield Time, a 15-minute music show that broadcast three nights a week. As his fame spread, more radio shows would follow.

In a long stint at the Glen Island Casino, a combination restaurant and ballroom overlooking New York's Long Island Sound, Miller continued to do his **radio** shows, using a remote setup that allowed him to broadcast directly from his location. At the beginning of 1940, the band recorded its biggest hit, "In the Mood" (1939; music by Joe Garland [1903–1977], lyrics by Andy Razaf [1895–1973]). Over the years, this recording would establish itself as one of the top-selling songs of the swing era, and the Glenn Miller Orchestra would go on to become one of the most popular swing bands of all time.

Many swing and dance band fans associate the Glenn Miller Orchestra with the 1930s. In reality, however, the band enjoyed success only during the last year or so of the decade. Not until the onset of the 1940s would it dominate every popularity poll and produce a string of nonstop hits. But success would prove fleeting; with the war, Miller enlisted and formed an army air force orchestra to play for the troops in the European theater of operations. In 1944, a military airplane carrying Miller disappeared in a storm over the English Channel; searchers found no remains. The band carried on, but without its popular leader, the subsequent Glenn Miller bands always seemed but shadows of the original.

In its brief heyday, the Miller aggregation epitomized versatility. It could play the slow, syrupy ballads, often accompanied by a singer who made no attempt to swing the lyric. But the orchestra could also perform jazz-tinged arrangements of up-tempo tunes that any swing band could envy. Miller straddled both camps, and he pleased both.

See also Restaurants; Songwriters & Lyricists

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MINIATURE GOLF. A variation on traditional golf, this form of the game briefly eclipsed it, sweeping the nation in 1930. Miniaturized golf courses first appeared in the early years of the twentieth century, both in the United States and abroad. These pioneering courses, rather crude affairs, tended to be located on private property and did not open their gates to the public. The modern game of miniature golf, available to all, owes its existence to Garnet Carter (1883–1954), a real estate developer who owned a resort called Fairyland atop Lookout Mountain near Chattanooga, Tennessee.

In addition to a hotel, Carter had laid out a regular golf course on his mountain site, and he decided to add an extensive putting area to boost attendance. In 1927, he took out a patent for "Tom Thumb Golf," the immediate predecessor to the modern game of miniature golf. Carter envisioned a leveled grass lawn containing some simple obstacles, usually open tin pipes through which the ball had to pass, to make the putting interesting and challenging.

Fairyland boomed and visitors flocked to Carter's innovation, to the point that their sheer numbers wore out the grassy areas. He then improvised a new surface, cottonseed hulls, which withstood the heavy traffic volume but still provided a good putting surface. Erstwhile competitors took it upon themselves to set up courses of their own. At first limited primarily to the northeastern and southeastern states, along with trendsetting California, the game took off. By some estimates, 4 million Americans played miniature golf on any given day in 1930 at 40,000 different locations. In response to his unexpected success, Carter began marketing Tom Thumb Components that could be assembled on any site. He also tried a National Tom Thumb Open Championship at Fairyland in 1930. The event attracted many players, but by this time miniature golf had already established itself and spread across the country; Carter's tournament was only one of many competitive events.

Miniature golf courses appeared on empty lots, rooftops, roadsides, and anywhere else level surfaces could be found. If available acreage proved scarce or too expensive, the game went indoors, utilizing warehouses and other spacious, enclosed areas. It took little capital to establish a bare bones layout, including lights for night play, although the more elaborate constructions could cost tens of thousands of dollars. In the meantime, the obstacles grew in size and imagination, and skill became secondary to complexity and challenge. Cheap and accessible for its fans, miniature golf seemed the perfect recreational escape in the cash-strapped Depression.

With no end seemingly in sight for the game, the bubble suddenly burst, a one-year phenomenon. Just in the nick of time, Hollywood managed to release a comedy short titled *Tom Thumbs Down* (1931), possibly the only movie about miniature golf ever made. By the spring of 1931, the fad had fizzled and empty, abandoned miniature golf courses littered the landscape. Not until after World War II would the game see a resurgence of interest.

See also Fads; Games; Hotels; Leisure & Recreation; Movies

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MONOPOLY. With high unemployment and more leisure time, the Depression years witnessed a rise in the popularity of board games. Monopoly, the undisputed champion, made its commercial debut in 1935. Its origins date back to 1904 and an innovative diversion called the Landlord's Game, a little-known pastime created by Lizzie Magie (aka Elizabeth Magie Phillips; active 1900s). She focused on the ethics of rents and impoverished tenants, and her game showed how landlords became progressively richer as they acquired property. The more real estate one owned, the better the chances of winning. Magie patented the Landlord's Game in 1904, and the original board bears a striking resemblance to the one in use with the more familiar Monopoly today.

Over time, Magie's creation underwent rules revisions and even evolved into regional variations, one of which used street names from Atlantic City, New Jersey. Most of these games consisted of homemade boards, often oilcloth with crayon-colored spaces, and items like buttons and thimbles for markers. By the late 1920s, the name had informally changed to Monopoly, since players attempted to gain real estate monopolies as they worked their way around the board.

Charles B. Darrow (1889–1967), a struggling Philadelphia architect, had played the Atlantic City variant, and saw in it the potential for widespread sales. He borrowed freely from Magie's Landlord's Game, along with its many permutations, and made up some samples for friends. Contrary to popular belief, Darrow did not "invent" Monopoly, but the alterations he imposed on these earlier products, along with his persistence in marketing his own version, brought about the modern-day game that millions know and love.

Copyrighting his mix as "Monopoly" in 1933, he sold several thousand homemade copies through the mail before attempting to get Parker Brothers, a major toy and game manufacturer, to carry his creation. Corporate shortsightedness initially caused the company to ignore him. In their eyes, Monopoly was "too dull, too complex, and took too long to play," so Darrow privately made up some additional sets and in 1934 got Wanamaker's Department Store of Philadelphia and F. A. O. Schwarz of New York to stock them. Interested consumers cleaned the shelves and Parker Brothers took a second look and reached an agreement with the architect in 1935. Under the terms of their contract, Parker Brothers gained all rights to both Magie's old tenant's game and Darrow's revisions. Monopoly would prove to be the most successful board game in history, and Charles Darrow retired a wealthy man.

Many people believe that the capitalistic focus of the game—the acquisition of wealth and property—made Monopoly an American favorite during the Depression, a time of economic challenge. But the game's continuing popularity in strong economic times suggests that people like the game for its own merits, not its possible socioeconomic underpinnings. For kids and grown-ups alike, nothing quite equals the thrill of building a hotel on Boardwalk or the disappointment of losing everything and having to drop out of the play.

See also Fads; Leisure & Recreation; Toys

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MOSES, ROBERT. One of the most powerful nonelected officials in the history of New York City, Robert Moses (1888–1981) oversaw the transformation of much of the city's **transportation** infrastructure. Lacking formal training in engineering or management, he worked diligently in the administration of Governor Al Smith (1873–1944; governor 1918–1920, 1922–1928). Moses moved into appointed positions of considerable authority that allowed him to influence—if not dictate—the direction road, bridge, and tunnel construction would take in the Empire State.

During the 1930s, Moses acquired considerable influence in several city and state agencies, eventually taking on the chairmanships of the New York City Public Works Commission and the Long Island Parks Commission. These appointments gave him great latitude in making decisions, actions that revolved around the construction of highways to facilitate the flow of people into and around New York City. No lover of mass transit or indeed public transport of any kind, Moses saw the city as the servant of the automobile, and he attempted to restructure existing urban spaces to accommodate cars.

As his influence grew, he took on the chairmanship of the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority (TBTA), an appointive position that granted him control of all the toll money that daily poured into the TBTA offices from the group's bridges, parkways, and tunnels. Almost by default, Moses and the TBTA became virtually autonomous, bypassing mayors and other elected officials in a quest to redesign the city's sprawling transportation network. As he amassed power, Moses saw to it that the TBTA had its own headquarters, along with a fleet of cars, trucks, and boats, all of which bore the TBTA flag and emblem.

One of the authority's most famous accomplishments focused on the construction of the Triborough Bridge, a 1930–1936 undertaking. Almost simultaneously, the Henry Hudson Bridge saw its lower level become operational in 1936; the upper level followed suit in 1938. Then came the Bronx-Whitestone Bridge, a crossing that gave access to thousands of people intent on seeing the 1939–1940 **New York World's Fair** at Flushing Meadows.

Moses, however, did not content himself just with bridges. The West Side Highway, one of the city's first expressways, was constructed during 1927–1931. He ordered it to be built over the remains of an abandoned elevated train that once served the western side of Manhattan. The Belt Parkway (or Circumferential Parkway) opened in 1934. Toward the end of the decade, a flurry of projects marked Moses' dominance in the planning of roadways for the city: the Whitestone Expressway began to take shape in 1939, as did the Gowanus Parkway, another elevated route for **automobiles**. The Queens Midtown Tunnel opened in 1940, and building commenced on the Long Island Expressway that same year.

Three other projects that Moses supervised included, first, the completion of roads allowing access to Jones Beach in 1929 and 1930. Not open to mass transit, the Jones Beach construction nonetheless allowed millions of motorists to enjoy the pristine Atlantic beaches. Second, he oversaw much of the planning and building for the 1939–1940 World's Fair. One of the great expositions of the twentieth century, The World of Tomorrow promised a technological future in which everything functioned in a smooth, Streamlined way. Finally, Moses took leadership in the creation of New York City Municipal Airport, a major facility dedicated in October 1939. Most people today know



Robert Moses (1888–1981) with a model of proposed construction projects. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

the busy field as LaGuardia Airport, renamed in 1947 for New York's popular mayor, Fiorello LaGuardia (1882–1947; mayor from 1933–1945).

For better or worse, Robert Moses left a lasting imprint on New York City and how large metropolitan areas handle increasing volumes of vehicular traffic, especially automotive. His supporters argue he saved the city from gridlock by opening up fast, multilane highways that allowed drivers to move rapidly through crowded urban congestion. His detractors maintain he destroyed much of the fabric of the city by bulldozing down huge swaths of housing, replacing entire neighborhoods with concrete and macadam, and turning his back to alternative transport such as light rail and **buses**. For some, he represented the master builder, a man of his times; others saw him as insensitive to the human scale, believing that all he wanted to do was move cars rapidly over the face of the city and, in so doing, blitzing much of what he claimed to save. For the 1930s, however, Robert Moses represented a hopeful view, a man ready to tackle any large-scale transportation challenges.

See also Fairs & Expositions; Trains; Travel

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MOTELS. The exact date and site of America's first motel remain unknown, although some time in the early twentieth century seems a safe guess for the date. Cabins and cottages located along the road preceded what would become the standard motel configuration: a row of connected rooms facing a public highway. In the 1920s, private and municipal auto camps, sometimes called tourist parks, offered, for a fee, tent sites in many communities across the country. By the 1930s, the ownership of most of these tourist facilities had shifted to individual entrepreneurs and primitive tent setups had been replaced by cabins or cottages. Their name changed from auto camp to auto court, motor court, motor village, or tourist court. Since the rooms in these units often interconnected with one another, they served as the forerunners of the modern motel. By whatever name, motels rapidly increased in number throughout the later 1920s and on into the 1930s—an estimated 3,000 in 1928 had jumped to almost 10,000 in 1935, and then rose to about 13,500 at the close of the decade.

In 1926, hotelier James Vail (active 1920s), along with architect Arthur Heineman (active 1920s), coined the term "mo-tel," a combination of motor and **hotel**. Based in San Luis Obispo, California, the two planned to build 18 motor inns, or mo-tels, along the West Coast from San Diego, California, to Seattle, Washington. Their first establishment, the Milestone Mo-Tel, opened in San Luis Obispo on December 12, 1925; its name later changed to the Motel Inn. Because of the 1929 crash and the onset of the Great Depression, their dreams of a pioneering chain of motels never materialized.

Despite disrupting many business plans, the economic collapse helped some individuals involved in the fledgling motel industry. Providing lodging along the roadside offered opportunities for small businesses and for people who wanted to turn unprofitable land into income. Nationwide demand for improved facilities fueled the growing motel business. Depression or not, middle-class Americans continued to take automobile vacations, albeit with some financial restraints. Budget-conscious businesses decreased **travel** allowances and urged salespeople to drive their cars instead of traveling by train; in addition, they encouraged employees to stay in motels rather than more expensive **hotels**.

For both the tourist and the business traveler, price, convenience, and amenities made motels attractive, and they appeared to be a good business venture for the owners of such enterprises. For those owning or having access to land adjacent to a highway, it took little to enter the motel business. Construction of these simple structures involved a small cash investment and presented few problems. How-to and builders' **magazines** cooperated by offering articles filled with advice, along with plans featuring specific dimensions and material lists. In some operations, the whole family participated, and dividing up the labor decreased the need for hired help.

Early motels tended to be one-story buildings with easily accessible rooms that usually offered one or two windows, plus a screen door for ventilation. This arrangement presented a sharp contrast to the traditionally small, cramped, and poorly ventilated hotel rooms that always seemed to be up several flights of narrow stairs. Features like these contributed to the growing popularity of motels. In addition, the absence of porters, bell captains, and other personnel to tip kept the price reasonable, and convenient parking meant the easy transport of bags from car to room.

By the mid-1930s, increasing competition caused many motel owners to upgrade their facilities and expand their amenities. Carpeting covered bare floors; brand-name mattresses lured sleepy motorists; and adjacent diners or **restaurants**—along with nearby **gas**

stations—provided extra bonuses. In time, highly visible **swimming** pools and patios, and perhaps some playground equipment, became options for motels wanting to catch motorists' attention.

A few motel entrepreneurs went as far as to employ architectural gimmicks to attract travelers. For example, a Kentucky businessman named Frank Redford (active 1930s) built a series of concrete wigwams in Horse City, Kentucky, in 1933. He had first sold gas and food out of a tepee-shaped structure, and public curiosity caused him to add six separate "sleeping rooms." Their exteriors resembled wigwams, and he christened the venture Wigwam Village. Although Redford was not the first to employ this motif, he wisely patented his designs; he would go on to construct a total of seven such villages around the country. Another approach involved discarded railroad stock, such as cabooses and passenger cars. Kimmel's Pullman Cabins in Lyons, Colorado, took four cars from the C&S Railroad and placed them alongside the primary highway leading into the Rocky Mountains. Tourists could sleep in Pullman luxury before proceeding on their journey. Forts, castles, log cabins, ranches, historic sites—imaginative individuals tried many different treatments for their motel designs.

During the 1930s, two methods for operating motels emerged: the franchise chain and the referral chain. The franchise chain involved building a series of accommodations that used repetitive architectural designs and color schemes, along with identical names. Some even intentionally placed each facility a day's travel apart. In this arrangement, the company owned some of the motels but contracted others out to independent operators, who then enjoyed the advantage of a known name and reputation.

Edgar Lee Torrance (1894–1971), along with D. W. Bartlett (active 1930s), built the Alamo Plaza Tourist Apartments in Waco, Texas, in 1929. The use of the term "tourist apartments" attempted to convey the superiority of this facility over "tourist cabins," and apparently travelers liked the connotations. Torrance experienced immediate success and two years later constructed a second establishment in Tyler, Texas. These two groupings carry the honor of being America's first successful motel chain. He changed the name slightly in 1935 when he crossed state lines to build the Alamo Plaza Tourist Courts in Shreveport, Louisiana. By the end of the decade Torrance owned seven Alamo Plazas in five southern states.

His snow-white buildings featured a two-story facade that suggested the Alamo, and the **design** imparted a sense of history for the weary tourist. Inside, Torrance offered showers, brand-name mattresses, and hardwood floors. Starting in 1936, the Alamo Plazas installed some of the first guestroom telephones found in motels anywhere. As a chain, they promised familiarity, consistency, and comfort, conditions held in high esteem by the traveler away from home; the Alamo Plazas presented strong competition for smaller, independent motor courts and motels.

TraveLodge, another example of a successful chain, originated in 1935 when Scott King (active 1930s) opened King's Auto Court in San Diego, California. Over the next five years, King built 24 motels throughout Southern California. Rather than maintaining both ownership and management as Torrance had with his chain, King pioneered a co-ownership method of motel operation, and adopted the collective TraveLodge name in 1940. King's company and the owner-managers established contractual guidelines for payment of mortgages, management fees, and other expenses, along with the sharing of profits.

Despite the success of a small number of motel chains, individual mom-and-pop operations nevertheless predominated throughout the 1930s. Many of these participated in the second major motel business strategy, the referral chain—independent owners working together for their common good. Members of the group agreed to cooperate in upgrading properties and thereby created networks of quality motels through which referrals could be made. United Motor Courts (UMC), a referral chain whose original membership came mainly from California and Arizona, organized in 1933 and published an annual guidebook for tourists. UMC members guaranteed tourists clean rooms, quality beds, and good service. In 1937, the Tourist Cottage Owners' Association (TCOA) merged with UMC. TCOA had originally organized in the southeastern section of the country in 1932 as a trade association, a group of business competitors who voluntarily collected and disseminated information that would assist members with mutual business problems. The UMC-TCOA merger gave the two groups a combined membership that extended from the Pacific across the southern tier of states toward the Atlantic.

Another group, the National Tourist Lodge-Motor Court Trade Association (NTL-MCTA), came along in 1933, but it virtually disappeared within a year. Successful efforts to reinvigorate NTL-MCTA in 1937 included a new name, the International Motor Court Association (IMCA). Their publication of the first motel trade magazine, *Tourist Court Journal*, gave the industry a reference for standards. In 1939, the former Quality Inns initiated Quality Courts. This new organization consisted of seven southern motel operators who split off from United Motor Courts. To make themselves known, they immediately printed 10,000 copies of their own travel directory.

With motels becoming a permanent part of the American landscape by the late 1930s, a number of people outside the industry stepped in to assist travelers and promote this new addition to the tourist scene. In 1929, Emmons Walker (active 1920s and 1930s) of Dover, Massachusetts, produced annual guidebooks rating motels and hotels and listing lodgings primarily along the Atlantic seaboard from Quebec, Canada, to Florida. Likewise, Ray A. Walker (active 1920s and 1930s) of Haverhill, Massachusetts, published Cabin Trails: A Dependable All-Year Service for Discriminating Motor-Vacationists in 1939. The Travelers, located in New York City, sold a directory titled Approved Travelers Motor Courts. The 1938 copy of this publication listed 178 motels concentrated largely in the Northeast. During this same year, in addition to the guides the Travelers operated downtown and roadside information offices in some of the larger cities—New York, Washington, D.C., Miami, St. Petersburg, Los Angeles, and at the Georgia-Florida state line north of Jacksonville, Florida

The American Automobile Association (AAA) had published its first annual hotel directory in 1917. "Hotel," an inclusive term, referred to all types of lodging—hotels, cabins, cottages, auto courts, motels—that met the standards designated by visiting AAA representatives. In 1926, the automotive organization issued its first tour book, another annual publication that contained suggestions for lodging, restaurants, and noteworthy sites. About this time, the major oil companies also established travel bureaus to spread the word on better places to stay.

Duncan Hines (1880–1959), a traveling salesman with a flair for evaluating restaurants and lodging, in 1936 published his first guide, *Adventures in Good Eating*. By 1939, this slim volume had made the best-seller list. In between, he created *Lodging for a Night* (1938), a handbook for wary motorists looking for a reliable place to get a night's sleep.

With these two works, a "Recommended by Duncan Hines" sign hanging outside a business became a valuable marketing tool utilized by establishments around the country.

During the 1930s, travel had become increasingly widespread for black Americans, but most lacked good information on lodging and dining. Segregation and discrimination still made getting anywhere a difficult endeavor. In 1936, an annual publication geared specifically to blacks called the *Green-Book* became available. Along with lists of welcoming lodging facilities, the book contained recommendations for restaurants, gasoline stations, taverns, liquor stores, and barber and beauty shops that did not impose racial restrictions. Another specialized guide, the *Directory of Negro Hotels and Guest Houses in the United States*, published in 1939 by the U.S. Travel Bureau, likewise presented a listing, but a less comprehensive one.

Despite the sharp rise in the number of people staying at motels, some considered this economical form of lodging an undesirable choice. Not everyone stopping at a motel had the most honorable intentions, or so many thought. In an article written for *American Magazine* at the end of the decade, J. Edgar Hoover (1895–1972), the director of the **Federal Bureau of Investigation** (FBI), declared motels, tourist cabins, and anything in between to be immoral, a form of lodging that led to corruption. But these strong words, despite having been written by a well-known **crime**-fighting celebrity, had little effect on the growing motel industry. World War II, not Hoover, would slow the expansion of motels, but following the conflict the industry would enter into a period of unparalleled growth.

See also Architecture; Best Sellers; Race Relations & Stereotyping; Trains

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MOTORSPORTS. By the onset of the Depression, American racing cars had gotten larger and faster, and the major domestic automakers displayed an interest in the sport. Public attention mounted as Buick, Chrysler, Ford, Hudson, Packard, and Studebaker all developed custom speedsters, and the Indianapolis 500 served as a kind of proving ground for automotive innovation. By 1936, the first Daytona 250 had been held, utilizing the beach, dunes, and track. Officials measured the winning speed as just over 70 mph.

For the 1930s, two drivers, Louis Meyer (1904–1995) and Wilbur Shaw (1902–1954), captured the attention of the public by winning races and blazing a number of records. They followed in the footsteps of racing pioneers like Barney Oldfield (1878–1946) and Ralph DePalma (1883–1956) and helped keep auto racing afloat during the difficult Depression years. Both Meyer and Shaw devoted much of their careers to winning the Indianapolis 500, auto racing's premier event at the time. Driving a variety of cars, some of which they had a hand in designing and building, the two doggedly pursued their goals throughout the decade, despite mishaps and injuries. Meyer succeeded in winning the coveted race in 1928, 1933, and 1936, and placed second in 1929; Shaw came out

victorious in 1937, 1939, and 1940, and took second place in 1933, 1935, and 1938. For the 1930s, Louis Meyer and Wilbur Shaw clearly stood as the most dominant presences at the Indianapolis classic, overshadowed only by the increasing speeds their racing cars could achieve. When Meyer first won in 1928, he reached 99.48 mph; Shaw's speed in 1940 averaged 114.28 mph; as a point of contrast, officials calibrated the winning speed in 2006 at 157 mph.

The ongoing quest for ever-faster cars led drivers like Ab Jenkins (1883–1956) to concentrate their efforts on setting new land-speed records. Jenkins pushed to get the Bonneville Salt Flats in Utah recognized as a test track area. Consisting of smooth, dry lakebeds, its unobstructed expanses allowed drivers to push experimental cars to the utmost. Over the 1930s, Jenkins drove Pierce-Arrows, Duesenbergs, and a series of Mormon Meteors to new records, achieving a then-incredible 157 mph in 1937.

While Jenkins pursued speed on the desert salt flats, an Englishman, Sir Malcolm Campbell (1885–1948), came to Utah to do likewise. He electrified the world when he drove his Bluebird, one of a series of similarly named experimental vehicles, to an unheard of 301.13 mph in September 1935. Hardly a racing car, such as Ab Jenkins had been driving, the Bluebird resembled a Streamlined rocket ship, as well it might. Powered by a 2,500-hp Rolls-Royce airplane engine and weighing over five tons, the Bluebird existed only to break records. Campbell's 301 mph lasted briefly, and then other experimental speedsters went still faster, but Campbell's effort resonated with the public and gained the most headlines. For the lean Depression years, such efforts—coupled with success—provided a bit of good news amid all the gloom.

Hollywood reacted to **automobiles** and speed by churning out a spate of racetrack **movies**. A sampling: *Burning Up* (1930) features Richard Arlen (1898–1976) as a daredevil driver; James Cagney (1899–1986) takes the wheel in *The Crowd Roars* (1932); Wallace Reid (1917–1990) does likewise in *The Racing Strain* (1933); and Paul Kelly follows suit in *Speed Devils* (1935). No less a rising star than James Stewart (1908–1997) has the lead in *Speed* (1936), while Dennis O'Keefe (1908–1968) pilots still more racing cars in *Burn 'em Up O'Connor* (1939). Ann Sheridan (1915–1967) and Pat O'Brien (1899–1983) costar in *Indianapolis Speedway* (1939), and two Buck Jones (1885–1942) **Western films**, *High Speed* (1932) and *Ride 'em Cowboy!* (1936), mix horses and horsepower. None of these movies ever broke any box-office records; apparently only a limited, but enthusiastic, audience attended.

See also Design; Science Fiction; Streamlining

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MOVIES. Throughout the 1930s, motion pictures took their place as one of the most popular of the popular arts. The advent of sound in 1927 had captivated audiences, and movie attendance skyrocketed from a weekly average of 57 million tickets in 1927 to over 90 million by the end of the decade. Theaters struggled to convert their outmoded equipment to the new technology, and for a brief period the number of

movie houses actually declined. As the 1930s began, however, movies seemed Depression-proof; despite the dire economic news, the attendance figures from 1929 held steady, but only briefly. Then the numbers began to drop: 80 million in 1931, 60 million in 1932, finally bottoming out at 50 million in 1933. More than one-third of the paying audience had disappeared, and over 5,000 theaters closed their doors. Not until mid-decade did the industry begin the long climb to normalcy and prosperity.

During this turbulent period, banks took financial control of many once-independent studios. Proud names like MGM, Paramount, RKO, Fox Films, and 20th Century Films (combined in 1935 as 20th Century Fox) felt the stress of mergers and declining profits, but they nonetheless continued to make hundreds of movies, and a remarkable number of their productions have come down to the present as memorable examples of motion picture art.

Like all forms of popular culture, commercial cinema goes through cycles, with certain themes, or styles—frequently called genres—predominating. These cycles of popularity may last only a few months, to be supplanted by something new or different that has tweaked the public's fickle imagination. As a rough generalization, all movie genres enjoyed some level of popularity during the decade, but the ones listed in the chart below led the others, at least in the time periods indicated. A few major genres, such as gangster films, musicals, and screwball comedies, account for many of the classic pictures of the decade. But their dominance could be displaced, and one genre might overlap another in terms of box office success.

Dominant Film Genres during the 1930s

Years of Greatest Popularity	Genre	Characteristics	Representative Examples (year of release)
1930–1932	Gangster Films	Dark and violent, often celebrating the rise of a selfmade criminal.	Little Caesar (1930), The Public Enemy (1931), Scarface: The Shame of the Nation (1932)
1931–1935	Horror & Fantasy Films	Somber retellings of classic stories along with new ones created for the movies. All feature the use of special effects.	Dracula (1931), Frankenstein (1931), King Kong (1933)
1933–1935	Musicals	Filled with music and dance, they express a humorous cynicism toward wealth and respect for hard-won success through snappy dialogue.	42nd Street (1933), Gold Diggers of 1933 (1933), Flying Down to Rio (1933)
1932–1935	Social Con- sciousness Films	Films that deal with contemporary social problems, including the Great Depression and its consequences.	I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang (1932), Heroes for Sale (1933), Black Fury (1935)
1934–1939	Screwball Comedies	As the name suggests, comedies that defy reason or logic but eventually manage to restore order to a slightly manic world.	It Happened One Night (1934), Bringing Up Baby (1938), The Awful Truth (1939)

Years of Greatest Popularity	Genre	Characteristics	Representative Examples (year of release)
1937–1940s	Teenage & Juvenile Delinquency Films	The discovery of adolescence and the problems and joys connected with that age group.	Any of the Andy Hardy films (1937–1940s), Angels with Dirty Faces (1938), Strike Up the Band (1940)
1937–1939	Spectacle & Costume Drama Films	Lavish production qualities, often based on recent best sellers. These films purport to re-create historical events, but frequently sacrifice accuracy for story and special effects.	Gone with the Wind (1939), The Wizard of Oz (1939), Drums along the Mohawk (1939)
1939–1940s	Propaganda & Anti-Axis Films	Movies that shed neutrality and acknowledge the likeli- hood of a new world war and eventual American involvement.	Blockage (1938), Confessions of a Nazi Spy (1939), Idiot's Delight (1939)

When interpreting any listing, it must be remembered that exceptions to both years and genres occurred. For example, a musical like *Carefree* did well in 1938, that is, after the peak years for musicals, but the presence of **Fred Astaire** (1899–1987) **and Ginger Rogers** (1911–1995) would probably ensure any picture's success, regardless of year. *Son of Frankenstein*, a 1939 horror movie, capitalized on the prior popularity of the earlier *Frankenstein* (1931) and again drew patrons to the box office. In 1935, "G" *Men* supposedly celebrated not criminals but law officers, as did *Bullets or Ballots* (1936), but the gunplay and stars like Jimmy Cagney (1899–1986) and Edward G. Robinson (1893–1973) made these films difficult to differentiate from their gangster antecedents.

Innumerable other exceptions to such groupings could be mentioned, but the chart nonetheless remains a reasonable guide to shifting audience tastes and Hollywood offerings from 1930 to 1940. Four genres—children's films, operettas, serials, and Western films—do not appear in the chart but receive discussion elsewhere in this encyclopedia. Although they never clearly dominated the movie market at any one time, these secondary film styles constituted important components of the overall industry. As a rule, they went their quiet way, year after year, making modest profits for their producers and satisfying their devoted audiences.

See also Crime; Walt Disney; Leisure & Recreation; Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs

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MUSIC. One of the most pervasive forms of popular culture during the 1930s, music provided Americans with a wide range of sounds, rich in composition, innovation, and variety. It embraced the "sweet" orchestras as well as the Jazz Age groups, and the rhythmic swing sounds of the big bands dominated as never before during the second half of the decade. Omnipresent jukeboxes, located in soda fountains, restaurants, and, especially after the repeal of Prohibition, bars and taverns, brought the latest hit sounds to everyone, as did Your Hit Parade, a popular radio program that informed audiences about the nation's top-ranked popular songs.

The increased ownership of phonographs in the 1920s, coupled with the subsequent purchase of **recordings**, had produced a decline in the sales of **sheet music**; people became accustomed to listening to their favorites instead of playing them on home instruments. By the 1930s, radio had gained a sizable audience and competed fiercely with the recording industry. Going from a luxury to a household necessity, radio broadcast more music then ever before, ranging from classical to country as it tried to accommodate all tastes. As a rule, the commercial success of a new song therefore depended upon both record sales and widespread airplay.

Movies, offering a momentary respite from Depression hard times, served as an unending source of music, from extravagant musicals to Western films with singing cowboys, from new songs to old standards. Likewise, Broadway productions as never before gave the nation timeless tunes. Only a small number of theatergoers actually saw Broadway's musicals, but thanks to records, radio, sheet music, and movie adaptations, people across the county became acquainted with the latest from the Great White Way.

Musicians, along with millions of other Americans, suffered from the effects of the Great Depression, and musicians were no exception. The government-sponsored Federal Music Project (FMP; 1935–1943), an innovative New Deal agency that functioned under the Works Progress Administration (WPA, 1935–1943; name changed to Work Projects Administration in 1939), at its peak employed some 16,000 musicians, songwriters and lyricists, composers, conductors, and teachers of music. The FMP commissioned new works, supported symphony orchestras, sought out unique musicians and music to feature in recordings, gave assistance to younger composers, and sometimes oversaw premiere performances of their work.

Labor & Protest Songs. With high unemployment, and one of the worst droughts in its history, music from this era might be expected to highlight these crises. The opposite, in fact, generally occurred. Few people listened to union and protest songs, despite unrelenting media publicity about labor disputes throughout the 1930s, With such a paltry audience, this music seldom got recorded, and the difficulties faced by miners, textile workers, and farmers, as expressed in song, often went unheard.

Sarah Ogan Gunning (1910–1983) and Florence Reese (1900–1986) nevertheless raised their voices in protest against the economic and social injustice they saw around them. Gunning, whose "Come All Ye Coal Miners" (1931) and 'Dreadful Memories" (1932) dealt with the fate of miners and their impoverished families in Harlan County,



Throughout the Depression, music of all kinds enjoyed great popularity. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

Kentucky, gained at best limited recognition. She moved to New York City in 1935 and during the later years of the decade cowrote labor songs with the more famous **Woody Guthrie** (1912–1967), performing at rallies alongside him as well. Reese, the wife of a union organizer, composed "Which Side Are You On?" during a 1931 strike by the United Mine Workers of America, a song that became an anthem for much of the labor movement, but remained unknown by the majority of the population.

In a similar vein, Aunt Molly Jackson (1880–1960), a half sister to Sarah Ogan Gunning and a songwriter since early childhood, in 1933 wrote "Miner's Hungry Ragged Blues" and "Poor Miner's Farewell," and both did reasonably well within labor circles. Jackson also recorded hundreds of titles in 1928 for the Archive of American Folk Song, a music collection housed at the Library of Congress. Some of her compositions appeared in the Industrial Workers of the World's (IWW) 1933 *The Red Book*. A pamphlet that fit into a worker's shirt or back pocket, it contained various labor songs and originated with the Workers Library, a left-wing, radical publisher affiliated with the IWW.

Not all protest music addressed coal mining. Dave McCarn (1905–1964), Bob Miller (1895–1955), and Dorsey Dixon (d. 1961) penned numerous songs telling of the dissatisfaction of southern textile workers and their attempts to organize. Singers like Tillman Cadle (1902–1994), Maurice Sugar (1891–1974), and a host of anonymous others protested on the side of labor throughout the 1930s.

At this same time, Earl Robinson (1910–1991), a composer who received an academic music **education**, chose to involve himself in various left-wing causes. His songs "Joe Hill" (1936) and "Abe Lincoln" (1938) did not enjoy commercial success, but

they attracted a cult following. Robinson's patriotic "Ballad for Americans" (1938), with lyrics by John Latouche (1914–1956), cries out against racial discrimination and persecution of all kinds. It achieved considerable renown as the result of a Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS radio) performance by singer Paul Robeson (1898–1976) in November 1939. The live audience erupted with a thunderous 15-minute standing ovation at the end of the song and brought both the singer and the composer nationwide acclaim. Robeson continued to perform the ballad on radio as well as recording it for Victor Records. "Ballad for Americans" immediately soared to the top of the charts and both the national Republican Party and the Communist Party featured it at their respective 1940 conventions.

Folk Music. Folk music also developed a small but devoted following. This form of musical expression generally originates and evolves through the process of oral transmission by the common people (the "folk") of a particular region. Many of the numbers recorded by the famous Carter Family in the 1930s represent this genre. A. P. Carter (1891–1960) led the trio, a group made up of himself, his wife, Sara (1898–1979), and her cousin Maybelle (1909–1978). For years, A. P. had traveled throughout the mountains of the Southeast and gathered old Appalachian songs, hymns, and lyrics from the people living there. In addition, the trio included other formats in their repertoire, most of which could fall under the broad category of country music.

Not all folk music traces its beginnings to the past; songwriters and lyricists, both amateur and professional, also create new folk songs. Woody Guthrie turned out to be one of the most famous. One of his early compositions, "So Long, It's Been Good to Know Ya" (1935), originally titled "Dusty Old Dust" and considered a "Dust Bowl ballad," describes the harsh weather and drought conditions on the Great Plains during the 1930s. Most of his music, however, did not receive its just recognition until the 1940s and later, although many of his works remain associated with the Depression years.

Radio executives at this time felt a responsibility to include some educational shows in their programming, and CBS broadcast *The American School of the Air* for 18 years, from 1930 to 1948. On its Tuesday broadcasts, the show featured "Folk Music of America," giving a showcase for songs new and old. The network made the production available to schools as a teaching supplement.

In order to preserve a portion of the musical heritage of the country, John Lomax (1867–1948) and his son Alan (1915–2002) traveled the country's back roads, especially in the rural South, from 1932 to 1942. During that time, they recorded over 10,000 songs that included a wide variety of music, ranging from folk and blues to labor and protest songs. The Macmillan Publishing Company accepted a proposal from the Lomaxes for an anthology of these songs and the Archive of American Folk Song provided the recording equipment. Although World War II cut their project short, they produced one of the finest collections of American folk music available anywhere.

Ethnic Music. An offshoot of the folk idiom, ethnic music in the United States tended to be localized and seldom achieved much popularity. Cajun songs, for example, rarely went beyond the borders of Louisiana. If any Cajun groups, such as the Hackberry Ramblers, enjoyed commercial success, it usually meant they had added country music or currently popular songs to their programs. One ethnic song, Czech in its roots with a murky history, defied the rules. "Beer Barrel Polka" probably had its origins in the mid-nineteenth century. An American, Lew Brown (1983–1958), added

English lyrics in 1939, with assistance from Wladimir A. Timm (active 1930s). The tune, widely recorded, received extensive radio play, and became a popular hit. Generally, however, polkas or other Czech music did not achieve commercial success, nor did much of anything else possessing strong ethnic components.

Country Music. Hardly the mass-market force it would later become in American culture, country music also searched for a diverse audience during the 1930s. The economic reality that few club owners had much available cash during the Depression greatly reduced the number of country musicians hired to perform at clubs or dancehalls. It therefore became crucial for aspiring artists in all genres to have exposure on the national radio networks as well as recording contracts. To illustrate: country music had been played on rural radio stations as early as the mid- to late 1920s, but most Americans had little acquaintance with this musical format. The National Broadcasting System (NBC radio), however, sensed enough of a following to pick up a Chicago show on affiliate station WLS. Initially called *The Barn Dance*, NBC changed the name to *The National Barn Dance* and began broadcasting it in 1933. Alka-Seltzer, a pain relief medicine, provided continuous sponsorship during the Depression years. Aired on Saturday evenings, the show primarily performed country tunes along with some swing, pop numbers, and rural humor by what became a cadre of regular performers plus their weekly guests.

The *Grand Ole Opry*, a competing show, offered similar fare out of station WSM in Nashville, Tennessee. The Opry, often called a "hillbilly show," originated in 1925, and NBC gained network rights to it in 1939. It offered humor, costumes, and numerous local amateur musicians and immediately followed *The National Barn Dance* for those who could pick up both broadcasts. The Opry quickly outgrew the WSM studios and performed in several Nashville theaters and auditoriums. Because of the popularity of these two shows, other rural radio stations began scheduling country music programs, but none demonstrated success comparable to that achieved by *The National Barn Dance* and *Grand Ole Opry*.

Although most urban audiences heard country music only on radio, some of its performers managed to establish successful careers through recordings. Jimmie Rodgers (1897–1933), a guitarist and vocalist often called "the Father of Country Music," took the name "the Singing Brakeman" from his days of working on the railroad. He frequently appeared in railroader's gear, although his job had long since ended. This workingman status immediately connected him with his mostly blue-collar audience. Rodgers' musical trademark involved distinctive "blue yodels," a cross between a Swiss yodel and a blues moan. His varied compositions attracted many admirers and, during a brief recording period that ran from 1927 until his death six years later, Rodgers cut over 100 songs that rang up sales estimated at over 12 million records.

Western Swing. A blend of big band Dixieland, swing, and jazz, along with some blues, country music guitars and violins, usually called fiddles, and singing, Western swing evolved alongside the national swing craze during the closing years of the decade. This unique music, mainly performed and heard in the southern and western states, especially Oklahoma and Texas, originally bore the names "Hillbilly Swing," "Okie Jazz," "Country Swing," "Southwestern Swing," and "Texas Swing." Its practitioners included such colorfully named bands as the High Flyers, the Tune Wranglers, and the Oklahoma Playboys.

One group, Bob Wills (1905–1975) and His Texas Playboys, included drums and horns in its instrumentation, thereby linking it with the big bands then beginning to rule the musical roost. Wills had first performed with the Fort Worth, Texas, Light Crust Doughboys, a name bestowed on them by their radio sponsor, the Burris Flour Company. Wills left the Doughboys in 1932 to form his own band, one that played primarily in Texas and neighboring states. In a short time, the Texas Playboys filled dancehalls and roadhouses whenever they went. Versatile, they could perform blues, rags, stomps, and syrupy ballads, as well as occasional jazz and swing numbers. The band landed a recording contract cutting sides like "Milk Cow Blues" (1934; words and music by Kokomo Arnold [1901–1968]). Their biggest hit, "San Antonio Rose" (1940; words and music by Bob Wills), made the national charts.

Prior to Wills, many string bands, playing variations of country music with guitars, fiddles, and other instrumentation, as well as swing numbers, traveled constantly, going from one small town to another, playing endless one-night stands in dancehalls and bars. Often called "territory bands," they covered a small geographical area, a practice that limited their exposure and their attractiveness for record firms looking for national sales. On those rare occasions when such bands did land a record contract, the companies usually promoted them only to narrow niche audiences, just as they did with "race records" for black performers and listeners. Western swing, with the possible exception of Bob Wills, seldom received national promotion or distribution.

Blues. A vocal and instrumental form, the blues originated in the United States in the late nineteenth century, having evolved from African chants, work songs, and black spirituals. In many ways, the blues presented a history of the black experience in America, and by the 1930s it had become firmly established as a part of the nation's musical tradition, especially jazz. The blues have flourished in urban centers such as Chicago and New York, as well as on rural back roads. Just a few of the notable blues artists from this period include Huddie Ledbetter (1888–1946; better known as Leadbelly), Big Bill Broonzy (1893–1958), Lonnie Johnson (1894–1970), Robert Johnson (1911–1938), Memphis Minnie (1897–1973), Bessie Smith (1894–1937), and Josh White (1908–1969). They, along with countless others, some known, some anonymous, could be found performing in clubs, roadhouses, joints, and dives, creating a legacy unique to the United States.

Gospel. Sometimes referred to as good news music, gospel also gained in popularity during the 1930s. The Reverend Thomas A. Dorsey (1899–1993), the acknowledged father of modern gospel songs, initially distinguished himself as a blues pianist. He offered a new style that combined traditional blues with spirituals, Baptist hymns, and other formats found in black churches. It quickly gained acceptance and, by 1932, Dorsey headed a gospel publishing house. In that same year, after the deaths of his wife and daughter, he wrote "Precious Lord, Take My Hand," a number that has become perhaps the best-known gospel song of all time. Another Dorsey piece, "There Will Be Peace in the Valley" (1937), has achieved enduring fame.

Sister Rosetta Tharpe (1915–1973), a skilled guitarist, presented her gospel message in several Decca recordings. "Hide Me in Thy Bosom" (1938) became a hit for her and its success led to an invitation from entrepreneur John Hammond (1910–1987) to appear in his 1938 From Spirituals to Swing concert. Hammond, also a producer for Columbia Records, expressed concern about the continuing racial divide in jazz and swing, a

situation that led him to organize this star-filled concert that integrated jazz, swing, blues, Dixieland, gospel, and even some folk music. Divided into seven sections, the program ranged from Sister Tharpe's gospel to big band swing by the **Count Basie** orchestra. Following her appearance in *From Spirituals to Swing*, Tharpe recorded another hit, "This Train," in 1939, and its wide sales helped put gospel permanently on the musical map.

Classical Music. On the "serious" side of music, American classical composers waged a constant struggle to attract attention to their work. Although critics might laud these talented people, orchestras tended to perform a "safe" repertoire of established composers from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such as Bach (1685–1750), Beethoven (1770–1827), and Tchaikovsky (1840–1893). Aware of this ongoing struggle, composer Aaron Copland (1900–1990) experimented with writing original music that reflected American culture instead of European models, an approach he felt the American public would accept more readily. Although his greatest and most popular works lay ahead of him, he nonetheless became one of the decade's best-known composers with pieces like Music for Radio (Prairie Journal) in 1937, followed the next year by Billy the Kid. Copland also wrote a number of film scores, including 1939's The City, a film shown continuously at the New York World's Fair, and Of Mice and Men (1939), a popular adaptation of John Steinbeck's (1902–1968) novella of the same name that had come out in 1937 to considerable acclaim.

A handful of other composers also achieved some limited recognition during the decade, chief among them Ferde Grofe (1892–1972). Born Ferdinand Rudolf von Grofe, he stands among a tiny circle of composers who established a popular following during the 1930s. An arranger and orchestrator for the popular Paul Whiteman (1890–1967) orchestra, Grofe in 1931 created *The Grand Canyon Suite*, an impressionistic composition that attempts to picture the canyon through the medium of music. The public liked the suite, especially "On the Trail," a section that evokes the sounds of donkey hooves descending the canyon. Much played on radio, *The Grand Canyon Suite* gained Grofe conducting and arranging jobs, and he emerged as one of the more visible composers of the 1930s.

Not nearly as well-known, William Grant Still (1895–1978) made a living in the early days of his musical career arranging compositions by the famed blues writer W. C. Handy (1873–1958). He also worked as an arranger for bands and theatrical productions. Still found additional employment with small record labels oriented to black consumers, such as Black Swan. While working busily in the nonclassical field, he found time to study composition at Oberlin College in Ohio and in New York with Edgard Varese (1885–1965), the French-born composer. Still combined his studies and many experiences to produce symphonic works that included African-American Symphony (1931) and Lenox Avenue (1937), and the operas Blue Steel (1935) and Troubled Island (1938).

Any discussion of formal American composition must include George Gershwin (1898–1937). After writing his famous *Rhapsody in Blue* in 1924, he experimented with other formats, such as two 1932 pieces, *Second Rhapsody* and *Cuban Overture* (originally titled *Rhumba*). Although he will be remembered first and foremost for his enormous impact on American popular song, his classical side led the way for others to assimilate the traditional and the nontraditional, especially jazz and blues.

Other Figures in the Area of "Serious American Music" for the Era

Howard Hanson (1896–1985), director at the Eastman School of Music in Rochester, New York, premiered two symphonies in the 1930s.

Roy Harris (1898–1979) used American folk music, dance rhythms, and jazz in his writing and had three symphonies performed during the decade.

Walter Piston (1894–1976), Roger Sessions (1896–1985), and Virgil Thomson (1896–1989) also received public recognition, albeit limited, for their efforts.

Many people believed that the key to appreciating "academic" music lay with education. Individuals in broadcasting, the recording industry, and New Deal projects felt an obligation to provide the American public access to classical music and to increase the size of the listening audience. The Federal Music Project supported instruction in music and music appreciation and funded countless classes that allowed 14 million students to take lessons. The broadcasting industry supported programming that did not focus entirely on performances but also included educational shows about the music and how to appreciate it.

One of the most successful programs of this type came from the National Broadcasting Company. *The Music Appreciation Hour* ran from 1928 to 1942 and aired every Friday at 11:00 A.M. in order to be convenient for use by schoolteachers. The show's producer and erudite host, Walter Damrosch (1862–1950), became something of a celebrity. He spoke directly to his audience, composed mainly of schoolchildren, about good music and illustrated his talks with recorded and live examples, never patronizing them in any way. Some rural schools, lacking receivers, would gather students on Friday mornings around an automobile equipped with a radio to listen to *The Music Appreciation Hour*.

The two primary radio networks, NBC and CBS, in a competitive battle for prestige, boasted in-house symphony orchestras led by world-renowned conductors that performed regularly. In addition, they saw to it that their programming included broadcasts by important orchestras across the country. Thus they aired programs such as *The Cleveland Symphony Orchestra* (NBC, 1932–1936; CBS, 1935–1936; NBC, 1936–1938), *The New York Philharmonic Orchestra* (CBS, 1927–1963), and *The NBC Symphony Orchestra* (NBC, 1937–1954). Of course, both networks also had connections to the recording industry and hoped that hearing classical music on the radio would prompt people to buy similar recordings.

Prominent sponsors supported these efforts, both for their own prestige and because it boosted sales. *The Firestone Hour* (NBC, 1928–1954; ABC, 1954–1957) became one of the longest-running such shows on radio. *The Ford Sunday Evening Hour* (CBS, 1934–1942) and *General Motors Concerts* (NBC, 1929–1937) permitted the two companies to present their products in a dignified cultural setting. Several conductors gained considerable celebrity during the 1930s through this radio exposure. Arthur Fiedler (1894–1979), Andre Kostelanetz (1901–1980), Leopold Stokowski (1882–1977), and Arturo Toscanini (1867–1957) can be counted among this select group.

Money and jobs may have been scarce, but the 1930s possessed music in abundance. A dramatic increase in the number of recordings available for sale, the development of a close relationship between recordings and radio, the attempts by classical composers to appeal to a broader range of people, and the effects of swing on everyone and everything produced significant changes for musicians and music lovers alike. Listeners developed a wide range of preferences, making it possible for many different kinds of music to

coexist. Despite the growth of alternative musical formats, however, popular songs and swing music easily dominated the decade.

See also Advertising; George & Ira Gershwin; Hillbillies; Jitterbug; Prohibition & Repeal; Race Relations & Stereotyping; Youth

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MUSICALS (STAGE & SCREEN). In April 1930, the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences (AMPAS) met for only the second time—the group had first convened in 1929—to determine what movies and what performers would win Academy Awards. The winner for Best Picture went to *Broadway Melody*, a 1929 Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM) musical that employed a crude early version of Technicolor, but also capitalized on the wide availability of sound in most theaters by then.

Clichéd and wooden by contemporary standards, *Broadway Melody* nonetheless impressed critics and audiences alike. Both stage and film musicals generally come across to their audiences as bright and breezy; they momentarily take people's minds off unpleasant realities; and they usually have more success than something dramatic that may reinforce glum feelings. With all these requisites, and with an Academy Award to boot, *Broadway Melody* inspired a wealth of new productions. That same year, 1929, Hollywood studios released 32 musical films, and, since they made money, the total jumped to an astronomical 72 in 1930, an all-time record for the industry.

Given the cyclical nature of virtually all forms of popular culture, movie musicals fell into the doldrums at the all-important box office in 1931, with 16 releases. It can be argued that the Depression caused this downturn, but other kinds of movies continued to draw patrons, especially, at the time, **gangster films**. So, while some other genres made money, the first few years of the new decade saw only a handful of attempts at producing musicals—the total fell to a mere seven in 1932, and not until 1933 and the unexpected success of Warner Brothers' **42nd Street** did **music** and dancing reinstate themselves with studios and audiences.

Flush with 42nd Street's success, Warner Brothers promptly released Gold Diggers of 1933. It, too, did well, and Ginger Rogers (1911–1995), emerging as a star in her own right, sings a cheery number called "Gold Digger's Song (We're in the Money)," with music by Harry Warren (1893–1981) and lyrics by Al Dubin (1891–1945). Destined to become two of the leading Hollywood songsmiths of the day, their work runs counter to all the grim statistics then gaining headlines. "We're in the Money" epitomizes the spunky, "can-do" attitudes espoused by many of the era's musicals, and helps to explain their renewed popularity.

For the remainder of the 1930s, musicals filled an important niche in Hollywood's crowded production schedule, with over 400 going into national release. The Motion Picture Academy recognized this renascence with Best Picture awards for *The Great Ziegfeld* (1936) and, a few years later, *Going My Way* (1944). By and large, however, critical recognition for film musicals lagged behind their public acceptance.

While the film capital dithered about the future of the motion picture musical, Broadway, the traditional home of such shows, went its merry way, putting on one popular production after another, along with its fair share of flops. Despite the success of shows like *Girl Crazy* (1930), *The Band Wagon* (1931), *Of Thee I Sing* (1932), and *Anything Goes* (1933), and the longevity of the music connected with them, not even stage musicals could escape the Depression's impact. In pre-Depression 1928, some 37 such shows had opened to mostly packed houses; the next year, 32 new offerings enticed audiences. But in 1930, the number fell slightly to 28. Hardly a momentous drop, since most people thought the economic slump would be brief, and many of the new shows had been planned prior to the October crash. Then reality struck: 1931 listed only 20 musicals, then 18 in 1932, and 13 in 1933. The numbers stayed low—10 to a dozen new productions—for the remainder of the decade, and then World War II intervened. The numbers reached in the late 1920s and early 1930s would never again be attained.

During much of the decade, the cream of American popular songwriters and lyricists could be found close to Broadway on New York's Tin Pan Alley. This remarkable pool of talent pumped much-needed blood into the so-called legitimate theater, in many ways sustaining it during the long, trying economic times of the Great Depression. Although only a small percentage of the nation's population attended these shows, effective promotion and technology allowed many more people to experience this music. Most of the audience outside New York City knew about the latest theatrical hits through radio and recordings, although sheet music also remained a force, albeit a declining one. Of course, if a musical became a movie, then the potential audience size soared. But the real reason these songs gained popularity rests with the music itself. The Broadway songwriters of the 1930s turned out an amazing number of enduring tunes, songs that today are called standards. Naturally, not everything achieved this estimable rank, so corny, mawkish, and downright silly songs also assaulted the ears and sensibilities of listeners. Nonetheless, the decade remains a unique period when one realizes just how many standards—those lasting melodies, those memorable lyrics that continue to come to mind—came from the Great White Way.

In any reckoning of the Broadway musical during the 1930s, the talents of Irving Berlin (1888–1989), George (1898–1937) and Ira Gershwin (1896–1983), Jerome Kern (1885–1945), Cole Porter (1891–1964), and Richard Rodgers (1902–1979) and Lorenz Hart (1895–1943) must always be considered. Broadway mounted 194 musicals between 1929 and 1940; of that total, 39, or 20 percent, boasted scores by these exceptional talents. Their collective contributions to American popular and show music during the 1930s have no equal, generations after many of the plays themselves survive only in memory.

In the middle years of the decade, a number of composers and lyricists, unable to find steady employment on Broadway, fled to Hollywood. Their flight hardly signified a cessation of creativity, and many occasionally made forays back to New York when a new play beckoned. The film studios observed what attracted theater audiences and quickly bought the film rights to successful shows. In many cases, the dust had hardly settled on the stage before a movie adaptation went into motion picture production. By the close of the 1930s, Hollywood had churned out some 450 musicals. And almost any movie project that Messrs. Berlin, Gershwin, Kern, Porter, Rodgers, or Hart collaborated on stood a better-than-average chance of being profitable at the box office, which meant they exerted a significant impact on the movies of the period.

A Representative Sampling of American Musicals, Both Stage and Screen from 1929 to 1940

1929 Titles	Composers & Lyricists	Comments
Stage:		
Sweet Adeline	Jerome Kern (1885–1945), music; Oscar Hammerstein II (1895–1960), lyrics	An exercise in nostalgia, set in the 1890s. It featured Helen Morgan (1900–1941). A movie adaptation made in 1935 stars Irene Dunne (1898–1990).
Fifty Million Frenchmen	Cole Porter (1891–1964), music and lyrics	An early Porter effort, the show offered "You Do Something to Me"; it went to the screen in 1931 but without his songs.
Movies:		
The Broadway Melody	Arthur Freed (1894–1973), music; Nacio Herb Brown (1896–1964), lyrics	Veteran entertainer George M. Cohan (1878–1942) performs his "Give My Regards to Broadway" (written 1904).
The Cocoanuts	Irving Berlin (1888–1989), music and lyrics	The film version of Berlin's 1925 stage play, it introduced the Marx Brothers to a mass public.

1930 Titles	Composers & Lyricists	Comments
Stage:		
Blackbirds of 1930	Eubie Blake (1883–1983), music; Andy Razaf (1895–1973), lyrics	All-black revues constituted a continuing part of the New York City stage scene.
Strike Up the Band	George Gershwin (1898–1937), music; Ira Gershwin (1896–1983), lyrics	In addition to the title tune, the Gershwin brothers contributed "Soon" and "I've Got a Crush on You"; the 1940 film version stars Judy Garland (1922–1969) and Mickey Rooney (b. 1920).
Movies:		
Check and Double Check	Duke Ellington (1899–1974), music (also others)	A film that capitalized on the enormous popularity of the radio team of Amos 'n' Andy , it was more a situation comedy than a true musical.
King of Jazz	Milton Ager (1893–1979), music; Jack Yellen (1892–1991), lyrics	A showcase for the Paul Whiteman (1890–1967) Orchestra, it featured vocalist Bing Crosby (1904–1977).

A Representative Sampling of American Musicals, Both Stage and Screen from 1929 to 1940 (Continued)

1931 Titles	Composers & Lyricists	Comments
Stage:		
The Band Wagon	Arthur Schwartz (1900–1984), music; Howard Dietz (1896–1983), lyrics	This was the final appearance on stage together for siblings Fred (1899–1987) and Adele (1898–1981) Astaire, one of Broadway's premier dancing partnerships. Filmed in 1953.
Billy Rose's Crazy Quilt	Harry Warren (1893–1981), music; Billy Rose (1899–1966) & Mort Dixon (1892–1956), lyrics	A good Depression song came from this musical, "I Found a Million-Dollar Baby (in a Five-and-Ten-Cent Store)."
Movies:		
Cuban Love Song	Jimmy McHugh (1894–1969) & Herbert Stothart (1885–1949), music; Dorothy Fields (1905–1974), lyrics	Former vaudeville star Jimmy Durante (1893–1980) provides comic relief.
Delicious	George Gershwin (1898–1937), music; Ira Gershwin (1896–1983), lyrics	One of the few joint Gershwin ventures into the movies, the film introduces Manhattan Rhapsody, a composition that would become 1932's Second Rhapsody for Piano and Orchestra.

1932 Titles	Composers & Lyricists	Comments
Stage:		
Earl Carroll Vanities	Harold Arlen (1905–1986), music; Ted Koehler (1894–1973), lyrics	The show, a revue, introduced the standard "I Gotta Right to Sing the Blues."
Gay Divorce	Cole Porter (1891–1964), music and lyrics	One of the great Porter scores, including "Night and Day," was brought to the screen in 1934 as <i>The Gay Divorcee</i> , with Fred Astaire (1899–1987) and Ginger Rogers (1911–1995).
Movies:		
The Big Broadcast of 1932	Various	With radio gaining in popularity, the film industry took some of the new medium's biggest stars and put them in a movie. Includes Bing Crosby (1904–1977), Kate Smith (1907–1986), and Cab Calloway (1907–1994).
Crooner	Little Jack Little (1899–1956) & John Siras (active 1930s), music; Joe Young (active 1930s), lyrics	The title reflects the craze for crooning then in vogue.

1933 Titles	Composers & Lyricists	Comments
Stage:		
As Thousands Cheer	Irving Berlin (1888–1989), music and lyrics	A topical musical, done as a Living Newspaper. Mostly humorous, but it included Ethel Waters (1896–1977) performing a wrenching "Suppertime."
Roberta	Jerome Kern (1885–1945), music; Otto Harbach (1873–1963), lyrics	One of Kern's best; it included "Smoke Gets in Your Eyes" and "Yesterdays." Made into a movie in 1935 and for television in 1969.
Movies:		
Flying Down to Rio	Vincent Youmans (1898–1946), music; Gus Kahn (1886–1941) & Edward Eliscu (1902–1998), lyricists	The movie that introduced Fred Astaire (1899–1987) and Ginger Rogers (1911–1995) to an adoring moviegoing public, it features a rousing "Carioca."
Footlight Parade	Harry Warren (1893–1981), music; Al Dubin (1891–1945), lyrics	Ruby Keeler (1909–1993) and Dick Powell (1904–1963) sing and dance, cementing a popular partnership that endured for much of the decade.

1934 Titles	Composers & Lyricists	Comments
Stage:		
(1908–1984) singing some of her best numbers, i		One of the great Broadway musicals, it featured Ethel Merman (1908–1984) singing some of her best numbers, including "Blow, Gabriel, Blow." Adapted for film in 1936 and again in 1956.
Ziegfeld Follies of 1934	Vernon Duke (1893–1969), music; E. Y. Harburg (1896–1981), lyrics	In addition to an all-star cast, the show introduced a new standard, "What Is There to Say?"
Movies:		
Belle of the Nineties	Arthur Johnston (1898–1954), music; Sam Coslow (1902–1982), lyrics	Features the inimitable Mae West (1893–1980) singing "My Old Flame."
Bright Eyes	Richard Whiting (1891–1938), music; Sidney Clare (1892–1972), lyrics	Child star Shirley Temple (b. 1928) gets to sing her signature song, "On the Good Ship Lollipop."

A Representative Sampling of American Musicals, Both Stage and Screen from 1929 to 1940 (Continued)

1935 Titles	Composers & Lyricists	Comments
Stage:		
Jumbo	Richard Rodgers (1902–1979), music; Lorenz Hart (1895–1943), lyrics	Staged to resemble a circus, this extravaganza offered Rodgers and Hart's "Little Girl Blue" and "My Romance." Made into a movie in 1962.
May Wine	Sigmund Romberg (1887–1951), music; Oscar Hammerstein II (1895–1960), lyrics	A modernistic and offbeat offering from Romberg dealing with psychoanalysis that does not neatly fit the usual "operetta" definition; it contained "Once around the Clock."
Movies:		
Gold Diggers of 1935	Harry Warren (1893–1981), music; Al Dubin (1891–1945), lyrics	Dubin and Warren, by this time Hollywood veterans, contribute the memorable "Lullaby of Broadway."
Top Hat	Irving Berlin (1888–1989), music and lyrics	A dazzling Berlin score makes this fourth Astaire/Rogers outing one of their best, with tunes like "Cheek to Cheek," "Isn't This a Lovely Day?" and "Top Hat, White Tie, and Tails."

1936 Titles	Composers & Lyricists	Comments
Stage:		
On Your Toes	Richard Rodgers (1902–1979), music; Lorenz Hart (1895–1943), lyrics	An ambitious musical, it included Rodgers' ballet suite, "Slaughter on Tenth Avenue." Made as a movie in 1939.
Ziegfeld Follies of 1936	Vernon Duke (1903–1969), music; Ira Gershwin (1896–1983), lyrics	An edition of the Follies that introduced "I Can't Get Started (with You)," a topical number that Bob Hope (1903–2003) sang on stage to Eve Arden (1909–1990).
Movies:		
Big Broadcast of 1937	Ralph Rainger (1901–1942), music; Leo Robin (1900–1984), lyrics	A film that blends radio stars and their movie counterparts. Benny Goodman (1909–1986) and his band hint at the gradual dominance of swing .
Pennies from Heaven	Arthur Johnston (1898–1954), music; Johnny Burke (1908–1964), lyrics	This picture has Bing Crosby (1904–1977) crooning the title tune and includes jazz trumpeter Louis Armstrong (1901–1971).

1937 Titles	Composers & Lyricists	Comments
Stage:		
I'd Rather Be Right	Richard Rodgers (1902–1979), music; Lorenz Hart (1895–1943), lyrics	A musical with strong political overtones, George M. Cohan (1878–1942) played President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945).
Garme forman		An unusual off-Broadway show, produced by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, it ran for a record-breaking 1,108 performances, and featured such numbers as "Sing Me a Song of Social Significance."
Movies:		
Gold Diggers of 1937	Harry Warren (1893–1981), music; Al Dubin (1891–1945), lyrics	Another snappy score from Warren and Dubin kept this series going, with numbers like "With Plenty of Money and You" and choreography by Busby Berkeley (1895–1976).
Ready, Willing, and Able	Richard Whiting (1893–1981), music; Johnny Mercer (1909–1976) lyrics	Thanks to elaborate sets, Ruby Keeler (1909–1993) can dance on the keys of a giant typewriter while she sings "Handy with Your Feet."

1938 Titles	Composers & Lyricists	Comments
Stage:		
The Cradle Will Rock	Marc Blitzstein (1905–1964), music and lyrics	In keeping with the success enjoyed by <i>Pins and Needles</i> (1937), this labor-oriented musical had its roots with the Federal Theatre Project (FTP) and soon became a cause célèbre, running for 108 performances.
Knickerbocker Holiday	Kurt Weill (1900–1950), music; Maxwell Anderson (1888–1959), lyrics	The highlight of this show occurred when actor Walter Huston (1884–1950) more or less spoke the words to "September Song" and made it a hit. It became a movie in 1944.
Movies:		
Sweethearts	Victor Herbert (1859–1924), music and lyrics (first performed in 1913)	The craze for operettas continued unabated, especially those with Jeanette MacDonald (1903–1965) and Nelson Eddy (1901–1967), even if it meant resurrecting older works, such as this 1913 Herbert chestnut.
Thanks for the Memory	Hoagy Carmichael (1899–1981), music; Frank Loesser (1910–1969), lyrics	A Bob Hope (1903–2003) vehicle, but the Carmichael/Loesser score provides plenty of good music such as "Two Sleepy People."

A Representative Sampling of American Musicals, Both Stage and Screen from 1929 to 1940 (Continued)

1939 Titles	Composers & Lyricists	Comments
Stage:		
Stars in Your Eyes	Arthur Schwartz (1900–1984), music; Dorothy Fields (1905–1974), lyrics	Ethel Merman (1908–1984) and Jimmy Durante (1898–1980) headed the cast singing Fields' sophisticated lyrics.
Very Warm for May	Jerome Kern (1885–1945), music; Oscar Hammerstein II (1895–1960), lyrics	Although it ran for only 59 performances, this Kern/Hammerstein collaboration offered the standard "All the Things You Are."
Movies:		
Babes in Arms	Richard Rodgers (1902–1979), music; Lorenz Hart (1895–1943), lyrics	Among Hollywood's most popular younger players, Judy Garland (1922–1969) and Mickey Rooney (b. 1920) exude innocence and charm, plus they do well together in musicals. Adapted from the 1937 stage version.
The Wizard of Oz	Harold Arlen (1905–1986), music; E. Y. Harburg (1896–1981), lyrics	A beloved musical for all ages, with a splendid score, it includes "Over the Rainbow," "We're Off to See the Wizard," and "The Jitterbug ."

1940 Titles	Composers & Lyricists	Comments
Stage:		
Cabin in the Sky	Vernon Duke (1903–1969), music; John Latouche (1917–1956), lyrics	An all-black musical, it features Ethel Waters (1896–1977) doing "Taking a Chance on Love." Made as a movie in 1943.
Pal Joey	Richard Rodgers (1902–1979), music; Lorenz Hart (1895–1943), lyrics	This classic tale of a heel has Gene Kelly (1912–1996) in the title role; the enduring score includes "I Could Write a Book," "Bewitched, Bothered, and Bewildered," and "Zip." The show came to the screen in 1957, and Frank Sinatra (1915–1998) famously reprised the part of Joey.
Movies:		
Pinocchio	Leigh Harline (1907–1969), music; Ned Washington (1901–1976), lyrics	One of Walt Disney's (1901–1966) animated gems, the film has some memorable music, especially "When You Wish upon a Star" and "Whistle While You Work."
You'll Find Out	Jimmy McHugh (1895–1969), music; Johnny Mercer (1909–1976), lyrics	Although it features horror stars Boris Karloff (1887–1969), Bela Lugosi (1882–1956), and Peter Lorre (1904–1964), this really exists as a vehicle for Kay Kyser (1905–1985) and his band. A swing era picture, music comes before the scares.

Broadway and Hollywood provided the nation with an ample supply of timeless music. Shows and movies like *Roberta*, *Girl Crazy*, and *On Your Toes* lit up marquees, creating more standards than anyone realized at the time. Radio, records, **jukeboxes**, and sheet music assured that millions everywhere got to know the tunes. Despite the bleakness of the Depression, musicals continued to attract backers, delighting their audiences everywhere.

See also Circuses; Leisure & Recreation; New Deal; Stage Productions

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MYSTERIES & HARD-BOILED DETECTIVES (PRINT & FILM). Many best sellers came and went throughout the 1930s—The Good Earth, Anthony Adverse, Gone with the Wind, The Grapes of Wrath, for example—but no category of fiction boasted more fans and sold more consistently than mysteries. Individual titles in this genre might not generate huge, headline-making sales, but the sheer volume of releases, coupled with millions of devoted readers, made for steady business and profits.

Writing about **crime**, criminals, and how they do what they do dates back to the earliest literature. The gothic tales of the eighteenth century, along with the nineteenth-century exploits of Edgar Allan Poe's (1809–1949) Inspector C. Auguste Dupin and Arthur Conan Doyle's (1859–1930) Sherlock Holmes, delighted audiences. The dime novels of the turn of the century promised thrills without end, and the rise of **pulp magazines**, with their lurid covers, continued the tradition. Throughout the years, the formula has almost always remained the same: a crime is committed, confusion reigns, a hero takes control of the situation, and justice is done. Getting to justice constitutes the fun—who committed the crime (or "whodunit?" a popular name given the entire genre), and how will the villain be caught?

Part of the pleasure readers experience with mysteries rests with the comfort provided by the formula of order–disorder–restoration of order. Within that loose definition, writers could let their imaginations run free, introducing nasty criminals, nastier crimes, and clever heroes who could unravel even the most sinister schemes. The Great Depression, with uncertainty at every turn, provided an ideal climate for the sureties contained within the pages of a good mystery.

The period between the two world wars—1920–1940, in round numbers—has been called the golden age of mystery fiction, at least a particular kind of mystery fiction. During these 20 years, a diverse collection of writers, many of them English—but authors who nonetheless enjoyed a wide following in the United States—penned an unusually

large number of enduring novels about crime and detection. Most of these stories relied on brains, not brawn, and then often took place in stately drawing rooms instead of the "mean streets" of so much contemporary mystery writing. In many ways a last gasp of Victorian gentility, golden age novels frequently featured a talented amateur sleuth, sometimes referred to as a "great detective," who uses external clues and his (or her) intuition to solve the seemingly unsolvable. Gunplay and violence take a back seat to the challenge of the puzzle presented by the crime. These plots invite readers to participate in a literary game of matching wits with the hero, a game in which the unwritten rules decree that the reader have access to all clues (including red herrings, or misleading clues) and that no tricks, such as last-minute revelations, hidden information, and the like, can be played. This kind of mystery fiction, an intellectual exercise for the afficionado, flourished in the 1930s and continues to draw countless fans today.

The following writers enjoyed particular popularity as creators of sophisticated puzzles of crime and detection, especially during the Depression era:

John Dickson Carr (1906–1977). Born in Pennsylvania, Carr, who also employed the pseudonyms Carter Dickson and others for some of his writing, spent the years 1931 to 1948 in England, and many of his tales have either an English or European setting. Acknowledged as a master of the "locked room" puzzle—stories that present crimes that seem to defy any rational solution—Carr introduced Dr. Gideon Fell, a lexicographer, as his primary hero in Hag's Nook (1933), a story in which the portly, erudite gentleman astounds everyone by deducing what happened. A popular writer, Carr also featured Fell in The Three Coffins (1935), The Crooked Hinge (1938), and The Problem of the Wire Cage (1939), among others, and carried on the tradition of the mystery story as a proper and civil entertainment.

In contrast to most of his contemporaries, Carr did not have the pleasure, either personal or financial, of seeing his stories go to film in the 1930s. Not until the late 1940s did **movies**, **radio**, and later, **television**, begin to mine his trove of materials.

Leslie Charteris (1907–1993). The child of a Chinese father and an English mother, Leslie Charles Bowyer Yin changed his surname to Charteris in 1926. More than almost any other author of the era, Charteris exemplified the man of the world. A variety of colorful jobs and adventures led him to writing, and in 1928 he created Simon Templar in a novel titled *Meet the Tiger!* The stories involving Templar, better known as "the Saint," made some stir, since his debonair character exists as something of a rogue, operating on both sides of the law. In the end, however, Templar always comes down on the right side.

The prolific Charteris wrote a string of Saint adventures during the 1930s, such as *The Avenging Saint* (1931), *The Saint vs. Scotland Yard* (1932), and *Saint Overboard* (1936), plus several collections of short stories culled from various pulp **magazines** in which he had been published. Such was the series' popularity that *Meet the Tiger!* in 1945 became *The Saint Meets the Tiger* to capitalize on the hero's fame; most of his early work similarly received new titles with the word "Saint" included.

Hollywood liked the ambiguity of the hero-scoundrel and cast Louis Hayward (1909–1985) as Simon Templar in *The Saint in New York* (1938). Shortly thereafter, the always-suave George Sanders (1906–1972) took over the role for five pictures. His reign began with *The Saint Strikes Back* (1939; based on the 1932 novel *Angels of Doom*) and ended with *The Saint in Palm Springs* (1941), for which Charteris contributed the screenplay.

Other Saint movies would follow throughout the remainder of the century, along with a long-running television series.

Agatha Christie (1890–1976). This distinguished English mystery writer has become universally known as "the first lady of crime." One of the most popular authors of any time, her books have sold in the hundreds of millions, and most of them remain in print. Her first effort, *The Mysterious Affair at Styles* (1920), introduced the dapper Belgian detective Hercule Poirot, a character destined to appear in another 33 titles, along with a host of Poirot short stories. In 1930, with *The Murder at the Vicarage*, she created Miss Jane Marple, a delightful amateur sleuth who seemingly stumbles onto crimes but always manages to find the solution. A Christie mystery follows the rule of classic golden age detection—a background of sophistication and wealth, a puzzling crime, and nothing kept from the reader.

During the 1930s alone, Christie wrote some 24 novels, along with 3 plays, and 2 radio scripts. Ahead of her time, she also adapted "Wasp's Nest" (1937) and "Love from a Stranger" (1938) for television productions. Among her novels from that period, Murder on the Orient Express (1934), The A.B.C. Murders (1936), Death on the Nile (1937), and And Then There Were None (aka Ten Little Indians) (1939) have remained especially fresh for contemporary readers.

Frequently adapted for film, Christie's movies include Alibi (1931; taken from 1926's The Murder of Roger Ackroyd), The Lacquered Box (1932; taken from her 1930 play, Black Coffee), Lord Edgware Dies (1934; taken from the 1933 novel of the same name), and A Night of Terror (1937; aka Love from a Stranger; taken from a 1934 story, "Philomel Cottage"). Regardless of medium, her work exemplifies the best of the golden age writers.

Ellery Queen. Another best-selling author from the 1930s, Ellery Queen is the pen name of two cousins, Manfred B. Lee (1905–1971) and Frederic Dannay (1905–1982). The first Ellery Queen novel, *The Roman Hat Mystery*, appeared in 1929. In it, readers immediately discover that both the author and the main character are one and the same, a strategy employed in all subsequent Queen mysteries. An instant success, *The Roman Hat Mystery* prompted the two Brooklyn-born writers to continue their efforts. One of their best, *The Dutch Shoe Mystery*, came out in 1931. Three years later, they published *The Chinese Orange Mystery* and *The Adventures of Ellery Queen*, the latter a collection of short stories. They ultimately wrote 33 novels about their character. On the last pages, just before the solution, they frequently included a "challenge to the reader," a device to test observation and memory. Can the reader, possessing the same information as Ellery Queen, solve the puzzle? A gimmick, but one that proved popular.

Given the attraction of mysteries in any format, several Ellery Queen tales have been adapted to film. For the 1930s, Donald Cook (1901–1961) took the detective's role in *The Spanish Cape Mystery* (1935), followed by Eddie Quillan (1907–1990) in *The Mandarin Mystery* (1936), and Ralph Bellamy (1904–1991) in *Ellery Queen*, *Master Detective* (1940). Low-budget efforts, their clever plotting kept audiences entertained.

Dorothy L. Sayers (1893–1957). Another English writer, Sayers quickly developed an American following in the 1920s with a series of books featuring Lord Peter Wimsey, an eccentric aristocrat who dabbles in solving crimes. Sayers's detailing of the English upper classes, often laced with genteel humor, endeared her to many readers, and several of her novels written in the 1930s, such as *Strong Poison* (1930),

Murder Must Advertise (1933), and The Nine Tailors (1934), have become classics of the genre on both sides of the Atlantic.

With a lack of physical action characterizing Sayers's stories, they proved difficult to film, but two adaptations did play movie theaters in the 1930s. A slow-moving Silent Passenger (1935; screenplay by Sayers) marked Lord Wimsey's less-than-auspicious film debut; another effort, Busman's Honeymoon (based on her 1937 novel), came along in 1940. Despite the presence of Robert Montgomery (1904–1981) as Wimsey in the latter picture, the movie got lost among a welter of faster-moving, faster-paced mysteries on celluloid.

S. Van Dine. The pseudonym of Willard Huntington Wright (1887–1939), a Virginia-born scholar, journalist, art critic, and editor, he made his pen name famous when he introduced amateur detective Philo Vance. A literary alter ego, Vance first appeared in *The Benson Murder Case* in 1926. An imperious snob, the detective initially intrigued readers, but his popularity waned during the 1930s when his disdain for lesser mortals seemed out of place in the midst of a worldwide economic depression.

Vance's decline took some time, however, and titles like *The Scarab Murder Case* (1930) and *The Casino Murder Case* (1934) continued to attract a sizable public. The unusual *Gracie Allen Murder Case* (1938) features the popular real-life comedian, a star of both radio and movies. In addition, Van Dine's early novels found prompt conversion into movies, such as *The Canary Murder Case* (1929) and *The Benson Murder Case* (1930). Well ensconced in pictures, with 10 films during the 1930s alone, Philo Vance may have enjoyed more popularity on screen than he did in books; actors like Basil Rathbone (1892–1967; *The Bishop Murder Case*, 1930), William Powell (1892–1984; *The Kennel Murder Case*, 1933), Edmund Lowe (1890–1971; *The Garden Murder Case*, 1936), and Warren William (1894–1948; *The Gracie Allen Murder Case*, 1939) took on the role of the learned detective. Van Dine also wrote a series of stories in the early 1930s for Warner Brothers; the studio then converted at least some of them into short features.

In contrast to the rather subdued and genteel mysteries about crime and the fine art of detection, a darker side to mystery writing exploits violence, sex, and general disorder. Appropriately called the hard-boiled format, this approach to crime writing is America's greatest contribution to the overall mystery genre. As a rule, snappy dialogue, frequent gunplay, and a general disregard for legal niceties characterize much within this free-wheeling category. But, since both genteel mysteries and hard-boiled ones deal with crime and criminals, what might seem poles apart also have much in common.

Dashiell Hammett (1894–1961). Among the first writers to explore the limits of tough-guy prose and ultimately one of the most important writers in the hard-boiled genre, Hammett also brought the best credentials to the job. He worked, beginning in 1915, for the Pinkerton National Detective Agency as an operative, or "op" in the slang of the day. Out of this experience grew "the Continental Op," a nameless detective employed by the fictional Continental Agency, and the hero of a series of short stories Hammett wrote during the 1920s for the influential *Black Mask*, one of the leading pulp magazines.

Over three dozen short stories later, Hammett felt ready to tackle longer fiction. Two novels, *The Dain Curse* and *Red Harvest*, both published in 1929, announced the arrival of a new talent and the birth of a new genre of mystery writing, the hard-boiled

detective novel. They featured his Continental Op again, but in longer, more complex adventures. The following year saw the release of *The Maltese Falcon*, Hammett's third novel, which introduced detective Sam Spade, a character much like the Op. Neither wealthy nor sophisticated in the manner of Lord Wimsey or Ellery Queen, this new breed of crime solver gets beaten up, drinks too much, and more or less staggers to a resolution. These bedraggled, tough-talking heroes presaged the decline of the great detective and the rise of a more commonplace, identifiable figure, one more appropriate to the despair many felt in the Depression.

Hammett followed *The Maltese Falcon* with *The Glass Key* (1931), an offbeat tale that would feature not Spade, but a sympathetic gangster, Ned Beaumont, as its primary character. He followed this departure with *The Thin Man*, his last novel, in 1934. This work introduced readers to Nick and Nora Charles, a wealthy, debonair couple who practice some amateur sleuthing. His writing career went downhill after *The Thin Man*, although Hammett would help script *Secret Agent X-9*, a popular detective comic strip drawn by Alex Raymond (1909–1956), for several years.

Although he wrote little after 1934, Hammett's efforts took on a life of their own in Hollywood and later on network radio. The initial movie adaptation of *Red Harvest*, played as *Roadhouse Nights* in 1930. The following year, *The Maltese Falcon* saw the first of several incarnations, with Ricardo Cortez (1899–1977) as Sam Spade. It came around again in 1936, bearing the title *Satan Met a Lady*. Warren William (1894–1948) plays Spade, but the script calls him "Ted Shayne." In 1941, Warner Brothers released what most critics call the definitive version, with Humphrey Bogart (1899–1857) at his best as Spade.

Little-known Hammett short stories, such as City Streets (1931), Woman in the Dark (1934), and Mister Dynamite (1935) also appeared in theaters, and the cinematic adaptation of The Glass Key (1935) remains a good interpretation of his novel bearing the same name. George Raft (1895–1980), noted for his gangster portrayals, handles the role of Ned Beaumont.

Hammett's biggest splash in the movies, however, did not occur with his tough-guy gangster tales, but in a long series of pictures, and comedies at that, all loosely taken from 1934's *The Thin Man*. That same year, MGM brought out *The Thin Man*, said to be an interpretation of Hammett's novel. Starring William Powell (1892–1984) and Myrna Loy (1905–1993) as Nick and Nora Charles, the movie owes more to screwball comedy than it does to mystery. With murder and mayhem replaced by witty banter, *The Thin Man* struck a chord with Depression-era audiences. In no time, MGM released *After the Thin Man* (1936), a picture even farther removed from Hammett's original creation. Marquees advertised *Another Thin Man* in 1939, and then *Shadow of the Thin Man* (1941), *The Thin Man Goes Home* (1944), and *Song of the Thin Man* (1947). All six star Powell and Loy, and somewhere along the line Dashiell Hammett had been completely forgotten.

Radio adaptations did not take place until the 1940s. Sam Spade, *The Thin Man*, and "the Fat Man" (loosely based on a character from *The Maltese Falcon*) all enjoyed runs on the networks. The hard-boiled detectives of the 1920s and 1930s had become part not just of crime fiction but of American popular culture.

Raymond Chandler (1888–1959). Chicago-born, Chandler spent his boyhood in England and on the Continent. While abroad, he wrote some desultory poetry and essays, eventually returning to the United States and settling in California. He served

with the Canadian army in World War I; after the armistice, he studied accounting and became an executive with a California oil company. Alcoholism lost him his job, and he decided to write mysteries for the popular pulp magazines of the day. With "Blackmailers Don't Shoot," a story published by *Black Mask* in 1933, he felt encouraged to continue writing. Over the next several years, ten more stories appeared in *Black Mask*, seven in *Dime Detective*, and a handful of others in competing periodicals. Realizing he could not make a decent living with pulp fiction no matter how much he wrote, Chandler began working on his first novel, *The Big Sleep*, which came out in 1939. In it, he introduced Philip Marlowe, a wisecracking, down-at-the-heels detective, and one of the more enduring characters in American fiction.

His second novel, another Marlowe outing, bore the title Farewell, My Lovely (1940). This book and The Big Sleep firmly established Chandler as one of the most important mystery writers of the late 1930s and beyond. These two works also made him the logical inheritor of the mantle worn by Dashiell Hammett. Unlike the more mean-spirited Continental Op, however, Philip Marlowe acts on his own battered set of personal ethics, a kind of weary knight errant in a bleak, unethical world. Chandler's use of poetic devices, especially metaphor and simile, have given him a reputation as a master of style, and he brought a new dimension of literacy to hard-boiled crime fiction.

Both movie and radio adaptations of Raymond Chandler's work would prove successful, but not until the 1940s and later. His fame in the 1930s, such as it was, remained limited to short stories and *The Big Sleep*.

James M. Cain (1892–1977). A college graduate at age 18, Cain drifted in search of a career. He wrote for several newspapers, tried his hand as a playwright (*Crashing the Pearly Gates*, 1926), and finally moved to Hollywood as a scriptwriter in 1930. Cain failed at writing for the movies, but he became fascinated with lurid news reports about lust and murder, themes he employed with his first novel, *The Postman Always Rings Twice* (1934). An immediate success, the book brought offers for additional work, and he obliged.

Double Indemnity (1936) followed, and it too sold well. In the novel, he employs a favorite device, that of a femme fatale, and much of the plot comes from crime reports he read in tabloids. The writing, spare and direct, equaled anything that might be found in pulp magazines, making Cain a member of the hard-boiled school of fiction. Instead of world-weary private eyes investigating vicious crimes, he focused on ordinary people caught up in events they can no longer control. Led on by their desires, they get trapped and their world crashes down around them. Detection and intellect have little play in this universe, and Cain, hard-boiled as he is, leaves mystery behind in his dogged exploration of human frailty.

Rex Stout (1886–1975). A Midwesterner by birth, Stout engaged in countless menial jobs as a young man while he tried to find markets for his stories and poems. After travel to Europe, and several books, and some success as a novelist—How Like a God (1929) received good notices—Stout returned to the United States and tried his hand at mystery writing. The Saturday Evening Post serialized his first effort, a tale titled Fer-de-Lance, and it came out in book form in 1934. It did well, probably because of its improbable detective hero, Nero Wolfe.

Skirting a narrow line between the elegant golden age detectives and their more hardboiled kin, Stout created in Nero Wolfe a massively overweight, agoraphobic, **food-** and orchid-loving aesthete who spends his time holed up in his Manhattan brownstone. He assigns the physical chores of detection to his feisty sidekick, Archie Goodwin, a man not above occasional violence. This unlikely duo caught the public fancy immediately, and with titles like *The League of Frightened Men* (1935), *Too Many Cooks* (1938), and *Some Buried Caesar* (1939), Stout had emerged as a leading mystery writer by the end of the decade.

The Nero Wolfe franchise remained popular until Stout's death and enjoyed a revival with three television series, the first in 1979, followed by a second in 1981, and yet another in 2001. During the 1930s, Meet Nero Wolfe (1936; a retitling of Fer-de-Lance) and The League of Frightened Men (1937; based on the novel of the same name) entertained moviegoers. Lionel Stander (1908–1994) plays Archie in each; Edward Arnold (1890–1956) plays Wolfe, followed by Walter Connolly (1887–1940) in the second film.

Nero Wolfe in many ways resembles the Philo Vances, Lord Wimseys, and Hercule Poirots of a more refined school of storytelling. His personal idiosyncrasies and sheer intellect bring to mind Gideon Fell and Ellery Queen. The acceptance of a harder, darker world outside the drawing rooms and parlors of these characters leads to a more modern, less romantic approach to crime.

Erle Stanley Gardner (1889–1970). Another writer who straddles the gulf between suave detectives and brawling gumshoes, Gardner began, as did so many other authors during the 1920s and 1930s, by writing for the pulps. In 1933, however, he published *The Case of the Velvet Claws*, his first novel. It introduced readers to Perry Mason, a brilliant attorney who often acts more like a private detective. In that initial work, Mason in fact seems closer to the tough private eyes of hard-boiled fiction than he does to the more sophisticated characters found in the likes of John Dickson Carr or Ellery Queen. Over time, however, the rough edges got smoothed out, and Perry Mason moved more and more in the direction of classic crime fiction and farther away from the rough-and-tumble worlds of Hammett and Chandler.

Earl Derr Biggers (1884–1933) and John P. Marquand (1893–1960). Brief mention must be made of a pair of writers who created a unique body of mystery fiction. Biggers stands behind the figure of Charlie Chan, a Chinese detective who made his debut in 1925; Marquand can boast Mr. Moto, a Japanese sleuth who first appeared in 1935. These distinctive Asian characters attracted considerable popular attention, initially in books, and later in successful movie series.

The Ohio-born Biggers created his "Oriental detective" following a vacation in Hawaii. He would write six Chan novels, four in the 1920s and two in the 1930s, Charlie Chan Carries On (1930) and Keeper of the Keys (1932). Almost as soon as Biggers completed one, Hollywood movie studios bought the rights to it. The Chan movies proved so successful that demand quickly outstripped supply, and so a string of original films, "based on a character created by Earl Derr Biggers," became the norm.

Basically undistinguished B movies, the many screen presentations of Charlie Chan ranged from *The Black Camel* (1931) to *Charlie Chan in Paris* (1935) to *The Sky Dragon* (1949). Warner Oland (1879–1938), a native Swede, starred in 16 such adventures; Missourian Sidney Toler (1874–1947) played the detective in 22 pictures; and Boston-born Roland Winters (1904–1989) completed the extended series with 6 appearances. Despite the availability of competent Chinese actors, the studios clearly felt compelled to hire white players to impersonate an Asian detective, a commentary on the racial attitudes of the times.

A nondescript comic strip based on Biggers's detective appeared in newspapers beginning in 1938; cartoonist Alfred Andriola (1912–1983) supplied the artwork. After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, some people deemed it unwise to have a strip featuring any Asian heroes, and its syndicate unceremoniously dropped it in 1942. In retrospect, the books, the movies, and the comics all failed to break any substantive ground for mysteries, finding their popularity instead with the continuing amiable character of Charlie Chan.

Marquand, a prize-winning American author best known for delicately drawn novels of social manners such as *The Late George Apley* (1938), also produced a popular series of tales that employed exotic settings. His stories involve Mr. Moto, an operative with the Japanese secret service. Capitalizing, no doubt, on the ongoing popularity of Charlie Chan, four Mr. Moto mysteries came out during the 1930s, beginning with *No Hero* in 1935. Based on a short story titled "Mr. Moto Takes a Hand" that the *Saturday Evening Post* serialized, its success led Marquand to continue the adventures of his fictional character. *Thank You*, Mr. Moto (1936), *Think Fast*, Mr. Moto (1936), and Mr. Moto Is So Sorry (1938) completed the series for the decade, although others would follow. In each case, the *Saturday Evening Post* ran them as **serials**, greatly broadening the audience.

Hollywood, always on the lookout for a marketable series, wasted no time in adapting the Japanese detective for film. Eight movies came out between 1937 (*Think Fast*, Mr. Moto) and 1939 (Mr. Moto Takes a Vacation) before international events and a growing distrust of Japan brought the series to a halt. Peter Lorre (1904–1964), an Austrian-born actor, played Moto in every one. Once again, the studios chose a non-Asian for the lead, and makeup and large glasses cannot hide the fact. Like the Charlie Chan movies they reflect the racism that continued to permeate the film capital. Despite their popularity, neither Charlie Chan nor Mr. Moto can be considered among the great detectives, nor do they fit comfortably into the hard-boiled genre that had gained so much popularity during the decade.

Mysteries in general enjoyed continuing good sales during the 1930s. Whether they involved a sophisticated drawing-room puzzle or quick fists and faster guns, tales of crime and detection were among the most successful of all literary types throughout the decade.

See also Comic Books; Comic Strips; Federal Bureau of Investigation; Gangster Films; Race Relations & Stereotyping; Radio Networks; Screwball Comedies

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NATIONAL BARN DANCE, THE. Country **music**, both live and recorded, began to make its first appearances on **radio** stations in the mid- to late 1920s. WLS, a Chicagobased station owned by merchandising giant Sears, Roebuck and Company (the call letters stand for World's Largest Store), first broadcast a program called *The Barn Dance* in 1924. The creation of George Dewey Hay (1895–1968), one of the early promoters of country music for radio, the show proved a commercial success. *The Barn Dance* would continue its run on WLS until 1933, when the National Broadcasting Company (NBC radio) picked it up for network transmission. NBC, with its coast-to-coast hookups, changed the name to *The National Barn Dance* and retained the show until 1942. During the Depression years, Alka-Seltzer, a popular pain remedy, provided continuous sponsorship, which suggests a sizable listenership and continuing sales. Hay, in the meantime, moved on to Nashville, Tennessee, in 1925. There he created *Grand Ole Opry*, another successful and long-running country music show modeled on *The National Barn Dance*.

Many sources provided the music played on *The National Barn Dance*. A true variety show, country tunes dominated, but **swing** and pop numbers had their place, along with plenty of silliness, Regulars on the show included, among many others, the vocal duet of Lulubelle (b. Myrtle Cooper, b. 1913; active 1930s) and Scotty Wiseman (1909–1981), her husband; Henry Burr (active 1930s), a crooner; and the Hoosier Hot Shots, a comedy quartet that enjoyed considerable regional popularity. Originally in vaudeville, the Hot Shots came to prominence in 1933 after their exposure on *The National Barn Dance*, and soon ranked as one of the top musical novelty acts of the day. In addition to vocalizing and onstage antics, they employed a slide whistle and clarinet as their lead instruments, with a washboard for rhythm, creating a sound that might be classified as hillbilly hokum. Their repertoire included such numbers as "From the Indies to the Andes in His Undies," "I Like Bananas Because They Have No Bones," and "The Coat and the Pants Do All the Work." Audiences loved them all, making the Hot Shots the precursors of groups like Spike Jones (1911–1965) and His City Slickers.

The show billed itself as a "barn dance," and it lived up to its title. Inside the studio, callers provided instructions to onstage square dancers, and stations broadcast the action into homes everywhere. For those raised in the age of **television**, such a radio concept may be difficult to imagine, but the dancers' invisibility proved no problem to the listening audiences of the day. In addition to the musical acts and the dancing,

various comedians performed their routines, and everyone appeared in costume for the studio audience. The show soon outgrew WLS's limited facilities and had to move to a large Chicago theater, but it continued to be associated with the radio station.

Movie tickets cost only a dime in the 1930s (roughly \$1.50 in contemporary money), but it took 90 cents (about \$14) to gain entrance to *The National Barn Dance*, making it both expensive and one of the few radio programs of that era to charge admission. Even in the dark days of the Depression, it required months of waiting to obtain a reservation to the popular show.

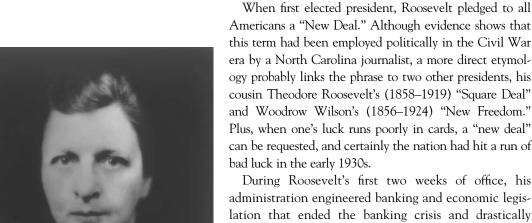
See also Advertising; Hillbillies; Movies; Radio Networks

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NEW DEAL. March 4, 1933, saw **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945) inaugurated as the 32nd president of the United States. Prior to taking office, he had assembled an administrative staff with a wide range of expertise and backgrounds—college professors, lawyers, businessmen, social workers—people who generated an unending stream of ideas and plans for addressing the crises of the Great Depression and its aftermath.



During Roosevelt's first two weeks of office, his administration engineered banking and economic legislation that ended the banking crisis and drastically reduced federal expenditures by lowering government employees' salaries and veterans' pensions, money that a couple of months later would help underwrite unemployment relief programs. Also, in anticipation of the repeal of Prohibition, the Beer-Wine Revenue Act (1933) paved the way for additional monies through the sale of beer and light wines. For the next hundred days, March 9–June 16, Roosevelt and his team furiously worked to draft legislative proposals that offered relief to those experiencing the greatest hardships under one of the worst depressions in the country's history. Nothing less than a national effort to respond to



Frances Perkins (1882–1962), secretary of labor, the first woman to hold a U.S. cabinet post. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

basic human needs while preserving the American economic system, Roosevelt's New Deal made him more central to the life of the country than any previous president.

Government activities during the years 1933–1935, often referred to as the First New Deal, concentrated on the immediacy of relief to the unemployed and impoverished; they attempted to get nonworking Americans back to work, and to achieve economic recovery through national planning and controls. Roosevelt's so-called Second New Deal, which ran from 1935 until 1937, focused on social reform issues. The delivery system designed to carry out the phases of both New Deals consisted of new federal agencies that shifted power to the national government and away from local and state governments. Sometimes called "alphabet agencies" because of the frequent use of just the first letters of each word in their full name, these groups brought about increased scrutiny and regulation of nearly every aspect of American life.

The chart below lists some of the agencies that provided immediate relief for many, along with others that established reform policies and procedures affecting Americans long after the end of the 1930s.

Program	Description	Dates
AAA (Agriculture Adjustment Administration)	A part of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, it subsidized farmers for reducing crops and also provided them loans to avoid bankruptcy, particularly for those living in the Dust Bowl. In 1936, the Supreme Court found some parts of the Agriculture Adjustment Act unconstitutional. With some changes, the act remained in effect until 1945, when other government programs assumed its functions.	1933–1945
CCC (Civilian Conservation Corps)	One of the New Deal's most successful programs, this public works/environmental effort put 2.5 million unmarried, unemployed men to work maintaining and restoring forests, as well as constructing roads, bridges, buildings, parks, and the like.	1933–1942
CWA (Civil Works Administration)	It provided jobs building or repairing roads, parks, play- grounds, airports, schools, etc., and received its fund- ing from the PWA (Public Works Administration). By early 1934 it had put 4.2 million men and women to work. The WPA (Works Progress Administration), founded in 1935, absorbed many of its functions.	1933–1934
DRS (Drought Relief Service)	This service bought cattle from designated counties and gave those fit for human consumption to the Federal Surplus Relief Corporation to be used in food distribution to families nationwide.	1935
FCA (Farm Credit Administration)	Established by executive order, the FCA extended relief to debt-ridden farmers, coordinated loans to refinance farm mortgages, and offered credit. It saved tens of thousands of farms from foreclosure, and nine existing farm agencies came under its control.	1933–present
FCC (Federal Communication Commission)	A replacement for the Federal Radio Commission, the FCC had jurisdiction over radio , telegraph, wire, cable operations, and, by extension, television and other forms of new communication.	1934–present

Program	Description	Dates
FDIC (Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation)	The federal government insured individual bank accounts for the first \$100,000.	1933–present
FERA (Federal Emergency Relief Administration)	A work relief program, it sent \$3 billion to depleted local relief agencies and also funded public works programs.	1933–1935
FHA (Federal Housing Administration)	This long-lived program provided federal insurance for private mortgages to protect creditors against default and encouraged banks to loan money for new construction, renovation, and repairs. The FHA also rated neighborhoods as to level of risk, which resulted in areas with high concentrations of racial minorities being designated too risky to receive assistance. In 1965, it became HUD (Housing & Urban Development).	1934–1965
FNMA (Federal National Mortgage Association)	Still in existence and popularly known as Fannie Mae, it tried to increase the availability of mortgage credit to stimulate home construction and ownership.	1938–present
FSA (Farm Security Administration; see also Resettlement Administration [RA])	Succeeding the Resettlement Administration, the FSA functioned as a division within the Department of Agriculture. It financed farm improvements and maintained migrant labor camps. As a public awareness effort, the FSA sponsored photographers who captured a pictorial record of the hardships created by the Great Depression.	1937–1943
FWA (Federal Works Agency)	The result of a wide-ranging administrative reorganization by President Roosevelt to bring public works projects under one entity, the FWA combined the PWA (Public Works Administration) and the WPA (Works Progress Administration) into a single organization, although the WPA continued with many of its projects.	1939–1943
HOLC (Home Owners Loan Corporation)	This agency enabled people to refinance their mortgages under supervision of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board and save their homes from foreclosure. At the time of its closing, it had provided money for some 1 million mortgages.	1933–1936
NLRB (National Labor Relations Board)	Created by the Wagner Act, it provided government protection for laborers to exercise their right to organize and engage in collective bargaining.	1935–present
NRA (National Recovery Administration)	Organized under terms of the NIRA (National Industrial Recovery Act) to stimulate competition & benefit producers, the NRA implemented various codes to establish fair trade. It addressed unemployment and inadequate income by regulating the number of hours worked per week and setting a minimum wage. The program ended when declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court. Its Blue Eagle logo may be the most famous icon of the Great Depression.	1933–1935

Program	Description	Dates	
NYA (National Youth Administration)	Implemented by the WPA, this program kept young men and women in school or college through apprenticeships or work. It held camp and resident programs to teach homemaking and vocational skills to those who had dropped out of school.	1935–1943	
PWA (Public Works Administration)	This agency launched public works projects across the United States, such as post offices, schools, dams, tunnels, airports, and bridges. It also supported conservation practices of farmers in the Dust Bowl. The PWA merged with the FWA (Federal Works Administration) in 1939.	1933–1939	
RA (Resettlement Administration; see also Farm Security Administration [FSA])	Designed to help farm families relocate and furnish them with loans, its programs became better known under the name FSA.	1935–1937	
REA (Rural Electrification Administration)	Created by executive order to help bring electricity to areas where it was previously unavailable. Once installed, rural families could buy and use small appliances such as irons and radios.	1935–1994	
SEC (Security Exchange Commission)	By regulating security transactions, it protected the public against fraudulent actions in the securities markets.	1934–present	
TVA (Tennessee Valley Authority)	The authority built dams and power plants along the Tennessee River to bring electric power, and with it industry, to rural areas in seven states.	1933–present	
WPA (Works Progress Administration; in 1939, name changed to Work Projects Administration)	Administration; in people's lives as it addressed both the country's infrastructure and cultural activities. Its construction and repair projects included roads, bridges, schools, hospitals, airfields, etc. One division, Federal Project		

In 1933, Congress passed the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), which had as its administrative arm the National Recovery Administration (NRA). The NRA stands as one of the most ambitious undertakings of the 1930s. It met with vociferous opposition as it attempted to oversee the implementation of codes and agreements restricting competition, control working conditions and sales, and boost declining prices. For many, the NIRA represents the signature agency of the First New Deal. Numerous opponents charged this agency with being un-American, socialist, even Communist. During early 1935, opposition to the policies of the NRA increased, and in May 1935 the U.S. Supreme Court entered the fray. It ruled that Title I of the NIRA gave an invalid delegation of legislative power to the president and thus served as an



Editorial cartoonists delighted in lampooning President Roosevelt (1882–1945) and New Deal policies. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

unconstitutional regulation of intrastate commerce. The court's ruling brought an end to the program.

A stylized Blue Eagle patterned on Native American thunderbird designs, along with the legend, "We Do Our Part," served as a symbol of compliance with NRA codes during its brief history. Displayed everywhere, it became a famous Depression-era logo. Roosevelt, more than any president before him, understood the power of media and regularly used newspapers and radio broadcasts to communicate with the American public. He introduced the Blue Eagle in one of his famous Fireside Chats at the end of July 1933, urging consumers to shop only at businesses advertising the symbol.

Another contentious issue revolved around the public ownership and regula-

tion of utilities. The arguments date back to the World War I era. Congress approved, with little hesitation, the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) in 1933, and the project immediately had its critics. Although it provided many Americans with electricity for the first time, created jobs for thousands of unemployed construction workers, and brought electricity and industry to an impoverished part of the country, the program outraged private power companies.

The New Deal suffered unending criticism on many fronts. For example, Father Charles E. Coughlin (1891–1979), a Catholic priest who broadcast weekly over an independent network, at first supported the New Deal. In time, however, he became a vocal critic of the alphabet agencies, particularly the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA) and its tactics of limiting overproduction by plowing under crops and slaughtering livestock.

Many politicians were numbered among the nay-sayers. Huey Long (1893–1935), governor of Louisiana and later a U.S. senator, initially endorsed the New Deal, but he soon found it too conservative and believed that Roosevelt had given in to big business. Governor Floyd B. Olson (1891–1936) of Minnesota declared himself a socialist and tried to build a third political party that advocated collective ownership as the best means of production and distribution. But criticism seldom discouraged Roosevelt; he liked to say, "Do something. And when you have done that something, if it works, do it some more. And if it does not work, then do something else." In the long run, Roosevelt's supporters outvoted his critics, electing him to a record four terms as president that ran from 1932 until his death in 1945.

The "something else" did occur regularly. Of all the alphabet agencies, the Works Progress Administration (WPA), formed in 1935 during the Second New Deal, gained the reputation as the most famous and far-reaching. It promoted both economic relief

and reform. Although by law it could not compete with private business, the WPA, over its seven-year history, employed about 8.5 million Americans and made work available through a multitude of construction and cultural projects.

The Farm Security Administration (FSA), charged with enabling sharecroppers and migrants to purchase land, came into existence in 1937 when the already-existing Resettlement Administration (RA) moved to the Department of Agriculture. The FSA wanted to increase public awareness about the problems faced by migrants, and to accomplish this, it sponsored a documentary **photography** program. The agency hired photographers like Walker Evans (1903–1975), Dorothea Lange (1895–1965), Ben Shahn (1898–1969), and Arthur Rothstein (1915–1985) to document pictorially the consequences of the Great Depression on American life in specific geographic areas of the country. Their stark black-and-white photographs provide a moving record of hardship and deprivation.

The New Deal addressed economic issues and the provision of relief and reform at a time when many struggled with unemployment and others feared they would be the next ones out of work. But despite these uncertainties, Americans continued to be optimistic about the future and went about "life as usual." The New Deal played a significant role in the life of the nation, but it cannot be called a revolution, nor did it end the Great Depression. It told farmers what they could and could not plant; it permitted laborers to vote in federal elections for union representation; it collected income taxes for the federal government for the first time; it closely monitored banking and securities operations; and it told employers what they had to pay their employees and, for a short time, how much could be produced. Almost every U.S. community has a lasting New Deal artifact: an improved public park, a public housing project, a high school stadium, a bridge, a post office with murals depicting a local historic event, a city symphony.

The New Deal set the tone for social change, causing the federal government to play an increasingly active role in the nation's social welfare. The program called for fundamental reforms in society, not just relief of the symptoms of social and economic problems. Although critics of the New Deal saw it as interference, a strongly Democratic Congress passed controversial legislation that strove for an improved future, assisted both business and labor, and altered the relationship between government and private enterprise.

See also Alcoholic Beverages; Automobiles; Education; Fads; Political Parties; Racial Relations & Stereotyping; Radio Networks; Prohibition & Repeal; Transportation; Travel; Youth

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NEWSPAPERS. Throughout the nineteenth century and on into the twentieth, newspapers ruled supreme; they functioned as far and away the primary American mass medium. **Magazines**, important to be sure, occupied a distant second place. With the onset of the 1930s, new media—radio, and to a lesser degree, movies—arose to challenge that supremacy, and for the first time the press felt the sting of real competition. Readership and circulation, however, remained strong during the decade, even showing increases during that difficult time. Not until after World War II did these and other electronic media significantly cut into newspapers' seemingly impregnable lead.

During the 1920s, the nation boasted over 2,500 daily newspapers. By 1930, it could still claim 1,942 dailies at a time when the nation's population stood at more than 123 million people. By 1940, the newspaper figure had fallen to 1,878 dailies, whereas the population had risen to nearly 132 million. So, the actual number of daily newspapers had been steadily falling, albeit slowly. Some of this loss could be accounted for by mergers or consolidation, but some papers failed because of the economy, a situation that caused advertising revenues to fall. Readership, however, continued to climb, rising from 40 to 41 million throughout the decade. Over 33 million households received or purchased at least one paper a day. The apparent difference between 41 million (readers) and 33 million (households) means that many individuals or families received more than one daily paper. If two or three people read each issue, more than half the nation looked at a newspaper on a regular basis. Thus, although newspapers themselves declined in number, their readers remained faithful to the medium throughout the decade, apparently finding it an essential source of news and entertainment.

An additional set of figures paints another story: in 1940, the population had risen to almost 132 million, an increase of roughly 8 million over 1930, or about 7 percent. The circulation increase from 40 to 41 million readers totals less than 3 percent. Taking circulation and population together, even the gradual population growth rose at a faster rate than readership. Despite their modest gains in circulation, newspaper readership on the basis of total population in reality went through a slow but steady decline.

Other factors also affected the newspaper industry. With the country falling more deeply into the Depression, the effects of the calamity quickly became apparent as the number of advertisements appearing in papers plummeted: 15 percent fewer in 1930, 24 percent in 1931, and then whopping drops of 40 and 45 percent in 1932 and 1933, the two bleakest years of the economic turndown. Statistics like these made still more advertisers retreat, either by reducing the number and kind of ads they ran, or, as was often the case, finding other venues or ceasing to advertise at all.

In 1929, newspapers made a record-setting \$860 million in advertising revenues (roughly \$10 billion in contemporary dollars). By 1933, that figure had shrunk to \$470 million (\$7 billion). A slow comeback began in mid-decade, then stalled during the 1938 recession. By 1939, advertising expenditures of \$552 million (\$8 billion) meant they had risen only to 1920 levels, figures nowhere close to those of 1929. Generally, smaller papers suffered most from this decline in advertising, both in numbers of ads and revenues.

A recovery of sorts took place in the remaining years of the decade, but it could not equal the successes of the late 1920s. In many ways, the newspaper business changed significantly during the Depression. The flush times of the twenties had imbued American newspapers with a sense of never-ending prosperity, a feeling that readership and advertising volume would continue to rise with each passing year.

Nevertheless, 1939's advertising figure of \$552 million remains a significant sum. Newspaper ads took well over a third of what American firms spent for advertising in all media during the decade. Such large numbers demand a certain perspective: in 1930, newspapers took about 48 percent of the national advertising dollar; by 1940 their share had fallen to 36 percent, but that still translates as more than one-third of the total. During the same period, magazines consistently averaged 8 to 10 percent of the ad dollar. The relatively new—and growing—electronic medium of radio can be blamed for most of this decline for newspapers. In 1930, radio could claim only about 3 percent of the advertising dollar; by 1940 its share had soared to 20 percent, and most of that at the expense of newspapers.

Radio probably did more damage to the newspaper business than did the Depression. Newspapers might have once been the average citizen's first choice for news, but omnipresent radios provided a ready source for late-breaking stories. Radio took up an increasing portion of ad revenue, gave instantaneous updates of the news, provided live sporting events, consistently entertained—and it came into homes for free. Radio's popularity skyrocketed during the 1930s, going from 14 million home receivers in 1930 to over 44 million by 1940. No commensurate gains occurred in the newspaper industry. Many newspapers acquired radio stations as a way to stay profitable. Publishers saw their erstwhile rival as a surefire moneymaker, and invested in stations accordingly. In 1930, newspaper interests owned about 90 stations; by 1940, 250 stations claimed affiliations with newspaper publishing companies.

Other forces also conspired to affect newspaper profitability. During the 1930s, most cities of over 100,000 population claimed at least two rival papers; by 1940, 25 cities had lost that kind of lively competition and had become one-newspaper towns. Even New York City, that most competitive of newspaper sites and home to many famous papers, felt the change. Early in the century, it had boasted some 20 dailies. It still possessed nine at the onset of the 1930s, but by 1940 the number had fallen to seven. Those places that continued to have two or more papers usually claimed both morning and evening editions. The majority came out in the evening (or late afternoon); the morning newspaper did not achieve dominance until the 1980s.

Unlike most other developed nations, the United States never published a true national newspaper until the rise of the *Wall Street Journal* and *USA Today* in the latter part of the twentieth century. Whereas most books and magazines enjoy nationwide distribution, the vast majority of newspapers claim at best a limited regional audience. For the 1930s, that meant that while countless people across the country read a newspaper and shared world and national stories, the state and local articles, along with ads and features, that someone in St. Louis saw would surely differ from the choices in Seattle or Philadelphia. Although journalism scholars classify newspapers as a mass medium, in their individual formats they go through changes both obvious and subtle.

Coupled with all the different local editions came chain ownership. A chain consists of several papers linked in a financial relationship that allows for savings in materials and labor, and can even mean sharing staff and facilities. In 1900, eight American chains existed, controlling 27 papers; by the mid-1930s, some 60 chains exerted control over 300 papers, mostly large enterprises that accounted for 40 percent of total circulation.

As a rule, most of these linked papers could be found in populous urban areas, and names like Scripps-Howard, Gannett, Hearst, and Cox became leaders in chain

ownership. The days of the independent daily, free of any outside influences, were numbered. Hearst, the largest of the chains at the time, owned 26 dailies and 17 Sunday papers in 1935 (or 14 percent and 24 percent of total circulation, respectively). The Hearst endeavors also encompassed 13 magazines, 8 radio stations, 2 movie studios, and 2 wire services. William Randolph Hearst (1863–1951), one of the last great press lords and the founder of this empire, had a personal worth of about \$250 million (or roughly \$3.6 billion in today's dollars), making him one of the richest men in the world.

Newspapers increasingly began to feature briefer, more compartmentalized stories in the 1930s, an acknowledgment of the success of newsmagazines like *Time*, *Life*, and *Newsweek*. And, despite their drops in revenue, most big-city papers expanded their operations. With considerable controversy raging in the nation's capital about President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945) and the **New Deal**, newspaper bureaus located in Washington experienced rapid growth. As a new war in Europe loomed, a similar expansion occurred in overseas coverage.

Given the excitement in Washington and foreign countries, smaller papers immediately felt themselves at a disadvantage. They could ill afford to staff bureaus in cities far from their home bases. Thus news syndicates like the Associated Press (AP) and United Press (UP) enjoyed tremendous growth. For a subscription fee, they could supply the reporters and detailed stories a small, independent newspaper could not hope to provide. Although both the AP and the UP trace their beginnings to the late nineteenth century, not until the 1930s did they come into their own. With more and more national and international news to cover, only the far-flung syndicates could consistently file stories for their growing lists of subscribers.

Widespread syndication brought about a certain amount of standardization in the American press. The syndicated features found in one paper could easily be found in another. This lessened the insularity of small-town dailies, bringing them more into the mainstream of American life. Standardization occurred not just with news stories; **comic strips**, horoscopes, crossword puzzles, **contract bridge** columns, the latest Hollywood gossip, advice columnists, box scores, financial pages—these features appeared because of syndication. In fact, the comic pages gained the enviable reputation of being the single most popular feature in American dailies during the 1930s.

Driven by popular series like Apple Mary, Blondie, Dick Tracy, Flash Gordon, The Gumps, Li'l Abner, Little Orphan Annie, Prince Valiant, Tarzan, and Terry and the Pirates, the comics drew readers as never before. A mix of entertainment and escapism, their daily antics and adventures proved a perfect antidote to the dreary realities of the Depression.

The success of syndication led to the rise of the appropriately named "syndicated columnist." Consisting of writers who spurned reportorial objectivity and instead gave readers a lively, colorful style coupled with a subjective point of view, their pieces usually appeared on or near the editorial page. Not all syndicated columnists, however, shared space with editorials; many wrote nonpolitical pieces, and a mix of humorous, satirical, and even poetical writings resulted. A fair number commented on the passing scene. For example, O. O. McIntyre (1884–1938), one of the most widely syndicated writers of the decade, wrote a column he called "New York Day by Day." Although the title might suggest otherwise, his unpretentious approach seemed to appeal most to those living

outside big cities. Franklin P. Adams (1881–1960), who signed his columns FPA, presented his many fans bits of poetry and urbane trivia in *The Conning Tower*, a much-quoted column he wrote for many years.

Some columnists relied on gossip and celebrity-watching for their appeal. Walter Winchell (1897–1972) probably ranks as the most famous (or notorious, depending on point of view) of this group. Over 1,000 papers, most a considerable distance from the Great White Way, carried his "On Broadway." Close on Winchell's heels, at least in popularity during the 1930s, were Louella Parsons (1884–1972) and Hedda Hopper (1890–1966). Both women contributed widely syndicated columns that focused almost exclusively on Hollywood and its stars. Their success helped spawn a number of movie magazines, ranging from the purely gossipy Screen Romances to the slightly more serious Silver Screen.

In addition to their newspaper work, both columnists could be heard on radio. Parsons hosted two productions, *The Louella Parsons Show* and *Hollywood Hotel*. The first, mainly interviews, ran intermittently from 1928 until 1931; the second, a mix of talent and gossip, premiered in 1934 and remained on the air until 1941. Not to be outdone, Hopper parlayed her fame and influence into the popular *Hedda Hopper Show*. A 15-minute mix of chatter and celebrities, it began in 1939 and ran until 1951.

Other columnists mixed gossip and political rumors, such as Drew Pearson (1897–1969) and Robert S. Allen (1900–1981) with their *Washington Merry-Go-Round*. This widely circulated column grew out of a book by the same name that they published anonymously in 1932. The success of the book, a collection of articles rejected by their respective newspapers, led to quick syndication by United Features, and even some radio time for the two men. From 1935 to 1940, they appeared on the Mutual Network with their investigative reports.

Other types of writers also enjoyed significant syndication. For example, First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt (1884–1962) penned a long-running column titled My Day. It began in 1935 and chronicled her thoughts and activities for many appreciative readers. The folksy Will Rogers (1879–1935), "the cowboy philosopher," wrote a daily paragraph on some current topic. The poet Edgar Guest (1881–1959) began contributing verse to his syndicate at the turn of the century. Over the next 60 years, he composed over 11,000 poems. By the advent of the 1930s, hundreds of papers subscribed to his wit and wisdom. Generations of newspaper readers enjoyed his poetry, usually lightly humorous and sentimental ("It takes a heap o' livin' in a house t' make it home"). It might be doggerel and damned by critics, but the audience seemed not to notice. Guest's immense readership testified to the roles simplicity and sentiment often play in popular culture.

Emily Post (1872–1960) provided the last word on etiquette; her column could be found in over 200 papers and she even had a radio show that premiered in 1931. Dorothy Dix (b. Elizabeth M. Gilmer, 1870–1951) and Beatrice Fairfax (b. Marie Manning, 1873–1945) wrote advice-to-the-lovelorn columns. Dix had the distinction of being the highest-paid woman columnist of the decade, while Fairfax got memorialized in song. In 1930, **George** (1898–1937) and Ira Gershwin (1896–1983) composed "But Not for Me." In the number, lyricist Ira Gershwin contributed the witty, "Beatrice Fairfax, don't you dare / Ever tell me she will care," probably the only mention of an advice columnist in the annals of American popular **music**. All three women grew into unofficial arbiters of manners and mores, their words anxiously studied by millions of readers who wanted to know about proper dining and dating etiquette.

Over time, American popular culture has reflected attitudes about newspapers by focusing on reporters, those individuals most associated with the medium. Neither journalistic standards nor writing ability play much role in these representations. Throughout the decade, Hollywood released a string of movies, some good, some bad, about newspapers and reporters, creating the stereotype of the fast-talking, wise-cracking reporter who always gets the story. Starting in 1931 with *The Front Page*, a film version of the Ben Hecht (1894–1964)–Charles MacArthur (1895–1956) 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) features the most noted platinum blonde of the era, Jean Harlow (1911–1937), in a comedic romance with an ambitious reporter.

Over a dozen other newspaper/reporter pictures came tumbling out of the movie studios during this time. Titles like *Shriek in the Night* (1933), *Libeled Lady* (1936, and again starring Harlow), *Nothing Sacred* (1937), *The Thirteenth Man* (1937), *Too Hot to Handle* (1938), and *His Girl Friday* (1940) created a virtual genre of motion picture. The final film, *His Girl Friday*, brings the list full circle because the studio simply remade *The Front Page*, but this time featuring Cary Grant (1904–1986) and Rosalind Russell (1907–1976), whereas the original stars Adolphe Menjou (1890–1963) and Pat O'Brien (1899–1983). The newspaper reporter made a convenient character, and audiences obviously responded positively to such impersonations.

The 1930s revealed some chinks in the armor of the once mighty medium, although most editors and publishers would probably have denied it. Still the dominant source for news, advertising, and considerable entertainment, the loss of a handful of papers and a statistical decline in readership provided hints of things to come. For the decade, however, circulations remained strong and people looked to their daily papers for information and escape during the Great Depression.

See also Games; Life & Fortune; Radio Networks

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NEW YORK WORLD'S FAIR. Two world's fairs—one celebrating progress despite a debilitating economic depression, the other looking optimistically to the future amid the gathering shadows of war—anchor the beginning and the end of the 1930s. Both held in the United States, the 1933–1934 Century of Progress Exposition (Chicago World's Fair) and the 1939–1940 New York World's Fair rank as true extravaganzas, the greatest shows of the decade. Other fairs and expositions were held in the intervening years, but nothing equaled these two.

New York's World of Tomorrow commenced in the spring of 1939 and ran until the fall of 1940. Not even the German invasion of Poland in September 1939 caused its gates to close. Eventually some 45 million people would pay 75 cents apiece (roughly

\$11 in contemporary money) for the privilege of attending, a stiff admission fee in those times. At the urging of New York's parks commissioner **Robert Moses** (1888–1981), planners sited the event on over 1,200 reclaimed marshland acres in an area called Flushing Meadows. Adjoining New York City and Long Island, the locale served as the Valley of Ashes in F. Scott Fitzgerald's (1896–1940) acclaimed novel *The Great Gatsby* (1925). Just the clearing and reclamation of the land took three years.

Officials laid out the entire festival in "zones," an idea much in vogue among futurists at the time. Visitors could choose among Commerce and Industry, Communication, Production and Distribution, Government, and Food. In addition, the promoters established an Amusements area; not actually a zone, this attraction gave people a respite from all the high-minded exhibits and allowed them a chance to see entertainment more on the level of a carnival sideshow.

Chicago's Century of Progress had starred Sally Rand (1904–1979) and her notorious fans; New Yorkers deserved at least as much. The midway featured animal freaks and lots of flesh and hokum, along with showman Billy Rose's (1899–1966) Aquacade, a showgirl-filled spectacle that featured swimmers Esther Williams (b. 1921), Eleanor Holm (1913–2004), and Johnny Weissmuller (1904–1984) plunging into a pool daily. In 1940, Buster Crabbe (1908–1983), replaced Weissmuller. Both Weissmuller and Crabbe had been Olympic swimmers, and later moved to acting. No strangers to celebrity, Weissmuller had achieved fame in a number of *Tarzan* movies, and Crabbe had attempted the role of the Ape Man in one also, as well as starring as space heroes Buck Rogers and *Flash Gordon*.

In addition to the **swimming** shows, attendees could try the parachute jump, a 250-foot tower in the amusement area. Some 2 million daring visitors paid 40 cents apiece (almost \$6.00 in contemporary money) to ascend the steel frame and then float to earth in colored parachutes.

Enthusiasm for the fair and its myriad offerings ran high. The Long Island Railroad delivered fairgoers to an ultramodern terminal where huge, 160-passenger Greyhound buses, designed by the renowned Raymond Loewy (1893–1986), ferried them to the various zones. To accomplish this, investors formed Exposition Greyhound Lines. All in all, workers paved over 65 miles of streets and footpaths to accommodate various modes of transportation. At night, the cool white glow of fluorescent tubes bathed the event, among the first large-scale public demonstrations of that form of lighting.

Upon entering, crowds encountered the towering, pure white Trylon and Perisphere, the official Theme Center for the event and the ubiquitous symbols of the Fair. The Trylon, a 700-foot needlelike pyramid, earned its name because of its derivation from a triangle and a pylon. The Perisphere, a giant, 200-foot hollow sphere that sat beside the Trylon, contained within its cavernous interior Democracity, a vast diorama of the utopian city of tomorrow. Conceived by industrial designer Henry Dreyfuss (1904–1972) and sponsored by U.S. Steel, Democracity gave visitors a glimpse of an ordered, prosperous future, one that might frighten a contemporary viewer with its legions of marching workers and their automaton-like precision. But in a nation still reeling from a depression and with the threat of World War II increasing almost by the minute, a picture of a strong, albeit militarized, America probably reassured many.

Visitors exited the Trylon and Perisphere via the "Helicline," a sloping walkway that placed them inside the fairgrounds; from there they could choose from endless exhibits.

Much of the fair served as a celebration of the American automobile, and so the Commerce and Industry Zone included, as a broad topic, "transportation."

General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler responded by mounting enormous displays. Noted designer Norman Bel Geddes (1893–1958) fashioned "Futurama" for General Motors, creating a technological landscape circa 1960. Viewers relaxed in moving chairs that took them past a vast network of half a million miniaturized buildings and 50,000 motor vehicles, 10,000 of which actually moved. This utopian vision placed the automobile in a position of dominance, a rather accurate prognostication that enthralled over 10 million visitors and turned out to be the fair's most popular attraction.

Not to be outdone, the Ford Motor Company sponsored "The Road of Tomorrow," the work of architect Albert Kahn (1869–1942) and designer Walter Dorwin Teague (1883–1960). Although it drew significant crowds, the Ford pavilion never approached the numbers that rival General Motors achieved.

If an urban, automotive culture turned out to be a major element of the fair, Streamlining certainly served as the primary motif. It translated as leaving the roughhewn past behind, of progressing into the sleek, smoothly running future. Streamlining emerged as an economic metaphor. A "sticky" economy gives way to a "frictionless" one, and urbanity replaces rusticity. With the aid of "consumer engineering," science and technology could bring an end to underconsumption. People would flock to carefully designed products that looked ahead and symbolized an end to drudgery. This vision embraced consumerism, a future filled with new appliances and the blessings of industry.

The New York World's Fair profoundly influenced cultural thinking, especially in the areas of architecture and design. The extravaganza represented the work of some of the fields' most distinguished professionals, and almost without exception the corporate might of the country—Du Pont, General Electric, the Pennsylvania Railroad, AT&T, Shell Oil, IBM, and many others—underwrote their efforts. On a scale never before seen, the entire operation signified a three-way marriage among industry, commerce, and the arts. Promoters proclaimed, lest there be any doubt, that they hoped to bring together architecture and commerce, to show that modernity, industrial design, and popular culture could coexist. As a result, virtually nothing in the fair escaped commercialization. Observers noted that the merchandising of souvenirs alone exceeded anything attempted in previous fairs. Over 25,000 different items bore the festival's official imprint of the Trylon and Perisphere, ranging from a dainty Heinz pickle to a pin proclaiming "Time for Saraka," a popular laxative that somehow gained space at the exposition.

The U.S. Post Office issued a 3-cent commemorative stamp (in contemporary money, the stamp would cost roughly 40 cents), and the illustrious songwriting team of George (1898–1937) and Ira Gershwin (1896–1983) penned an "official" song of the Fair, "Dawn of a New Day." George's part consisted of scraps of music written before his death and pieced together by Ira with the assistance of Kay Swift (1897–1993). Hardly the greatest song of the decade, several of the era's leading bands nonetheless recorded it, given the interest and enthusiasm surrounding the proceedings. With the fair's second year and the world at war, the naive optimism of "Dawn of a New Day" seemed inappropriate, and officials commissioned a new anthem. Taking a cue from the event's 1940 slogan, "For Peace and Freedom," the musical director, Eugene LaBarre (active 1930s and 1940s), hastily composed a song of the same name.

More important than trinkets or baubles or lyrics, however, were the global products and world cultures promoted during the fair's two-year run. Despite the bow to world-wide customs, the emphasis remained on American themes, and designers presented them employing the rhetoric of spectacle, especially the mastery of the machine. A mammoth cash register, a giant typewriter, Democracity, the Trylon and Perisphere themselves—nothing escaped exaggeration and enlargement. Big equaled better. The many futuristic pavilions celebrated American corporate might; their symbolism presented American technocracy as the savior of the world. And with that world falling hopelessly and helplessly toward World War II, it provided a message that audiences very much wanted to hear.

By focusing on America's strengths, the New York World's Fair suggested that neither the Depression nor the threat of war could challenge the fundamental optimism generated by the exhibits. At the fair's conclusion, officials tore down the bulk of the displays and sold the scrap materials to lessen the debts incurred. Ironically, for an exhibition that claimed to stand "For Peace and Freedom," much of its scrap went for munitions and armaments.

See also Art Deco; Automobiles; Comic Strips; Olympic Games; Science Fiction; Trains

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OLYMPIC GAMES. Over the span of the decade, two separate sets of Olympic games took place, each consisting of winter and summer events. In 1932, the Tenth Olympiad, the proper term for the games, took place with the United States serving as the host country. Four years later, Germany served as the site for the Eleventh Olympiad. The twelfth round had been scheduled for 1940 in Japan, but by then the Axis powers had plunged the world into war, blocking any festivities that year. Not until 1948 would the Olympic torch again be lit.

The Tenth Olympiad played Lake Placid, New York, for winter sports, and Los Angeles for summer events. Sonja Henie (1912–1969), a Norwegian figure skater who had competed in 1928, electrified crowds with her finesse on ice, making her a celebrity at the winter gathering. Several months later, despite the Depression and gnawing unemployment, another woman, Mildred "Babe" Didrikson (1911–1956), captured the summer spotlight with her skills in track and field. The anchor of the U.S. women's team, she won medals in the javelin throw, hurdles, and the high jump.

Henie's and Didrikson's victories occurred at a time when the press and various sports-related organizations questioned women's participation in sporting events. Of all the athletes assembled in Los Angeles for the 1932 games, only 120 women took part, compared to some 1,300 men. Numerous newspaper and magazine articles claimed that strenuous, highly competitive activities were "unladylike" and thus unbecoming to women. These old-fashioned attitudes would persist, albeit less vociferously, with the passage of time. Women like Henie and Didrikson led the way toward gender equality.

In the days prior to World War II, Olympic officials followed much stricter guidelines regarding the amateur status of competing athletes, both men and women, than they do today. If even the slightest hint of non-amateur activity surfaced, such as pay, gifts, endorsements, and the like, players would be disqualified and not allowed to participate in any events. For example, following Didrikson's Olympic victories, she allowed her name to be used in a sales promotion. When informed of her indiscretion, officials banned her from any future participation in the Olympics, a harsh punishment, but one that upheld the high standards of amateurism the games demanded.

By the time 1936 rolled around, the rules about amateur status remained firmly enforced, but the world's political realities had changed dramatically. Germany welcomed the Olympics with a new National Socialist, or Nazi, government in power, a



Track standout Jesse Owens (1913–1980) electrified audiences at the 1936 Olympics. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

change that signaled the intrusion of politics into the supposedly neutral games. The winter activities took place in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, a mountainous part of Bavaria. Racism and anti-Semitism overshadowed **skiing** and ice skating when Nazi officials attempted to ban non-Aryan (i.e., Jewish or nonwhite) athletes. The German efforts failed, but that did not prevent Chancellor Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) and his supporters from casting ugly slurs on those they opposed, providing a grim foretaste of the upcoming summer events in Berlin.

Despite the unpleasantness, the overwhelming majority of athletes had come to Germany to test their skills, not to represent ideologies. Sonja Henie again dominated on the ice. After her performances, she announced her retirement from active competition, a move that would allow her, at the peak of her fame, to go to Hollywood and pursue a lucrative career in movies built on her skating talents.

In the meantime, many nations threatened a boycott of the Berlin meet unless Hitler and the National Socialists toned down their rhetoric. Some parties even proposed a change in venue to Rome, Italy, but it failed to materialize when a substantial number of countries balked at the move. Nazi spokesmen piously promised improved behavior, although the world should have known better.

Amid politically tinged spectacle—swastikas everywhere, uniformed and regimented party

members, martial music, nonstop Nazi propaganda—the August games got under way in Berlin. Numerous Jewish athletes had been denied participation, not by the Germans, but by their own tremulous coaches and governments, fearful of German hostility and criticism. The American team happened to include some outstanding Jewish and black athletes, and Nazi authorities tried to have them banned. Their ploy failed, however, and one black American in particular, Jesse Owens (1913–1980), stole the show.

Owens, a track and field star from Ohio State University, and already a world record holder in several events, collected individual gold medals in the 100-meter, 200-meter, and long jump, and as a member of the 400-meter sprint relay team. He not only won, but he also set world records in two of the events (long jump and 200-meter) and tied the world record in a third (100-meter).

This public blow to the Nazis' theories of Aryan superiority delighted everyone but the Nazis themselves. In a show of petulance, Hitler would not meet Owens, nor would be present him his medals, and so the 1936 Berlin Summer Olympics closed under rapidly

darkening political clouds. For the world at large, the Nazis stood exposed, a party of racists and anti-Semites, but the failure of most nations to take a strong stand against this bullying behavior encouraged Hitler and his followers to continue such policies.

Out of all this came a masterful documentary movie about athletes and the Olympics. Leni Riefenstahl (1902–2003), a German filmmaker, created *The Olympiad* (1938), a two-part record of the 1936 Berlin Olympics. Much criticism has been leveled at Riefenstahl's work, most of which revolves around the charge that her documentary contains too much pro-Nazi propaganda. *The Olympiad*, however, has outlasted Nazism and much of the rhetoric of World War II, and it can be seen today as a remarkable celebration of the human form and athleticism.

The obvious propaganda in the film—massed flags and Nazi emblems, a beaming Hitler and his followers, the adoring crowds—remains, but seems more muffled, a kind of theatrical background that disappears before the magnificence of the Olympic events themselves. Even Jesse Owens, perhaps the bête noire of Hitler and the National Socialists, has his day, running and jumping, the perfect foil to all the Aryan hatred that Nazism espoused. Riefenstahl made no attempt to belittle Owens's, or anyone else's, victories, and in fact, *The Olympiad* salutes athletes of all nations and all races.

Most American movies that deal with the Olympics during the 1930s fall short when compared to Riefenstahl's epic work. They tend to focus on melodrama or comedy and miss much of what the Olympics really are about. Charlie Chan at the Olympics (1937) says it all; Swedish-born Warner Oland (1879–1938) plays the popular Asian detective in makeup, just as he had done more than a dozen times during the decade. A potboiler, this film does at least use the Berlin games as its background. Million Dollar Legs (1932) features comedian W. C. Fields (1880–1946) performing as the president of Klopstokia, a small, fictitious European country. Klopstokia wants to participate in the Olympics, and the rest of the plot involves wacky stratagems to achieve that goal; it may be good comedy, but it has little to do with the Olympic spirit.

See also Ice Skating & Hockey; Magazines; Newspapers; Race Relations & Stereotyping

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OPERETTAS. Although the operetta (or "light opera") form has seldom generated much enthusiasm in the United States, for a few brief years Jeanette MacDonald (1903–1965) and Nelson Eddy (1901–1967) made it their personal cinematic property. MacDonald, already a minor musical star, had attracted attention costarring with Dennis King (1897–1971) in a 1930 film adaptation of *The Vagabond King*, an operetta penned by Rudolf Friml (1879–1972) for a Broadway show in 1925. She followed that with a 1934 movie of *The Merry Widow*, a worked originally written by Franz Lehar (1870–1948) for a 1925 stage production. Both **movies** apparently exceeded expectations, because filmmakers decided to try more of the same.

MacDonald and Eddy commenced their collaboration with a surprisingly successful 1935 version of Victor Herbert's (1859–1924) *Naughty Marietta*, a vehicle he had composed for the stage in 1910. A box-office hit, the pair teamed up again in 1936 for a Hollywood interpretation of Rudolph Friml's *Rose-Marie*, another operetta that Friml had composed for the stage in 1924. Possibly their most successful outing, the film includes "Indian Love Call" (lyrics by Otto Harbach [1873–1963] and Oscar Hammerstein II [1895–1960]), the number most often associated with the "singing sweethearts."

For whatever reason—the **music**, the lavish costumes, the frothy plots, the escapism from the workaday world—Americans flocked to theaters showing these adaptations of traditional light opera. And so a new MacDonald-Eddy production became almost an annual event. In 1937, they appeared in Sigmund Romberg's (1887–1951) *Maytime*, which had first appeared on stage in 1917. The following year, 1938, saw them in Victor Herbert's *Sweethearts*, originally a 1913 stage presentation. MacDonald and Eddy also starred in *The Girl of the Golden West* (1938), a film scored by Sigmund Romberg, and loosely based on a 1910 opera, *La Fanciulla del West*, by Giacomo Puccini (1858–1924), which in turn had been taken from a 1905 play by David Belasco (1853–1931). In its cinematic form neither an opera nor an operetta, but more a Western drama with music, *The Girl of the Golden West* was one of their less successful endeavors.

The two vocalists graced theater screens in 1940 for *New Moon*, another Sigmund Romberg creation, this one originally produced in 1928 for the stage. By now, however, the magic had begun to wear thin. They nevertheless gave the format another try in 1940 with *Bitter Sweet*, a picture based on a 1929 stage operetta by Noel Coward (1899–1973). Unfortunately, the production finds both stars ill suited to the material, and *Bitter Sweet* marked the end of the brief period of popularity enjoyed by operettas. Undaunted, MacDonald and Eddy would reunite in 1942 for the limp *I Married an Angel*; and its lack of success spelled the end of their musical and cinematic collaboration.

Although both Jeanette MacDonald and Nelson Eddy possessed reasonably good voices, neither could claim outstanding acting abilities. Eddy, in particular, always seems wooden in front of the camera, redeeming himself only when he sings. As a result, MacDonald tends to get much more screen time, often carrying the wafer-thin plots for long periods without Eddy in sight. But for a time audiences overlooked these weaknesses, and the operetta briefly boasted two champions and innumerable fans.

See also Musicals; Western Films

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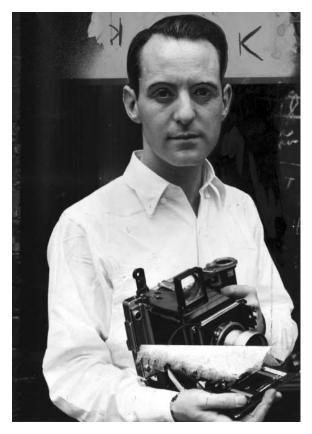
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PHOTOGRAPHY. By the 1930s, advances in the technologies of photography, coupled with a growing interest among consumers, spurred the increased home and commercial use of simple, easy-to-use cameras. Eastman Kodak, the nation's largest camera and film manufacturer, sensed a readiness for personal ownership of a small, inexpensive camera, and in 1934 introduced its point-and-shoot Baby Brownie. With a casing created by the distinguished designer Walter Dorwin Teague (1883–1960), Kodak marketed the Brownie as suitable for children and sold it for the rock-bottom price of \$1 (\$15 in contemporary dollars). The Brownie experienced strong sales and made amateur picture-taking more popular than ever. Throughout the 1930s, Kodak offered specialty editions, including Boy Scout and New York World's Fair models.

Kodak's promotion of amateur photography did not stop with still pictures; it had already introduced the first 8-mm motion picture camera, along with film and projector, in 1932. Four years later, the firm offered another home movie camera, the 16-mm Cine-Kodak, which featured film in magazines instead of rolls.

On another front, the amateur photographer traditionally had to rely on black-and-white film. In 1935, however, Kodak brought out Kodachrome transparency film in a 16-mm format for motion pictures. Color film for 35-mm slides and 8-mm home movies came on the market the next year. RCA, a competitor, led the way to sound photography by unveiling its sound-on-film in 1935, making talking home movies possible for the first time. Kodak entered the field in 1936 by offering its first 16-mm sound-on-film projector. Finally, for the serious hobbyist or photojournalist, improvements in flash techniques made picture-taking in low light a more reliable procedure.

While these developments advanced photography for the home enthusiast, the Associated Press initiated a wirephoto service in 1935 that allowed **newspapers** fast access to innumerable photographs of news events At the same time, an increasingly sophisticated use of photography occurred in the publishing field; about half of all American **magazines** employed photography as part of their **advertising** layouts, relying less and less on traditional painted illustrations. The high level of detail and realism found in most photographs conveyed strong impressions to consumers, suggesting to them what clothes they should wear, what they should eat, and the best car to drive. Edward Steichen (1879–1973), an important American photographer, worked during the 1930s as a **fashion**



Sheldon Dick (active 1930s), one of the many photographers with the Farm Security Administration. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

photographer for magazines such as *Vogue*, *Harper's Bazaar*, and *Vanity Fair*. He made a name for himself and helped popularize photography for advertising purposes.

In 1936, Henry Luce (1898–1967), a leading magazine publisher, banked on the growing public interest in photojournalism by introducing Life, a weekly pictorial periodical. For the premiere issue, Margaret Bourke-White (1904-1971), the first woman photographer hired by the periodical, provided a picture essay that told the story of the lives of workers constructing Montana's Fort Peck Dam, a New Deal project. One of the pictures, a striking picture of the enormous dam in black-and-white, appeared on the cover. The magazine struck a chord with the public, and enjoyed immediate success. Many of the first photographers hired by Luce found a comfortable environment to pursue their craft, with the result that people like Alfred Eisenstadt (1898-1995) remained on Life's staff from 1936 to 1972, establishing a reputation as one of the primary figures in photojournalism as he did so.

While *Life*, after only four months of production, could claim sales of over a million copies weekly, in Washington, D.C., an even bigger photography story was unfolding under the management of Roy Stryker (1893–1975).

The Resettlement Administration (RA; 1935–1937), established as one of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's (1883–1945) New Deal alphabet agencies, assisted struggling farm families to relocate. Stryker, as chief of the RA's Historical Division, oversaw exhibits such as the 1938 First International Photographic Exposition at New York's Grand Central Palace and *The Way of the People* at Rockefeller Center in 1941, as well as a huge, ongoing agency-supported photojournalism project that resulted in publications, posters, and billboards.

When the name of the Resettlement Administration changed to the Farm Security Administration (FSA; 1937–1943), Stryker continued to hire and organize people, including both established American photographers and some new to the trade. He instructed them to take photographs that would document the agency's work and progress, and through their pictures endeavor to explain and define the conditions of the Great Depression. They photographed ordinary Americans in their everyday settings, portraying the spirit, strength, and courage displayed by people experiencing various hardships because of the economic crisis.

The FSA photographers hoped their black-and-white pictures of coal miners, share-croppers, migrant mothers, farm couples, child laborers, immigrants, urban street scenes,

and the destitute would convince government officials and others of the need to actively assist in easing the suffering being experienced by so many. This kind of photojournalism, sometimes called "social documentary," served to raise public awareness, and it also attempted to secure continuing funding for various New Deal efforts.

In addition to the FSA's Historical Division, other government groups, particularly the Department of the Interior and the Department of Agriculture, used photographs for a variety of purposes. Three factors distinguished the FSA photographers and their work from that of most other agencies. First, the FSA hired employees on the merits of their professional ability, not a need for a job. Second, agency pictures showed real problems and frequently hinted at solutions. Third, the FSA group worked to capture images that would be preserved as a permanent record of American history. Since 1944, the FSA photographs have been held by the Library of Congress in the Prints and Photographs Reading Room in Washington, D.C. The collection consists of approximately 77,000 images from the RA and the FSA years, as well as those from the Office of War Information (OWI; 1942–1943) and other government agencies.

Stryker started with a small number of photographers, but over his eight-year reign approximately 130 individuals participated in the project. Some of the most famous included Lewis Hine (1874–1940), Russell Lee (1903–1986), Carl Mydans (1907–2004), Gordon Parks (1912–2006), and Ben Shahn (1898–1969). Arthur Rothstein (1915–1985), another successful FSA photographer, eventually published a comprehensive overview of the country during the crisis with a mix of rural and urban images in *The Depression Years* (1978). In contrast to the desperate straits shown in a majority of the FSA work, Marion Post Wolcott's (1910–1990) pictures of Miami revealed that even in the Depression a few citizens had enough wealth for mansions and leisure time activities.

Some of the FSA photographers joined with writers to give an added dimension to their work. For example, Walker Evans (1903–1975) and critic James Agee (1909–1955) created *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (1939; revised 1941). For this landmark publication, the two focused on farm families and the dual hardships of the Dust Bowl and economic chaos. The husband-and-wife team of labor economist Paul Schuster Taylor (1895–1985) and photographer Dorothea Lange (1895–1965) worked on *An American Exodus* (1939), a record of human displacement on the Midwestern plains. Archibald MacLeish (1892–1982) published *Land of the Free* (1938), a book containing a poem by him and 88 photographs by Dorothea Lange, Walker Evans, Arthur Rothstein, and Ben Shahn. Most of the pictures came from the FSA project and address rural poverty and child labor.

Photographers outside government circles also actively participated in photojournalism. Margaret Bourke-White, like Walker Evans, photographed farm families dealing with hardships brought on by drought and economic difficulties. She collaborated with her husband, novelist **Erskine Caldwell** (1903–1987), to present these families' stories in You Have Seen Their Faces (1937). Photographer Berenice Abbott (1898–1991) received funds in 1935 from the Works Progress Administration (WPA, 1935–1943; name changed to Works Projects Administration in 1939) and its **Federal Art Project** (FAP, 1935–1943) to photograph New York City and published Changing New York in 1939. She joined fellow photographer Paul Strand (1890–1976), a committed socialist, to establish in 1936 the Photo League, a nonprofit organization for amateur and professional photographers. She and Strand worked to provide the radical press with pictures of trade union activities

and political protests, and working class communities. Collectively, all these publications helped establish photojournalism as a legitimate literary form.

Even the movie industry became involved in photojournalism. Pare Lorentz (1905–1992) directed *The Plow That Broke the Plains* (1936), a documentary that deals with soil erosion and the resulting Dust Bowl. Paul Strand also assisted with this film. Another Lorentz film, *The River* (1938), addresses the importance of the Mississippi River to the United States and looks at the environmental effects when farming and industrial practices cause large amounts of topsoil to wash into the river. It features an outstanding musical score by the noted composer Virgil Thomson (1896–1989), as does *The Plow That Broke the Plains*.

A number of the photographers active during the 1930s gained recognition as artists in their own right. In 1932, several living on the West Coast—Edward Weston (1886–1958), Ansel Adams (1902–1984), Imogen Cunningham (1883–1976), Sonya Noskowiak (1900–1975), Henry Swift (1891–1962), Willard Van Dyke (1906–1986), and others—founded f/64, a group interested in presenting sharp images and maximum depth of field, which they called "pure" or "straight" photography. The name of the group refers to the smallest aperture on the lens of a large-format camera, which in turn gives the greatest depth of field. Members presented their work in many collective and one-person shows. Edward Weston also took photographs for the Federal Art Project in New Mexico and California in 1933 and received the first Guggenheim Fellowship for Photography in 1937.

Alfred Stieglitz (1864–1946), famous as a photographer long before the 1930s, operated a gallery in New York City called An American Place. He supported f/64 member Ansel Adams, with a one-man show in 1936. The decade saw art museums add photographic prints to their collections and the Museum of Modern Art in New York mounted a show of Walker Evans's photographs of architecture in 1934, following it with a second show in 1938. The Baltimore Museum presented Edward Steichen's noncommercial work in a 1938 exhibit. During 1940, the second year of the Golden Gate International Exposition in San Francisco, Ansel Adams organized a large retrospective show, The Pageant of Photography, which presented an overview of the craft as both science and art and featured changing exhibits of 17 artists including Paul Strand, Margaret Bourke-White, and Edward Weston.

Americans experienced a transition from a reading culture to a visual one during much of the decade. Newly founded magazines like *Look*, *Life*, and *Fortune*, with their many photographs, altered the country's reading habits. Also, technological advances introduced more people to amateur photography and cheaper printing techniques allowed for the mass production and increased availability of picture books and illustrated reading materials. Most important of all, professional photographers, both those with the FSA and others, left for future generations a graphic story of human events described by Roy Stryker as work that "introduced America to Americans."

See also Automobiles; Design; Fairs & Expositions; Illustrators; Music; Charles Sheeler; Social Realism

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POLITICAL PARTIES. Throughout the twentieth century, the two major political parties—Democratic and Republican—dominated American politics. Opposing groups gained at best a tiny following and had little impact on legislation. From 1932 on, following the sweeping victory of Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945), Democrats controlled both the executive and legislative branches of government. They greatly expanded the role of the federal government through New Deal legislative activities, and their actions generally met with broad popular approval. Only as the Depression lessened in severity during the late 1930s did their electoral support begin to decline, and then only gradually. In addition, the growing threat of war made many people want to "stay the course" with a trusted leader, an important factor in Roosevelt's 1940 victory.

Ideologically, most people viewed the Republican Party as more socially and financially conservative than the Democrats. When Republican Herbert Hoover (1874–1964) won the 1928 presidential election against Democrat Al Smith (1873–1944), the U.S. Congress divided as follows along party lines: 56 Republican senators and 39 Democrats; 267 Republican representatives and 163 Democrats. Hoover inherited a strongly Republican Congress, the party that had controlled the Senate since 1917 and the House since 1914. Hoover would continue enjoying a Republican-led Congress until the decisive, Depression-era presidential election of 1932, when Roosevelt easily defeated him. At the same time an overwhelming number of Democratic candidates for Congress beat their Republican counterparts.

Roosevelt took 57 percent of the popular vote in 1932, and 472 of the 531 available electoral votes. The makeup of Congress reflected this victory: 59 Democratic senators and 36 Republicans; 313 Democratic representatives and 117 Republicans. In four years' time, the party representation in both the executive and legislative branches of the federal government had undergone a complete reversal.

Roosevelt would repeat his landslide victory in 1936 when he campaigned against Republican Alfred M. Landon (1887–1987). This time around, he garnered 61 percent of the popular tally and 523 electoral votes, and again the results in Congress followed suit: 75 Democratic senators faced 17 Republicans, and 333 Democratic representatives faced 117 Republicans, thereby creating one of the most lopsided Congresses ever.

In 1940, running against Wendell Willkie (1892–1944), Roosevelt won an unprecedented third term with 55 percent of the popular vote and 449 electoral votes. Congress divided as follows: 66 Democratic senators against 28 Republicans, and 267 Democratic representatives against 167 Republicans. Although the Republicans had made some significant gains in 1940, they remained very much the minority party, a position they would retain until 1947, when they finally regained control of Congress.

Minority & Splinter Parties. While the Democrats and Republicans battled one another, a handful of other parties attempted to make their voices heard. No real third party emerged during the turbulent 1930s, despite the cries of many for change.

The Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA, or simply "the Party"), which had functioned in the country since the days of World War I, attained its greatest visibility during the Depression era, but it never seriously challenged either the Democrats or Republicans. With unemployment running high, many disaffected workers looked to the Party for support, but that support could not be translated into victory at the polls. Labor found some of the Party's promises—unemployment assistance, jobs for all, improved workers' rights—enticing, but the thought of Communist-led unions and any concomitant rise of socialism frightened management and government, with the result that those in power harshly put down any swings to the left.

William Z. Foster (1881–1961) served as titular head of the CPUSA in the early 1930s; after a heart attack, he was replaced by Earl Browder (1891–1973), who remained as chair until 1940. Although the Party continued its efforts to infiltrate the trade union movement throughout the decade, events abroad led it also to embrace Roosevelt and the New Deal as time went by. The outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936 and the rise of fascism in Europe placed Communists everywhere on the side of most Western democracies, employing the theme of a "popular front" against their enemies.

The Spanish conflict found the Communists supporting the existing Loyalist government, whereas various fascist groups—especially Nazi Germany—rallied behind the right-wing revolt of General Francisco Franco (1892–1975). Often called a rehearsal for World War II, the bitter civil war drew hundreds of idealistic young Americans into the fray, and most of them fought with the Loyalist forces under the name of the Abraham Lincoln Brigades.

Part of the larger International Brigade, a group composed of volunteers drawn from many countries, the Abraham Lincoln fighters struck an emotional chord among citizens back home. Romanticized in popular media, their doomed efforts and high casualties only added to their mystique as "freedom fighters" against fascism. When the Loyalists ultimately lost to the Nationalists in early 1939, the disheartened young volunteers returned to the United States, certain that a new world war would soon follow.

While the Lincoln Brigades fought in Spain, at home both Foster and Browder, along with most of their associates, fell under the scrutiny of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Many members of Congress ardently supported any investigations of Communist activities, and most media coverage of the Party tended to be negative. As a result, the Communist Party of the United States never rose to any real prominence, and many of its supporters found that Party membership meant imprisonment, loss of jobs, social ostracism, and harassment. Even when Russia and the United States stood together as allies in World War II, people looked askance at any open support for the American Communist Party, and in the 1940s and 1950s, the dark days of the Cold War, those who had once belonged, for whatever reasons, suffered relentless investigation.

The American Socialist Party, another labor-oriented group, lingered on the political sidelines throughout the 1930s. Not as controversial as the Communist Party, but also never a power in American politics, it boasted a number of mayors in Midwestern cities and little else. Formally organized in 1901, the party featured Eugene V. Debs (1855–1926) as one of its early leaders, and in five unsuccessful runs for the presidency (1900, 1904, 1908, 1912, and 1920) Debs gave voice to the organization in the first quarter of the twentieth century, drawing almost a million votes in each of his last two attempts. A reform-minded party, but lacking much of the radicalism associated with the

Communists, it espoused socialism. The organization almost disintegrated until Norman Thomas (1984–1968) assumed leadership and ran for president in 1928. Despite his losing candidacy, Thomas ran again in 1932, a time when some of the party's positions held considerable appeal.

In 1936, the American Socialist Party found itself adrift amid the liberal policies of the New Deal and actually came out in support of Roosevelt and many Democratic candidates for Congress. World War II saw most American Socialists united in their opposition to fascism but disorganized as a political entity, and the party failed to regain any popular strength in the general prosperity that followed the conflict.

An offshoot of the Socialist Party called itself the Farmer-Labor Party, and it claimed the upper Midwest, particularly Minnesota, as its stronghold. Formed in 1918, the group gained prominence when Floyd B. Olsen (1891–1936) became governor of Minnesota in 1931, an office he would hold until his death. A strong believer in state ownership of many businesses, most of his dreams failed to materialize; nonetheless he remained a popular politician. Despite Olsen's limited success, the Farmer-Labor Party never achieved national prominence and remained a regional phenomenon.

In neighboring Wisconsin, another Socialist-aligned party grew under the leadership of Robert "Fighting Bob" M. La Follette, Sr. (1855–1925). Nominally a Republican in his younger years, La Follette, with other liberal Republicans, formed the Progressive Party in 1924 when he ran for the presidency. Despite a strong showing, he lost. Although the party itself went out of existence, La Follette continued to battle for his principles.

His son Robert M. La Follette Jr. (1895–1953) carried on his father's traditions, and in 1934 revived the Progressive banner, calling it the Progressive Party of Wisconsin. His brother, Philip La Follette (1897–1965), became Wisconsin's governor that year, and in 1938 strove to widen the influence of the Wisconsin group still further when he formed the National Progressive Party of America, but the movement went nowhere. By the early 1940s, this attempt at a third party had disappeared.

Many other groups tried to make their political voices heard in the nation, but none met with any long-term success. In California, author Upton Sinclair (1878–1968) created a momentary wave of publicity in 1934 with his EPIC (End Poverty in California) crusade. The Great Depression, coupled with the Dust Bowl, had hit California hard, and Sinclair, a gubernatorial candidate, campaigned on a platform that promoted the idea of the state taking over idle factories in order to create jobs. Accused of being a socialist, or worse, a Communist, Sinclair nonetheless captured 37 percent of the vote. Following his defeat, he returned to private life, and EPIC faded away, a momentary reminder of that difficult time.

The Prohibition Party, born in 1869 with the avowed purpose of encouraging temperance, enjoyed its greatest moment in 1919 and the formal enactment of Prohibition throughout the country. After slightly more than a decade of enforced temperance, however, the nation rejected the restrictions on alcohol, and the party suffered from irrelevancy with the passage of the Twenty-first Amendment, or Repeal, in 1933. Since those high-flying days of Prohibition, the party has been a footnote in most political discussions, although it continues to soldier on, dutifully nominating a candidate for president every four years.

Not in the 1930s, nor in any other decade of the twentieth century, have any minority parties achieved any real political importance. They bring a certain amount of diversity

to elections, and sometimes have served as spoilers in tightly fought contests. Their candidates usually offer significantly different approaches to issues, but seldom if ever do they win elections. Basically they alert people to alternatives, but occasionally irony comes into play when their disparaged ideas reappear in the platforms of mainstream Democrats and Republicans.

See also Alcoholic Beverages; Federal Theatre Project; Eleanor Roosevelt; Prohibition & Repeal; Social Consciousness Films

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POLO. Since it enjoys at best a limited (but growing) following today, it may come as something of a surprise to learn that many remember the 1930s as the golden age of American polo. An ancient game, with roots in Asia and the Middle East, it came belatedly to the U.S. in 1876. Since its introduction, the sport has been associated with wealth and leisure, with country clubs and ladies and gentlemen, and with long summer days. This image made polo an unlikely choice for popularity in the midst of an economic downturn, but it nonetheless attracted large crowds and considerable enthusiasm in those limited areas that welcomed the sport.

Humorist Will Rogers (1879–1935), a popular star of **movies** and **radio** and an expert horseman, campaigned tirelessly in the 1920s and 1930s for the game and raised public awareness about it. A ranked player himself, Rogers encouraged equestrians in the West to try what until the 1930s had been an Eastern activity, especially at Newport, Rhode Island, and on Long Island. The Meadow Brook Club in Westbury, which boasted eight playing fields, long reigned as the center of U.S. polo. During the Depression years, a number of Hollywood celebrities also took up the game, leading to a strong West Coast presence.

Throughout the 1930s, the press followed the sport, and several competitions emerged as newsworthy events. The Westchester Cup, which pitted the United States against England, became a prestigious contest, as did the U.S. Open. The first meeting of the Westchester Cup attracted 45,000 spectators, evidence of the level of public interest in the game. Several East-West All-Star matches increased the geographic spread of polo, and the U.S. Army, in the days before mechanization, mounted teams representing its best cavalry riders. Reflecting this expansion, over 80 polo clubs could be counted around the nation, and they achieved new membership highs, with almost 3,000 participants in the early years of the decade. The rolls dropped as the Depression wore on, and World War II effectively removed the cavalry presence, when tanks replaced horses. Only recently has polo again seen rising numbers, both in clubs and players.

Inevitably, several polo stars emerged. Tommy Hitchcock ("Ten Goal Tommy"; 1900–1944) and Cecil Smith ("The Texas Cowboy"; 1904–1999) dominated the game. Both Hitchcock, the poised Easterner, and Smith, the horseman from Texas, were superlative players and earned the highest possible ranking. They enjoyed a friendly rivalry and helped immeasurably to popularize the game.



Polo players in action. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

Despite charges of elitism and snobbery from many opposed to polo, the growing interest in the game attracted the movie industry's attention. At least a dozen or so features, most of them forgettable, include polo elements in their plotting and action sequences. Movies like *Lucky Larrigan* (1932); *This Sporting Age* (1932); *The Woman in Red* (1935), a Barbara Stanwyck (1907–1990) vehicle, not to be confused with two identically named movies from 1945 and 1984; *Polo Joe* (1936), a silly romp with comedian Joe E. Brown (1892–1973); *Wild Brian Kent* (1936); and *The Spy Ring* (1938) reflect some of the enthusiasm the game engendered. Edward G. Robinson (1893–1973), star of many gangster films, brings his acting talents to *The Little Giant* (1933), an offbeat comedy that involves wealth and polo. *The Adventures of Rex and Rinty*, a 1935 12-part serial, features Rex, king of the wild horses, and Rin Tin Tin Jr., the son of the famous canine star Rin Tin Tin. The two overcome obstacles in each cliff-hanging episode, many of which feature polo in their plotting. Even Walt Disney (1901–1966), by this time a major force in American cinema, released a polo-related cartoon, *Mickey's Polo Team* (1936). For a brief moment in sports history, polo had its day.

See also Games; Horse Racing; Serials

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PORGY AND BESS. The title given an extended 1935 work composed by George Gershwin (1898–1937) that combines elements of traditional opera and the classic American musical. Critics and musical historians have never been able to agree on a precise definition for *Porgy and Bess*. The debate revolves around the question of whether *Porgy and Bess* should be seen as musical theater posing as opera, or opera that contains elements of popular musical theater. Some have settled on the term "folk opera." Whatever the case, producers have long approached it as they would a traditional musical, with the result that this unique composition has usually been performed in theaters, not in opera houses or symphony halls.

Gershwin first entertained thoughts of attempting an opera in the early 1920s; nothing came of the idea, but he never abandoned it. At about the same time, DuBose Heyward (1885–1940), a writer from South Carolina, in 1925 published a novel titled *Porgy*. Loosely based on characters in and around Charleston, as well as local folklore, *Porgy* tells a tale of love, jealousy, revenge, and violence—just the makings for opera.

Shortly after the novel's publication, Gershwin read it and began discussing with Heyward the possibility of *Porgy* as an operatic vehicle. Despite the composer's early enthusiasm, other commitments kept Gershwin from pursuing the project, and it would take almost a decade for him to bring the idea to fruition. In the meantime, Heyward's wife, Dorothy (1890–1961), oversaw a straight dramatic production of *Porgy* in 1927–1928. Other parties also expressed interest in *Porgy*. **Jerome Kern** (1885–1945) and Oscar Hammerstein II (1895–1960), the team that had brought *Show Boat* to the stage in 1927, hoped to convert *Porgy* into a musical starring Al Jolson (1886–1950) in the title role, but complications blocked their plans.

In the early 1930s, Gershwin finally began work on his operatic dream after securing the needed agreements. He worked closely with the author, and *Porgy and Bess* slowly took shape. Although Heyward gamely tried to create the lyrics to the composer's songs, Gershwin wisely called on his more experienced brother Ira (1896–1983) to assist in crafting them. Ira Gershwin and Dubose Heyward, from all reports, made for a unique writing team. They shared generously with one another, and egos seldom clashed. Final attributions for a number of songs read "lyrics by Ira Gershwin and Dubose Heyward," with neither writer claiming more credit than the other.

The Gershwins and Heyward finished their work in the summer of 1935. They took *Porgy and Bess* to Boston for its first public performance toward the end of September. It received generally favorable reviews, although it proved too long. George pared it down slightly, and *Porgy and Bess* had its formal premiere two weeks later at New York's Alvin Theater. The gala opening rivaled that enjoyed in 1924 by *Rhapsody in Blue*, George's popular and much-lauded blending of jazz and classical music. The black-tie audience consisted of critics, opera buffs, Gershwin fans, and much of New York's high society.

As in Boston, the audience received the work warmly. As for reviewers, most drama critics liked it, whereas most music critics gave it lukewarm reception, with some remaining skittish about calling it a bona fide opera. The show ran for 124 performances—not much for a musical, but an extended run for an opera. Never a robust financial success, *Porgy and Bess* just broke even.

On stage, *Porgy and Bess* demands a large cast of 65 actors, and the libretto requires that they be black performers. Gershwin selected Todd Duncan (1903–1998) as Porgy, and Anne Brown (b. 1912) as Bess. John W. Bubbles (b. John William Sublett, 1902–1986),

a popular black vaudevillian, took the role of Sportin' Life and gave a memorable performance. Rouben Mamoulian (1897–1987), who had directed Dorothy Heyward's 1927 stage version of *Porgy*, served as director. He had already established himself in Hollywood with a number of films, including **musicals**, and he proved a capable director.

Set on Catfish Row, a run-down fishing village on the South Carolina coast, a range of characters populate the show. From the crippled Porgy to the virtuous Clara to the villainous Crown, everyone in this microcosm has numerous interconnections. Gershwin's memorable score of course links them all with songs like "Summertime," "It Ain't Necessarily So," "Oh Bess, Oh Where's My Bess?" "I Got Plenty o' Nuttin'," and "I Loves You, Porgy." Much of the music has become a part of the standard American repertoire, and the show itself has entered the annals of classic theater.

Ironically, the first major commercial **recordings** of music from the score feature Lawrence Tibbett (1896–1960) and Helen Jepsen (1904–1997), two white artists from the Metropolitan Opera who also performed for RCA Victor, the company willing to undertake a substantial recording of music from the show. In 1940, Decca Records issued highlights from *Porgy and Bess* and used members of the original cast, a breakthrough for black performers at the time. The archaic idea that somehow recordings by black artists—called "race records" in those days—would not sell to white consumers still held sway until Decca's pioneering anthology. Eventually, such concepts fell by the wayside and the show has long since been recorded innumerable times by black and white performers, both in its entirety and as individual songs.

Porgy and Bess, finally made it to film in 1959, has gone on tours and successfully straddled the difficult line between high art and popular entertainment. Whatever its proper definition, the music remains George Gershwin's, not adaptations of folk or local music. But credit must also be extended to both DuBose Heyward and Ira Gershwin for their lyrics, especially to Ira, since he ended up editing or rewriting most of Heyward's efforts. Because of George's premature death in 1937, Porgy and Bess would be the Gershwin brothers' last joint theatrical production.

See also George & Ira Gershwin; Movies; Race Relations & Stereotyping; Songwriters & Lyricists

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PORTER, COLE. Heir to a large family fortune, Cole Porter (1893–1964), born in Peru, Indiana, experienced a lonely childhood. Educated at private schools and Yale, he early on showed a prodigious talent for **music**, especially the writing of clever lyrics to accompany his tunes. Rejecting a career in law, he went to Paris in World War I, flirted with the expatriate community, and attempted his first Broadway play, See America First, in 1916. It flopped, but he continued to write and compose, honing his skills throughout the 1920s. He enjoyed several early hits with "I'm in Love Again" (1925; from Greenwich Village Follies of 1924) and the suggestive "Let's Do It" (1928; from the revue Paris), and he stood poised to take on the 1930s.



Composer and lyricist Cole Porter (1893–1964). (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

In November 1929, Porter premiered "You Do Something to Me," for the musical Fifty Million Frenchmen. People took notice, and Porter's name next graced marquees in December with Wake Up and Dream, just a month after Fifty Million Frenchmen. Few songwriters or lyricists have two musicals going at once: Porter opened Wake Up and Dream in London that spring and debuted in New York at the end of the year. It featured "What Is This Thing Called Love?" destined to become a Porter chestnut.

With all his activity, it took only a short time before Hollywood took notice of Porter. In 1930, First National, a small movie studio, produced *Paris*, a film version of Porter's 1928 revue. The picture served as a breakthrough and, for the remainder of the decade, he would shuttle between East Coast and West, working within both theater and film.

The New Yorkers opened on Broadway during the 1930 Christmas season. A forgettable play, it contained an unforgettable song, "Love for Sale." A controversial description of a prostitute's life, "Love for Sale" has entered the standard repertoire. Radio stations at the time found its risqué lyrics unsuitable for broadcasting, but it achieved hit status anyway, in large part thanks

to a recording by Fred Waring (1900–1984) and the Pennsylvanians. Apparently offending no one, the record sold well. As a result, broadcasters dropped their restrictions on airplay. In light of contemporary lyrics, listeners might wonder about the concerns expressed in the early 1930s.

Almost two years passed before the opening of Porter's next play, *Gay Divorce* (1932). It starred Fred Astaire (1899–1987) before he began devoting most of his time to **movies**, and he sang the memorable "Night and Day." Producers adapted *Gay Divorce* for film two years later, changing the name to *The Gay Divorcee*. Astaire again got the lead male role and performed with Ginger Rogers (1911–1995), the second pairing for them—the first had been in *Flying Down to Rio* in 1933. Hollywood, in its infinite wisdom, worried about the play's title, and feared censor problems with the connotation of "happy divorce," and thus the unusual compromise of "Divorcee" for "Divorce."

Other problems also plagued *The Gay Divorcee*. Unlike his stage version, Porter contributed little to the film adaptation. RKO Pictures dropped most of the original score for new material, and only Porter's pulsating "Night and Day" survives. Con Conrad (1891–1938) and Herb Magidson (1906–1986), two professional **songwriters and lyricists**, took on the remaining score. They contributed "A Needle in a Haystack" and the delightful "Continental," but the deletions and substitutions resulted in a new and different musical. These highhanded studio tactics probably soured Porter on Hollywood, helping to explain his greater devotion to musical theater.

In 1934, the musical Anything Goes opened on Broadway and it contains one of Porter's most inspired scores. Standards like "I Get a Kick Out of You," "All through

the Night," "You're the Top," "Blow, Gabriel, Blow," and the title song adorn the show. The original stage version starred Ethel Merman (1908–1984). She gave such a strong performance that the 1936 movie adaptation cast her in the same part, rather than substituting a Hollywood star.

Aside from Ethel Merman, however, the movie *Anything Goes* (1936) bears little resemblance to its Broadway counterpart. Once again much of the original music, such as "All through the Night" and "Blow, Gabriel, Blow," has disappeared. Merman does team up with costar **Bing Crosby** (1903–1977) for a spirited, but rewritten, rendition of the sophisticated "You're the Top," but why the producers chose to cut so much of the original Porter score remains a mystery. The substituted songs, while adequate, do not do justice to this outstanding musical comedy.

Jubilee came to the stage in 1935. A so-so play with some memorable music, it features "Why Shouldn't I?" "Just One of Those Things," and a number most people initially dismissed, "Begin the Beguine." Fortunately, bandleader Artie Shaw (1910–2004) heard Porter's tune, and recorded it in 1938. Shaw's interpretation of "Begin the Beguine" resulted in one of the biggest hits of that or any decade, a song that will always be associated with the clarinetist and one that helped epitomize the **swing** era.

Keeping to a demanding schedule that seemingly required a new musical each year, Porter premiered *Red Hot and Blue!* in 1936. It contains one of his clever, sophisticated numbers much loved by cabaret singers, "Down in the Depths (on the Ninetieth Floor)." A recital about the problems of love, it never managed to be a big hit but instead has achieved a devoted following and illustrates Porter's mastery of lyrics. *Red Hot and Blue!* also showcased "It's De-Lovely." A rising young actor named Bob Hope (1903–2003) sang the song with costar Ethel Merman, by that time one of Broadway's leading lights.

Movie theaters showed *Born to Dance* that same year. This picture marked Porter's return to film musicals, his first since the challenges he faced with *The Gay Divorcee* in 1934. Since *Born to Dance* had not first played on Broadway, it features a score written for film and boasts a topnotch Hollywood cast that includes James Stewart (1908–1997) and Eleanor Powell (1912–1982). Two Porter classics, "Easy to Love" and "I've Got You under My Skin," grace the proceedings.

Eleanor Powell appears in another Porter film vehicle, *Rosalie* (1937). Although Sigmund Romberg (1887–1951) and George Gershwin (1898–1937) had collaborated on a 1928 Broadway play of the same name, the two works share nothing other than identical titles. The movie *Rosalie* stars not just Powell, but also the popular Nelson Eddy (1901–1967), doing the vocals. The movie resembles the frothy **operettas** then so much in vogue, which means that *Rosalie* lacks much of a plot. But that seemed to matter little to Porter; he managed to compose the memorable "In the Still of the Night" and "Who Knows?" for the picture.

You Never Know opened the 1938 Broadway season. Not every show can be a hit, and You Never Know proved it, closing after just 78 performances. "What Shall I Do?" and "At Long Last Love" have endured far longer than the play. Undeterred, Porter redeemed himself one month later with Leave It to Me! A fine score that included "Get Out of Town" and "My Heart Belongs to Daddy" pleased audiences. Mary Martin (1913–1990), just starting out, performed the latter number. Her rendition, a combination of innocence and sophistication, made her an overnight sensation.

For the 1930s, *DuBarry Was a Lady* (1939) proved to be Porter's final Broadway effort. Two standards emerged from the production, both humorous: "Friendship" and "Well, Did You Evah?" Just a few months later, MGM released *Broadway Melody of 1940*, a bigbudget screen musical that features a fine Porter score and the superlative dancing talents of both Fred Astaire and Eleanor Powell. Two new classics emerged from the movie, "I've Got My Eyes on You" and "I Concentrate on You." In addition, he contributed the witty "Please Don't Monkey with Broadway," a sharp commentary on his own allegiances to musical theater and tradition. Probably at the insistence of producers, he also resurrected "Begin the Beguine," such a phenomenal recorded hit for Artie Shaw just two years earlier.

Despite his bumpy relationship with Hollywood, Cole Porter would continue to contribute original music to the movies and adapt his shows to the film medium for the rest of his life. Motion picture producers apparently deemed much of what he wrote too sophisticated or "too adult," and Porter himself clearly preferred New York City and its clubs and urbanity. As a result, a good percentage of his most memorable music comes from stage productions, not films.

Like his contemporaries, especially **Jerome Kern** (1885–1945) and Lorenz Hart (1895–1943), Porter's view of the world had little to do with economic crises or New Deals, but he was not above making topical references in his remarkable catalog of songs. Thanks once again to movies, radio, and **recordings**, he became widely known and his music has come down to the present as some of the best of the era.

See also Fred Astaire & Ginger Rogers; George & Ira Gershwin; Rodgers & Hart

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PRINCE VALIANT. First appearing on the Sunday newspaper comic pages in early 1937, *Prince Valiant* is generally recognized as one of the most beautifully crafted strips of that or any era. Artist Harold R. Foster (1892–1982) had already made a name for himself in the comic strip industry by illustrating **Tarzan**, a series he intermittently worked on from 1929 until the end of 1936. But the cartoonist harbored dreams of a series of his own, from artwork to story lines, and *Prince Valiant* realizes that dream.

Dissatisfied with the pay he received for drawing *Tarzan*, Foster in 1935–1936 undertook a new adventure series that he called *Derek*, *Son of Thane*. His syndicate, United Features, turned down his samples, but the Hearst Syndicate promptly signed him to its roster of artists. In the process, Foster's new associates renamed the strip *Prince Valiant in the Days of King Arthur*. An immediate hit with readers, the tales transported them back to the fifth century, to the days of Arthur and his fabled Knights of the Round Table. Immaculately drafted, the series took adventure comics to a new level. A Sunday-only strip, it gave Foster greater space than would a daily, plus it allowed the use of color.

These two elements combined to create what many have called the most beautiful of all newspaper strips.

In an era looking for escapism, *Prince Valiant* celebrated heroism and bravery, presenting images of characters meeting and overcoming all challenges. The legends of Arthur and his knights have never died out, and Foster built on this reservoir of shared familiarity, creating a body of characters that continue to live on in the imagination. Prince Valiant himself, or "Val," starts as a young squire who quickly rises to knighthood and in 1938 gains the mythic "singing sword," his fearsome weapon of choice. From then on, the series focuses on his adventures, a kind of contemporary serial, but one of epic proportions, set in the dusty pages of history.

Meticulously researched, the drawings display an almost fanatical attention to detail. Foster would be the first to admit that he took several centuries of English and northern European history and blended them, but each frame nonetheless remains a treat for the eyes. No speech balloons interrupt his pictures; he instead scrolled the plot details across the bottom of each frame, a technique he had employed on *Tarzan*. Foster's drawing encourages comparison with that being done by Alex Raymond (1909–1956) at the same time in *Flash Gordon*, but Raymond creates **science fiction** fantasy whereas Foster contributes historical realism. Each has its merits, and each helps explain why the 1930s can be called the golden age of American newspaper **comic strips**.

In the last years of the decade, with Hitler and the Nazis moving Europe to the brink of war, Foster commenced a famous storyline about Val encountering Attila the Hun. When Germany invaded Poland in the fall of 1939, this adventure struck a particularly timely note. The Huns, portrayed as rapacious invaders, need to be stopped, and it will take warriors like Prince Valiant and his fellow knights to do the job. Bloody violence, no stranger to the strip, is a price that must be paid to ensure freedom. It would be difficult for anyone to miss the message in this particular episode, one of the few times *Prince Valiant* ever spoke directly to contemporary events.

After 1970, Foster required assistance in drawing *Prince Valiant* until his retirement in 1980. The series continued in the capable hands of John Cullen Murphy (1919–2004), and with his death new artists and writers inherited the strip. It can still be found in over 1,000 Sunday newspaper comics sections. In retrospect, *Prince Valiant*, a product of the 1930s, will be remembered as one of the best-drawn comics of the twentieth century.

See also Newspapers; Serials

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PROHIBITION & REPEAL (1920–1933). In December 1917, the U.S. Congress passed the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which, if ratified by three-quarters of the then-48 states, would make unlawful the manufacture, sale, transport, import, or export of intoxicating beverages within the nation's boundaries. As the amendment worked its way through state legislatures, the 1919 Volstead Act, a federal



Bottles and a barrel of confiscated liquor. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

law named for Minnesota congressman Andrew J. Volstead (1860–1947), defined beer, wine, and liquor as such beverages if they contained more than .5 percent alcohol by volume. By January 16, 1919, the Eighteenth Amendment, familiarly called Prohibition, had been ratified by the required 36 state legislatures. Enforcement of the new constitutional amendment went into effect January 16, 1920. It would remain the law of the land until December 1933, when the Twenty-first Amendment, or Repeal, overturned it.

President Herbert Hoover (1874–1964; in office 1929–1933) called the challenging Prohibition era a "noble experiment." It had been a long time coming. Efforts toward restricting the sale of liquor can be traced back to the mid-1800s, when Maine forbade it. Most of the South followed suit after the Civil War. The Prohibition Party, organized in 1869, ran candidates in several presidential elections. Although they never received a large percentage of the popular vote, their participation contributed to the growing influence of the "dry" (i.e., no alcohol) movement. The conservative Midwest joined the ranks at the time of World War I (1914–1918), insisting that its grain should be used for making bread for soldiers, not liquor, thereby linking the prohibition of alcohol to patriotism.

Family, not love of country, became the loudest, most persuasive and intense reason for controlling alcohol. Members of the temperance movement, a wide-ranging crusade that included men and women, churches, employers, and social and political reformers, moralistically argued that the damaging effects of alcohol on the drinker also hurt the family, society, and nation. Two groups, the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), organized in 1874 in Cleveland, Ohio, and a Washington, D.C., lobbying group known as the Anti-Saloon League, founded in 1893, played major roles in gaining passage of the Eighteenth Amendment.

After Prohibition became a reality, saloons around the nation had to close, with the result that another kind of public place prospered—the soda fountain. Before Prohibition, some soda fountain drinks contained alcohol, and these now had to be dropped from menus. Rich egg and malted milk beverages often served as their replacements. Soda fountains also expanded their business by selling light lunches, something most had not done in the past. Since Prohibition had forced the closing of saloons, places that had traditionally served **food** to a mostly male clientele, the fountains saw a good business opportunity. They added menu items attractive to both men and women, creating a gathering place. The rise of lunch counters in all forms started with Prohibition and continued through the Depression and the remaining years of the decade. After Repeal in 1933, saloons never made a real comeback.

By the time of the Great Depression, Prohibition had many foes and support for Repeal had markedly increased. Two groups, the Association against the Prohibition Amendment, a leading political pressure group founded in 1918 and revived and reorganized in 1927, and the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform, founded in 1929, actively worked toward abolishing the Eighteenth Amendment. Others also voiced concerns, adding to the growing chorus of support for Repeal. Some disliked the power given to federal and state authorities to control an individual's choice of drink; others cited increased acts of violence and other **crime** associated with the restrictive law. People complained of the enormous costs to implement Prohibition coupled with an even larger loss of tax revenue. They saw a decline in respect for laws, lawmakers, and law enforcers, and claimed the jammed court system and increasing prison population testified to the futility of Prohibition.

With the onset of the Depression, Repeal supporters said it pointed the way to returning many unemployed Americans to work. In 1931, the successful federal prosecution of Al Capone (1899–1947), a well-known bootlegger and gangster, helped the cause. Ironically, Capone went to prison not because of the Volstead Act, but on charges of income tax evasion.

In 1929, President Hoover established the Wickersham Commission and charged them with investigating the administration of justice throughout the nation's jails, prisons, courts, and prosecutors' offices. The commission had instructions to report its findings both to him and to the American public. It produced 14 volumes of detailed information, one of which dealt with Prohibition. This section recommended that Congress consider a more effective means of controlling abuses of laws dealing with alcohol. A detailed minority report from the commission flatly stated that the Volstead Act had failed and should be abandoned.

With the Wickersham findings fresh in mind, Republicans and Democrats differed on the Prohibition issue during the 1932 presidential campaign. The Republican platform pledged continued enforcement, while the Democratic platform called for immediate repeal. In the election, the Democratic Party's candidate, **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945), reaped a landside victory. Although the Democratic sweep came about on a variety of issues, with Prohibition being only one of many, the government quickly reacted. The 72nd Congress met in a remarkable lame duck session that ran from December 1932 to March 1933.

Most congressional discussions focused on how to aid the failing economy, but this special session also passed, by more than a two-thirds margin in each house, a resolution

mandating passage of the Twenty-first Amendment. This new addition to the Constitution would overturn 1919's Eighteenth Amendment prohibiting the sale of **alcoholic beverages**. The states responded by promptly convening constitutional conventions between April and November 1933 to consider ratification. Repeal—acceptance of the Twenty-first Amendment—occurred on December 5, 1933, when the 36th state, Utah, voted for ratification. Clearly, most Americans by then viewed the Eighteenth Amendment and its accompanying Volstead Act with disdain. Only six Southern states, along with Kansas and North Dakota, chose to remain dry.

Although Prohibition officially ended in 1933, it profoundly influenced the popular culture of the entire decade. For example, the **gangster films** of the early 1930s celebrate criminals, most of whom make their fortunes in bootlegging and related activities. The subsequent G-man pictures likewise use Prohibition as a background for their plots. Speakeasies, nightclubs, and free-flowing liquor make up the imagery of these **movies** as they chronicle the crime waves and drinking life of the times. Even the stage and film comedies of the 1930s reflect these shifting mores. Actors like Mae West (1893–1980) and W. C. Fields (1880–1946) built their careers on anti-Prohibition attitudes. Their popularity suggests significant changes in public attitudes toward alcohol, along with challenges to traditional American values and beliefs.

Through the imposition of Prohibition, political and religious conservatives attempted to solve what they believed to be the country's social problems. The ban did reduce the per capita consumption of alcoholic beverages between 1919 and 1933, but it hardly ended drinking. Instead, Prohibition spawned new economic problems, established a violence-filled environment for the illicit importation and sale of alcohol, and helped entrench a network of organized crime. Significant opposition began almost immediately following passage of the Eighteenth Amendment; it grew throughout the 1920s and came to a climax with the beginning of the Great Depression. Repeal did indeed bring a great economic boost. It restored countless jobs in the beer, wine, and liquor industries, along with various supporting businesses, and it returned lost tax revenues to the economy. Amid widespread celebrating, Prohibition came to an end in late 1933. The "noble experiment" had failed.

See also Political Parties; Soft Drinks

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PROPAGANDA & ANTI-AXIS FILMS. Movies sometimes provide a mirror to society, and many American motion pictures of the 1930s accurately reflected the nation's state of mind. They offered escape—escape from the realities of ongoing world events. Not until the last years of the decade did a handful of films begin to depict the specter of impending war. Throughout most of the period, the United States wrapped itself in a mantle of isolationism, ignoring, as best it could, the reality

of totalitarianism expanding throughout much of the world, and Hollywood dutifully followed suit. People might have sensed that a conflagration would eventually break out, but no one offered concrete solutions to the growing menace, and certainly no one wanted to get involved.

As early as 1930, director Lewis Milestone (1895–1980) warned American moviegoers about the horrors of war, using World War I as his example. In a splendid screenplay, playwright Maxwell Anderson (1888–1959) adapted Erich Maria Remarque's (1898–1970) stirring antiwar novel, All Quiet on the Western Front (1929), and Milestone visually captures the slaughter and futility that characterize modern warfare. Lew Ayres (1908–1996) plays a young German soldier trapped in the European killing fields; neither Anderson nor Milestone attempted to change Ayres' character to an American doughboy because Remarque's story makes its point that war respects no nation. Featuring some of the most harrowing combat reenactments ever put on film, All Quiet on the Western Front doubtless sparked feelings of isolationism for those who saw it. If America could stay out of Europe's wars, so much the better.

In 1932 the producers of A Farewell to Arms, another film set in World War I, gave in to official Italian government complaints about depictions of their nation's army. Based on the 1929 novel of the same name by Ernest Hemingway (1899–1961), and historically accurate, Paramount Pictures nevertheless altered the script so it would not show the Italian army in retreat. This avoidance of any hint of political controversy characterized much American moviemaking in the years prior to World War II.

One film series defied the prevailing wisdom of not taking political positions when discussing, or portraying, international events. *The March of Time*, a documentary approach to the news, had its theatrical debut in 1934 (a radio version had preceded it by several years). Very much on the side of the Western democracies, from its inception it warned against the dangers of growing fascism.

The March of Time notwithstanding, Hitler (1889–1945) in 1936 marched into the demilitarized Rhineland and no one moved to stop him. He formalized already close relations with Italy and Japan that same year, thus creating the Axis alliance, and neither the impotent League of Nations nor any Western country attempted to block this dangerous growth of fascist power. The world looked on, but did nothing, thus setting the stage for World War II.

As the international scene worsened, an unusual British motion picture, *Things to Come* (1936), received wide U.S. distribution. The film proves almost uncanny in its predictions of modern, mechanized warfare. Directed by William Cameron Menzies (1896–1957), who would later gain considerable fame as the production designer on 1939's *Gone with the Wind*, another film dealing with war, the movie had been adapted from *The Shape of Things to Come* (1933), a dystopian work by the popular writer H. G. Wells (1866–1946). It stars Raymond Massey (1896–1983) and Ralph Richardson (1902–1983), both well-known actors of the day.

For *Things to Come*, Menzies needed to create a recognizable future, one that had come through a terrible war and emerged regimented and dependent on science and rationality. Certainly he succeeded in depicting modern warfare; his menacing squadrons of bombers and the destruction of civilian targets suggests nothing so much as the 1940 London blitz, an event that followed the picture by just four years. As an antiwar protest, however, *Things to Come* seems primarily a curiosity piece. Wooden acting and

stilted dialogue detract from the movie, and Wells's heavy-handed philosophy comes across more as a rant than as a coherent warning to audiences. The scenes of devastation, however, remain powerful, and its prophetic qualities—the "things" of the title truly were to come—have an eerie fascination about them, making *Things to Come* something of a cult classic in the years since its release.

The Spanish Civil War, a bloody, mid-1930s conflict between those loyal to the existing government and those wishing to overthrow it and establish a more dictatorial state, energized the emotions of many Americans. Most favored the Loyalists, but Hollywood practiced a studied neutrality in films that alluded to the war.

Spanish Earth (1937), a documentary, enlisted the aid of a number of distinguished American writers and musicians. John Dos Passos (1896–1970) wrote and narrated part 1, and Ernest Hemingway wrote and narrated part 2. Poet Archibald MacLeish (1892–1982) and playwright Lillian Hellman (1905–1984) also contributed to the script, and composers Marc Blitztein (1905–1964) and Virgil Thomson (1896–1989) shared honors for the musical arrangements of the score.

More a recounting of the tragedy of the conflict than a propagandistic attack on one side or the other, *Spanish Earth* allowed moviegoers to see the war up close, reminding them of the unstable conditions in Europe that made it ripe for still more fighting. Filmed amid the destruction rained on Spain by both Loyalists and Nationalists, it served to preview similar dangers then facing the world.

That same year, Paramount released *The Last Train from Madrid*. Despite its provocative title, this Dorothy Lamour (1914–1996)/Lew Ayres romantic drama provides little insight into the war, instead focusing on a group of attractive people fleeing any possible battles. Pure soap opera, the background war depicted in the movie could have been occurring anywhere.

In a similar fashion, MGM adapted another novel by Erich Maria Remarque, *Three Comrades* (novel, 1937; film, 1938). A disappointing movie, despite a screenplay by F. Scott Fitzgerald (1896–1940), *Three Comrades* hints at life in post–World War I Germany, but fails to pay adequate attention to the rise of Nazism. Tinkering by Hollywood Production Code staff removed a number of topical scenes. By robbing the picture of any anti-Nazi references, the changes gave audiences a gloomy picture of contemporary Germany but little explanation of any causes.

Yet another American motion picture about the Spanish tragedy came out in 1938. Titled *Blockade*, United Artists marketed the movie as an exciting drama about espionage. With the Spanish Civil War as its setting, and starring Henry Fonda (1905–1982) and Madeleine Carroll (1906–1987), *Blockade*, albeit quietly and unobtrusively, sides with the Spanish Loyalists through the respected Fonda and takes a small stand against the rising forces of fascism. Writing credits go to John Howard Lawson (1894–1977), a man who openly embraced the Communist Party during the earlier 1930s, the same party that supported the Loyalists during the civil war.

Given its roster of stars and promotion, *Blockade* heightened awareness of the brutal civil war ravaging Spain. By 1938 most Americans knew enough about current events to separate the fascists (i.e., the Nationalists) from the Loyalists. Even so, the picture remains scrupulous in its neutrality, fictionalizing place-names, clothing the players in virtually identical uniforms that betray no allegiances, and carefully avoiding any mention of Russia, Germany, or Italy, the principal international players in the conflict.

Despite this cloak of seeming objectivity, Fonda, looking directly into the camera, makes a closing speech condemning fascism. *Blockade* may not have been an outspoken anti-Axis film, but it cautiously moved into territory almost no commercial American movies had yet explored.

In the years following World War II, the U.S. Congress, acting through its House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), launched a lengthy investigation into purported Communist influences in American movies, especially those made during the 1930s and on into the early war years. Numerous Hollywood personalities found themselves hauled into hearings about their pasts, and earnest lawmakers cited both *Blockade* and John Howard Lawson as evidence of subversion. For Lawson, it meant blacklisting and the end of his Hollywood career; he eventually went into self-exile in Mexico. For *Blockade*, however, the hearings gave it a reputation, undeserved, of being sympathetic to Communism. If any pro-Communist sympathies evidence themselves in *Blockade*, they remain so muted that they must be adjudged more imagined than real.

In the early 1930s, Warner Brothers had addressed social issues with hard-hitting films like *I* Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang (1932), Heroes for Sale (1933), and Black Fury (1935). As the threat of a world war increased, the studio again led the way, releasing Confessions of a Nazi Spy and Espionage Agent in 1939. Given its title, Confessions of a Nazi Spy leaves little or no doubt about who the enemy will be, and both pictures reflect the growing national concern about foreign agents and spies. Confessions of a Nazi Spy prompted a protest from the German consulate, but the studio stood firm.

Veteran actor Edward G. Robinson (1893–1973), who had made his name playing criminals, but could be equally convincing as a law officer, commands Confessions of a Nazi Spy as a government agent who ferrets out a vast Nazi conspiracy within American borders. Whereas Blockade may have been muted in its allegiances, Confessions of a Nazi Spy blatantly takes sides. The Nazis, depicted as zealots determined to undermine American morale, attempt to infiltrate all aspects of life. Melodramatic propaganda by any standards, the picture nonetheless touched many a nerve in the tense days leading up to World War II. Immediately banned in Germany and Japan, as well as much of South America, it came out shortly before the September 1939 invasion of Poland by German forces.

In Espionage Agent, the studio cast one of its big stars, Joel McCrea (1905–1990), as an American diplomat who must uncover German spies in order to save his marriage and protect his name. He of course accomplishes these things, and the picture focuses as much on romance as it does on espionage. Produced in early 1939, it came to theaters shortly after the outbreak of war. Like Confessions of a Nazi Spy, Espionage Agent cautioned American audiences that the enemy would be Germany and its allies.

A short documentary film, Lights Out in Europe (1939) covers the German invasion of Poland and the beginning of World War II. Filmmaker Herbert Kline (1909–1999) directed, and James Hilton (1900–1954), a well-known screenwriter and best-selling novelist (Lost Horizon, 1937, Good-bye, Mr. Chips, 1939), created the script. Fredric March (1897–1975), a popular, respected actor, serves as narrator. The title, Lights Out in Europe, says all that has to be said. Any chances for peace had disappeared, and the continent—and shortly the world—would be plunged into darkness and chaos.

Although it would be another two years before the United States entered the war as a combatant, the invasion of Poland shook the nation and the film industry out of any

remaining complacency. The following year saw films like *The Fighting 69th*, *Four Sons*, *Escape*, *Foreign Correspondent* (with Joel McCrea again battling Nazis), *The Mortal Storm*, and *The Man I Married*. Even comedian Charlie Chaplin (1889–1977) entered the growing fray with *The Great Dictator*, a hilarious spoof of Hitler and totalitarianism. Sporting a little black moustache, Chaplin mimics the Nazi leader to devastating effect. By then, most studios had lost their reticence and clearly began taking sides against the Axis powers, although not everyone supported this move. Some patrons and studios continued to press for nontopical entertainment. Not until the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941 did the sleeping giant called Hollywood truly awake. Then the propaganda and war movies poured out of the studios as fast as they could be filmed. The neutrality of the 1930s quickly became a memory.

See also Best Sellers; Crime; Music; Political Parties; Social Consciousness Films; Songwriters & Lyricists; *Terry and the Pirates*

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PULP MAGAZINES. Sensational, garish, tawdry, trashy—all that, and more, but the pulp magazine has long existed as a singular part of American popular culture. Born in the nineteenth century—in England their equivalents bore the name "penny dreadfuls"; in the United States people called them "dime novels"—these cheap periodicals enjoyed enormous audiences. They gained their name from their low price and the cheap paper on which they were printed. Coarse, grainy pulp-based paper served as the technological innovation that allowed inexpensive mass reproduction of printed materials. That, plus rising literacy rates and a ready readership, guaranteed success for publishers.

In the United States, periodicals of all types flourished in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and they frequently displaced dime novels in popularity. Although **magazines** for every taste could be found, tales of action and adventure found a ready audience. Somewhat akin to **comic strips** in their simplicity and aimed at males of all ages, they became a standard part of newsstand displays and enjoyed huge sales.

In 1919, Bernarr Macfadden (1868–1955) launched *True Story*, the first of a long line of confessional magazines that eventually displaced the earlier action tales in popularity. Best known for his own colorful personality—physical culturist, bodybuilder, health-food faddist—Macfadden established a publishing empire that never shied away from controversy or sensationalism, provided it kept circulations up. He had entered the magazine field in 1899 with *Physical Culture*, which sold for a nickel (about \$1 in today's money). It made him rich and famous, and endeared him to millions of readers anxious to improve their health.

With *True Story*, Macfadden unearthed an untapped lode in popular culture, the desire to read the supposedly truthful, but usually undocumented, stories of others. Tabloid **newspapers**, led by the *New York Daily News* (also founded in 1919), likewise mined this

vein, making front-page stories out of **crime** and tragedy, and never shying away from sensational pictures to accompany them. Thus the 1920s gained a reputation for tabloid journalism and pulp magazines, and the two genres shared many affinities.

Both featured low cover prices, aimed for a mass readership, and sought to excite and arouse their audiences. In the case of True Story, Macfadden and others quickly launched a host of look-alikes: True Detective Mysteries, True Experiences, True Ghost Stories, True Lovers, and True Romances. Since Hollywood at the time offered endless celebrity gossip and occasional scandal, this segment of the magazine industry adopted the film capital as a source of factual, not-so-factual, and utterly fictitious publicity designed to entertain readers. Along with all the "true" titles, publishers offered Click, Hollywood, Modern Screen, Motion Picture, Movie Classic, Photoplay, Screenland, Screen Romances, and Silver Screen.

What truly defined the pulp category, however, were the action-adventure periodicals. Shunned by critics and librarians, but adored by fans, these collections of thrilling tales bore such titles as Action Stories, Air Stories, Amazing Stories, Astounding Stories, Battle Aces, Battle Birds, Battle Stories, Black Mask Magazine, Nick Carter, Crack Detective, Crime Busters, Detective Classics, Detective Story, Dime Detective, Dime



Modern Screen magazine cover (1938) depicting Katharine Hepburn (1907–2003) and Howard Hughes (1905–1976). (Courtesy of Photofest)

Mystery, Doc Savage Magazine, Exciting Sports, Fantastic Stories, The Feds, G-8 and His Battle Aces, G-Men Detective, Hollywood Detective, Master Detective, New Detective, The Shadow, Speed Adventure Stories, Spicy Adventure, Spicy Detective, Spicy Western Stories, The Spider, Startling Stories, Strange Tales, Super Detective, Ten Detective Aces, 10-Story Magazine, Terror Tales, Thrilling Detective, Thrilling Love, Thrilling Mystery, Thrilling Wonder, Underworld, Weird Tales, Western Story, Western Trails, and Wonder Stories. Easily found at the neighborhood newsstand, they provided the perfect distraction for people with a little time on their hands and a desire to escape from the harsh realities around them.

As might be expected, the magazine titles usually promised more than the pages within contained. The "spicy" and "thrilling" titles suggested adult or edge-of-your-seat fiction, but more often than not the stories turned out to be as pedestrian as anything else on the market. Strong self-censorship by the publishers to avoid controversy or newsstand banishment, meant that little overt sexuality appeared in the magazines. And the thrills simply could not be maintained, issue after issue, by harried, overworked writers cranking out material at pennies per word.

What initially attracted the consumer's eye for these magazines were their bold, provocative covers. They soon came to characterize pulp fiction in general. Most of the artists who churned out these illustrations remain anonymous, although a few, such as Hannes Bok (1914–1964), Rafael De Soto (1904–1987), John Newton Howett (1885–1958), Frank R. Paul (1884–1963), George Rozen (1895–1974), and Norman Saunders (1907–1989), attracted some notice during their active careers and have become the subjects of considerable interest more recently. In general, whether executed by artists known or unknown, pulp covers feature an attractive woman—frequently scantily clad—in a seductive pose that also suggests menace or some melodramatic situation. Regardless of merit, the covers helped mightily to sell millions of magazines.

Traditional magazine fiction, especially short stories, abounded during the 1930s, and "big name" periodicals like *Redbook* and the *Saturday Evening Post* often paid over \$1,000 (about \$14,200 in current dollars) for a submission by a well-known author. Many of the most popular writers of the decade eventually wrote for magazine publication, such as Rex Beach (1877–1949), Corey Ford (1902–1969), MacKinlay Kantor (1904–1977), Kathleen Norris (1880–1966), Mary Roberts Rinehart (1876–1958), Raphael Sabatini (1875–1950), and P. G. Wodehouse (1881–1975).

But for those authors who ground out fiction for the pulps, obstacles blocked the road to riches for virtually all of them. They usually wrote in obscurity; publishers often employed pseudonyms; and even if one's real name appeared in a byline, the author seldom garnered any recognition except from the most diehard of fans. And the going rate remained a meager 3 or 4 cents a word, sometimes less for the many low-circulation publications. A 3,000-word story might fetch \$90 to \$120 (about \$1,275 to \$1,760 in current money), and rarely did anyone retain rights to their work. But such hard-nosed economics were in keeping with the genre, from the cheap printing and paper to the garish illustrations and melodramatic stories.

Despite the numerous hardships, the writers listed below developed a following and made significant contributions to the pulp genre:

Name (dates)	Genre
Edward Anderson (1905–1969)	Mainly detective stories
Dwight V. Babcock (1909–1979)	Gangster tales
Fredric Brown (1906–1972)	Science fiction
John K. Butler (1908–1964)	Crime
Hugh B. Cave (1910–2004)	Various
Walt Coburn (1889–1971)	Westerns
Carroll John Daly (1889–1958)	Detective stories
Lester Dent (1904–1959)	Doc Savage tales, usually under the name Kenneth Robeson
Walter Gibson (1897–1985)	The Shadow stories often under the name as Maxwell Grant
Robert J. Hogan (1897–1963)	G-8 aviation tales
John H. Knox (1905–1983)	Various
H. P. Lovecraft (1890-1937)	Fantasy & horror

Name (dates)	Genre
Talbot Mundy (1879–1940)	Adventure
Frederick Nebel (1903–1966)	Mainly detective stories featuring an investigator named Cardigan
E. Phillips Oppenheim (1866–1946)	Spy stories
Norvell Page (1904–1961)	Various genres under different pseudonyms
Sax Rohmer (1883–1959)	Thrillers, especially Fu Manchu tales
Luke Short (1908–1975)	Westerns
Clark Ashton Smith (1893–1961)	Exotica
Emile C. Tepperman (active 1930s)	Various genres under different pseudonyms
W. C. Tuttle (1883–1969)	Westerns
Raoul Whitfield (1897–1945)	Gangster tales
Cornell Woolrich (1903-1968)	Crime
Richard Wormser (1908–1977)	Writing primarily as detective Nick Carter

The subjects these writers covered ran the gamut from "true stories" to cliché-ridden adventure yarns to sadistic, psychological thrillers. For readers eager for some vicarious excitement and titillation, the pulps supplied their wants and more. Tremendously popular throughout the two decades between World Wars I and II, they saw their influence slacken after 1945, especially with the rise of a new amusement, **television**.

See also Best Sellers; Gangster Films; Horror & Fantasy Films; Illustrators; Movies; Mysteries & Hard-Boiled Detectives; Race Relations & Stereotyping; Serials; Superman; Western Films

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RACE RELATIONS & STEREOTYPING. Race relations in the 1930s made some progress, albeit at a snail's pace. Many white Americans suffered during the Great Depression, but the country's primary minority groups—black Americans, Native Americans, and Mexican Americans—endured equal or greater hardships. For minorities, life had been difficult enough during the prosperous 1920s, and bad situations became worse with the Depression. When banks foreclosed on the owners of southern cotton fields, for example, the poorly educated, poorly paid, and badly treated black tenant farmers and sharecroppers found themselves driven off the land and without work.

Blacks and Mexicans working in cities and the industrial sectors of the country experienced increased discrimination. Given a choice between firing a minority or a white, employers routinely dismissed the minority. The Meriam Report, a 1928 investigation of federal policies toward Indians, confirmed what many suspected: rampant poverty and disease on all reservations and the use of physical intimidation, robbery, and murder to take Indian land. These situations persisted after the stock market crash of 1929.

By the mid-1930s, the proportion of blacks, male and female, on relief had doubled that of whites. Everywhere, north and south, east and west, black citizens found themselves "last hired, first fired." In addition, high mortality rates among black males, coupled with unemployment, removed many of them as the breadwinners of their families, causing more and more black women to become the heads of households. Traditionally the providers of domestic work for others, these women soon found themselves unemployed when white families, **hotels**, and other sources of domestic service could no longer afford them.

The Depression forced many school districts across the country to shorten the academic year. Localities and states, especially those in the segregated South, had historically allocated less money and resources to black schools, and now many faced closure, not merely a reduced calendar, leaving a large percentage of black **youth** in dire straits.

In the presidential election of 1932, the Democratic candidate, Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945), won by a landslide and immediately embarked on ambitious programs designed to tackle economic and social problems. He and his New Deal advisers viewed black poverty as only one of the many challenges facing the country. Because of political realities and fear of losing the support of Southern Democrats President Roosevelt moved cautiously and quietly in providing assistance to black Americans. But the steps taken did acknowledge black poverty for the first time, a turning point in American race

relations. Minority citizens may have felt that Roosevelt offered weak support of their civil rights, but most appreciated any efforts on their behalf, and in 1936 they voted overwhelmingly for the Democratic ticket.

Before the Depression, state and local relief agencies had not been penalized for turning blacks away. In a significant turnaround, Roosevelt, during his first one hundred days in office, oversaw the creation of a number of government agencies, including the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA, 1933–1935), the National Recovery Administration (NRA, 1933–1935), the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA, 1933–1945), and, later, the Works Progress Administration (WPA, 1935–1943; name changed to Work Projects Administration in 1939)—programs that provided food, shelter, and clothing for many blacks.

Other government agencies, such as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC, 1933–1942) and the National Youth Administration (NYA, 1935–1943), offered both jobs and job training and displayed minimal favoritism. Unfortunately, local authorities, especially in the South, frequently ignored executive orders from Roosevelt that forbade discrimination in federal programs. Often blacks found themselves either denied enrollment or recipients of lower monthly relief checks, situations that federal officials, reluctant to antagonize Southern support, tolerated.

Despite his cautious approach to providing assistance for minorities, Roosevelt did appoint blacks to important positions within his administration. Mary McLeod Bethune (1875–1955), educator, confidante and associate of First Lady **Eleanor Roosevelt** (1884–1962), and perhaps the most influential black woman in the United States in the 1930s, served on the National Advisory Committee for the NYA and in 1939 became director of the Federal Council on Negro Affairs. Bethune encouraged black teenagers to return to high school and continue with a college **education**.

Along with Bethune, William Henry Hastie (1904–1976), a civil rights attorney and law professor, and Robert C. Weaver (1907–1977), an academic, became known as the "black cabinet." Although these three did not hold official posts, they had opportunities to influence presidential decisions. Roosevelt also appointed Clark Foreman (active 1920s and 1930s), a white civil rights activist, to serve with Weaver in ensuring fair treatment for blacks by his administration.

For Native Americans, poverty and ill health, along with inadequate education, became more severe during the Depression. Tuberculosis caused the death of seven times as many Indians as the general population; infant mortality rates ran at twice the national average; and untold numbers of children and adults lived disease-ridden lives.

Roosevelt's appointment of John Collier (active 1920s & 1930s), a founder of the American Indian Defense Association, as commissioner of Indian Affairs for Native Americans offered some hope. Collier supported the preservation of native cultures, introduced bilingual education in the schools, and ended requirements that children living at federal boarding schools attend Protestant church services. Under his leadership, Congress passed the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act. This law restored tribal authority, allowed each tribe to draft its own constitution and assume ownership of all reservation lands, and recognized tribal ceremonies and practices. Also, the federal government designated a fund of \$10 million (roughly \$150 million in contemporary money) to help Indians move toward self-sufficiency and an additional \$2 million (\$30 million) to be used annually by the secretary of the interior to buy new land for Indian use.

Prior to the 1930s, Mexican immigrants, both legal and illegal, had become an integral part of the labor force for farms in the Southwest and in factories in other parts of the country. Although many held U.S. citizenship, they often lost their jobs to white Americans, mainly those escaping the poverty of the Dust Bowl in Kansas and Oklahoma. Some 400,000 people of Mexican descent, accused of failure to assimilate into the larger white population, were unjustly deported or repatriated to Mexico between 1929 and 1934. This departure of people from the United States during the 1930s did not involve only Mexicans. Many others, most of them citizens, left the country of their own accord in search of better economic conditions. In fact, during the federal government's fiscal year that ended June 30, 1932, emigration exceeded immigration for the first time in the nation's history.

The use of ethnic stereotypes in American popular culture and the portrayal of minority groups as inferior can be traced back to the nation's beginnings. In the 1800s minstrel shows flourished. White performers dressed up as black men and women, using exaggerated makeup. They sang, danced, and joked in stereotypical ways, reinforcing disparaging imagery. Musical and dance routines from vaudeville also contributed to the injustices, as did commercial **advertising**; distorted black stereotypes became a mainstay of variety acts, songs, and skits well into the twentieth century.

Hollywood **musicals** followed the example of minstrel shows and vaudeville; in comedies and dramas, the **movies** tended to cast blacks either as faithful servants or comic buffoons. Through endless entertainment and advertising, a devoted mammy-type character became the best-known racial caricature of black American women. First found on the vaudeville stage and later in novels, plays, and films, Mammy appeared as a happy and faithful worker who loved her white family. In the 1930s, two black actresses, Louise Beavers (1902–1962) and Hattie McDaniel (1895–1952), portrayed maids in countless movies, frequently without credit, but they still managed to achieve success and recognition, especially for their Mammy performances.

Beavers performed in 102 films during the 1930s alone. Although blacks generally did not secure serious roles, Beavers costarred with Claudette Colbert (1903–1996) in *Imitation of Life* (1934), a sentimental film that became a box office hit. Hollywood perpetuated the usual stereotype by casting Beavers as Aunt Delilah, a black maid, who works for Colbert's Miss Bea. The twist comes when both women find themselves in financial difficulties and Delilah agrees to work as a housekeeper in exchange for a room for herself and her daughter, Peola, played by Fredi Washington (1903–1994). Bea then devises a successful plan to market Delilah's unique pancake recipe. The two share the profits and develop a deep friendship. But the movie becomes more than a "rags to riches" story. Ashamed of her mother, Peola searches for a new life by "passing" for white, and the movie pulls out the emotional stops by depicting the conflict between a submissive mother and a rebellious daughter torn apart by a nation's racism.

Hattie McDaniel acted in 73 movies during the decade. She experienced the height of success when she earned the first Academy Award given to a black performer. Her role as Mammy, Scarlett O'Hara's loyal servant in *Gone with the Wind* (1939), garnered her Best Supporting Actress recognition.

An aspiring actress, vocalist Nina Mae McKinney (1913–1967), signed a contract with MGM after her appearance as a member of the chorus line of *Lew Leslie's Black-birds* (1928) and a role in the largely black *Hallelujah* (1929). But she found little work

because of an absence of roles for black performers. Despite her potential, McKinney spent most of the decade in cheap, little-known productions such as Safe in Hell (1931), Kentucky Minstrels (1934), St. Louis Gal (1938), The Devil's Daughter (1939), and Pocomania (1939).

Black male movie actors could usually play one of two stereotypical roles: Uncle Toms or coons. Uncle Tom, the docile, happy, nonthreatening servant or train porter, evolved as a black caricature from antebellum America; virtually every film of the 1930s that dealt with the South included Toms. Bill "Bojangles" Robinson (1878–1949), a Broadway dancer and perhaps the most notable personality to play an Uncle Tom role, appeared in several films during the 1930s, including four with white child star **Shirley Temple** (b. 1928). In *The Littlest Rebel* (1935), Robinson plays Uncle Billy, a goodnatured, well-mannered Tom, and in *The Little Colonel* (1935), not only does he play the loyal servant, he also dances with Temple, breaking a long-held racial barrier. Since Temple was only seven years old at the time, audiences probably did not see their routine as threatening.

The coon caricature, a slow-talking, slow-walking, self-demeaning figure with large, exaggerated eyes, comes from the days of American slavery and stands as one of the most insulting of all black caricatures. Lincoln Theodore Monroe Andrew Perry (1902–1985), using the stage name Stepin Fetchit, arrived in Hollywood in the mid-1920s, having decided to leave his two-man vaudeville act called "The Laziest Man in the World." He performed in 14 movies during the 1920s, followed by 29 in the 1930s. His career peaked when he costarred in several movies with the popular Will Rogers (1879–1935), including *Steamboat Round the Bend* (1935). The coon stereotype had existed before Perry adopted it. Ironically, his popularity with white audiences quickly made him a millionaire. Others followed suit. Willie Best (1913–1962) and Mantan Moreland (1902–1973) made successful careers out of playing comic coon characters, acting in many films during the decade.

Hollywood even cast black children in stereotypical roles, with Matthew Beard (1925–1981) and Billie Thomas (1931–1980) perhaps being the best known. Beard started acting at age five in a comedy group of ever-changing children first known as *Our Gang* and then as *The Little Rascals*. He played Stymie from 1930 to 1935 and true to caricature presented a slick-tongued, self-assured, nonchalant, con artist always ready with a sly comment. In 1935, Thomas at age four replaced Beard and took the name Buckwheat. Despite their racial typecasting, these young actors shared equal billing with their white counterparts.

Other films carried even more extreme and belittling portrayals of blacks. The successful *Tarzan* pictures, eight in all during the 1930s, presented black characters performing either as savages or porters who relieve their white masters of physical burdens. Their roles also demanded that they face unimaginable dangers, saved only by the intervention of the white Johnny Weissmuller (1904–1984) as Tarzan. In *King Kong* (1933), black tribal members appear primitive as they worship a giant ape, Kong, as a god and make human sacrifices to him. King Kong himself, many critics have suggested, symbolically represents black masculinity and, as such, needs to be repressed and ultimately destroyed by fearful whites.

Featuring an all-black cast but aimed at a mass market, *The Green Pastures* came out in 1936. Based on Marc Connelly's (1890–1980) Pulitzer Prize–winning 1930 play, this

fantasy has the characters reenact scenes from the Bible; it depicts life in a heaven set in the plantation-era South. Rex Ingram (1895–1969) plays "De Lawd" in memorable style, but the exaggerated dialect creates yet another film filled with clichés and racial stereotyping. Nevertheless, the commercial success of *The Green Pastures* opened hitherto closed doors for black performers.

One member of *The Green Pastures*' cast, Eddie "Rochester" Anderson (1905–1977), became a famous star, especially in the medium of **radio**. At age 14, he had performed as a member of "The Three Black Aces," a vaudeville act. He quickly moved to motion pictures, playing bit parts in 44 films during the 1930s. This phase of his career included minor roles in two Oscar-winning movies in the Best Picture category—You Can't Take It with You (1938) and Gone with the Wind (1939). Beginning in 1937, Anderson intermittently acted as a Pullman porter on *The Jack Benny Program*, a long running radio and, later, **television** show (1932–1958; 1950–1965). Anderson quickly advanced to the permanent role of "Rochester," Jack Benny's (1894–1974) gravel-voiced valet, a part that cemented his future and made him one of a very small number of blacks featured regularly on network radio.

In 1938, some black leaders, concerned about stereotyping in the movies, publicly requested that roles other than doormen, maids, and porters be made available to blacks, but their demand produced little change. In addition to the discrimination they experienced both through their casting in movies and the people their characters represented, blacks often had to sit in separate sections of the theater and sometimes even enter by doors marked "For Colored," especially in the South. This segregated labeling covered other aspects of life in the Jim Crow South—water fountains, public restrooms, **restaurants**, and lodging when traveling.

With blacks relegated to roles as maids and butlers, Native Americans for their part had to play savages in endless **Western films**; most of the time they were mercilessly eliminated in order for the West to be won by whites. The popular depictions of Indians carrying bows and arrows, beating on drums, and stomping around in buckskins, moccasins, and head feathers while raiding white settlements to capture women originally came from Wild West shows and dime novels. Hollywood perpetuated this imagery throughout the 1930s, and it did not fade out until many years later.

Stagecoach (1939), a classic Western directed by John Ford (1894–1973) that stars John Wayne (1907–1979), illustrates this convention: hostile Indians go on the warpath, pursuing and attacking the stagecoach through much of the journey. The picture presents a simplistic plot and thrilling action in which a white male hero defeats Indians and other bad guys. To compound the indignity, the industry frequently did not use Native Americans at all, but white actors in Indian makeup.

The Lone Ranger, first introduced as a radio program in 1933, came out as a full-length movie feature in 1938. This first effort starred Lee Powell (1908–1944) as the masked Ranger, with Chief Thundercloud (1899–1955) costarring as the faithful Tonto (which means crazy in Spanish). A second picture, The Lone Ranger Rides Again (1939), kept Chief Thundercloud, but Robert Livingston (1904–1988) replaced Powell. The radio show, created by George W. Trendle (1884–1972), with writing assistance from Fran Striker (1903–1962), employed the same story line and stereotyping of the movies—the team of the heroic white Lone Ranger and his subservient Indian companion righting injustices throughout the mythic West.

In the popular culture arena, opportunities for blacks and Native Americans on radio remained limited, but the medium contributed to the shaping of stereotypical images of minorities. In 1929, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC radio) added **Amos 'n' Andy** to its network offerings, a program with overtones from minstrel shows and blackface comedies. Freeman Gosden (1899–1982) and Charles Correll (1890–1972), two white performers, provided dialogue in a stereotypical dialect, not only for Amos and Andy, but for a large cast, including Kingfish, a dishonest and lazy confidence man who massacres the English language, and Sapphire, his loud, abrasive, and bossy wife.

In 1931, a black newspaper journalist named Robert Vann (active 1920s & 1930s) obtained 740,000 signatures on a petition requesting *Amos 'n'* Andy be taken off the air. But the program had captured the imagination of millions of listeners both black and white, enough to convince the network and the sponsor to retain the show; it easily became the most popular radio program of the decade. Conversations among fans about the previous night's episode usually included a reenactment of some of the lines in the approximate dialect, apparently without an acknowledgment of what should have been an issue of racial stereotyping.

Juvenile radio serials such as *The Tom Mix Ralston Straight Shooters* (1933–1951) also contained some stereotyped characters, a situation influenced by *Amos 'n' Andy*. For example, one of the workers on the Mix ranch was Wash, the "colored cook" and manof-all-work. Native Americans also appeared in Western radio shows, usually approximating the roles given their cinema counterparts. In many radio adventures, the villains also bear evil-sounding foreign names, a form of electronic xenophobia.

Advertising and sponsors supported the absence of minorities, especially blacks, on radio. By the mid-1930s, the **radio networks** received millions in advertising revenues and prime-time shows often had more than one backer. Sponsors did not want to fund programs starring blacks for fear their product would be perceived as black-oriented and thus be shunned by white consumers.

Organized labor also supported the exclusion of blacks on radio. The American Federation of Musicians (AFM), the Radio Writers Guild (RWG), and the American Federation of Radio Actors (AFRA) did not accept blacks into membership. Some radio executives occasionally attempted to employ prominent blacks on their shows but quickly aborted their efforts when their good intentions came under fire. Three shows serve as examples: NBC's Ethel Waters Show, starring actress and singer Ethel Waters (1896–1977), closed in 1933 after only a few weeks because of a boycott threat from Southern affiliates; the network also curtailed Quizzicale, starring bandleader Cab Calloway (1907–1994), when it failed to secure a sponsor. The Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS radio) in 1937 cancelled The Louis Armstrong Show, starring jazz trumpeter Louis Armstrong (1901–1971), after 13 weeks when it received poor ratings. This show suffered the added challenge of airing opposite the very successful Jack Benny Program, which ironically featured Eddie Anderson as Rochester.

An occasional show did manage to cross the racial dividing lines erected by radio stations. Chicago's WSBC managed to air the *All-Negro Hour* from 1929 to 1935. It featured black performers exclusively and at first ran weekly and later expanded to 10 hours a week. Jack L. Cooper (active 1920s–1960s), a vaudeville performer and pioneering disc jockey, served as host for the program, which featured **music**, comedy, and serial dramas.

Even a seemingly innocuous medium like **comic strips** reflected the endemic racism of early twentieth-century America. Humorous series like *Thimble Theater* (better known as *Popeye* to many) featured demeaning caricatures of wide-eyed, grinning natives, as did *The Katzenjammer Kids* and its look-alike *The Captain and the Kids*. Family strips, such as the enormously popular *Gumps*, had their stereotyped black servants and cooks, while adventure serials featured white heroes like Mandrake the Magician, a tuxedoed man of magical powers, accompanied by Lothar, a faithful but clearly subordinate black companion. The Phantom, the mysterious "ghost who walks," a white male who commands instant respect from primitive tribesmen, roams "the Dark Continent" freely, a symbol of racial supremacy decked out in purple tights. The 1930s may have been a banner decade for comic strips, but many of them persisted in portraying blacks in a style more befitting the crude drawings of the nineteenth century.

As in the media, discrimination occurred in athletics and sports too, but some black athletes achieved scattered recognition during the 1930s. Nonsouthern colleges, especially in track and field and **football**, began to integrate their teams and much Negro League **baseball** equaled anything then being played in the all-white major leagues. **Boxing** fans, black and white, followed over national radio the exploits of Joe Louis (1914–1981), nicknamed "the Brown Bomber." Louis became the world's heavy-weight champion in 1937 and reigned, undefeated, until his 1949 retirement.

At the 1932 Summer Olympic Games held in Los Angeles and the later 1936 games in Germany, black participants from the United States won medals. In the California events, black Americans gained a total of five medals, more than in any previous games. In 1936, 19 black athletes, an increase from 1932, qualified for the U.S. track and field team. One participant, Jesse Owens (1913–1980), earned lasting fame by winning three individual gold medals and a fourth one as a member of a sprint relay team. He also set three world records. In a subtle note of prejudice, the press, in reporting any sporting accomplishments by black athletes, usually reminded the public whenever the winners were "colored."

In the music world, many performers, both black and white, found themselves unemployed during the Depression. As economic hardships spread, the sales of **recordings** dropped dramatically, although **jukeboxes** and radio provided a wealth of music for listening and dancing. The failure of small, independent recording companies hit black musicians especially hard since many of these businesses produced what the industry called "race records," music recorded by blacks and sold in predominantly black neighborhoods.

Broadway saw occasional revues featuring black performers, but stage opportunities proved few and far between. In 1935, *Porgy and Bess*, with music and lyrics by George (1898–1937) and Ira Gershwin (1896–1983) and based on a book by DuBose Heyward (1885–1940), premiered with an all-black cast. True to the segregated atmosphere of the times, the 1936 commercial recording of the score featured Lawrence Tibbett (1896–1960) and Helen Jepsen (active 1930s), two white artists. Producers feared that a recording by black artists would not sell to white buyers.

Marian Anderson (1897–1993), an accomplished contralto, gained recognition during the 1920s and 1930s in both the United States and Europe. In 1935–1936, she appeared for the second time in concert at New York's Town Hall, gave two concerts at Carnegie Hall, and then toured the country from coast to coast. But in the spring of 1939, the

Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), with their policy of "concerts by white artists only," refused to let her perform at Constitution Hall in Washington, D.C. Many people voiced outrage, including First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, who immediately resigned from the DAR and helped arrange a free, open-air concert at the Lincoln Memorial on April 9, 1939. Anderson sang for an audience of 75,000 people, as well as millions of radio listeners, in what can be remembered as one of the most dramatic civil rights spectacles ever.

On a brighter note, the Negro Theatre Project, a part of the **Federal Theatre Project** (FTP, 1935–1939) of the WPA, provided opportunities for black actors and actresses. John Houseman (1902–1988) and **Orson Welles** (1915–1985), two white producers, headed the New York branch of the nationwide project. The FTP produced several innovative dramas, including an all-black *Macbeth*, directed by Welles, that used Haiti as its locale in 1936. *The Swing Mikado* (1939), a black version of the 1885 Gilbert and Sullivan operetta, attracted 250,000 people in Chicago alone, and went on the road. Its success inspired impresario Mike Todd (1909–1958) to mount a similar production, *The Hot Mikado*, that same year.

By 1936, economic conditions and employment possibilities had improved for whites and minorities and the country's popular music reflected a new optimism. Swing, with its lively tempos and easy rhythms, pulled dancers out on the floor and bookings increased rapidly for musicians and their bands. But segregation still flourished in many parts of the United States, which meant that, commercially, white musicians benefited the most from this popular development in the music industry.

Restricted to inferior venues, most black performers received lower pay and less recognition for their accomplishments. Exceptions included **Duke Ellington** (1899–1974), Cab Calloway, and **Count Basie** (1904–1984), who achieved some success in the industry. Marking a step forward in race relations, clarinetist **Benny Goodman** (1909–1986), arguably the most popular swing musician of the day, in 1937 added two black musicians, Teddy Wilson (1912–1986) and Lionel Hampton (1908–2002), to his quartet and no one raised any significant objections.

Black performers in the music world, as well as in movies and radio, began to serve at least in small ways as ambassadors of equality. Some, such as **Paul Robeson** (1898–1976), took an active stand for civil rights. A college graduate with a law degree, as well as a singer and actor, he performed on Broadway (*Showboat*, 1932) and starred in a number of films, including *The Emperor Jones* (1933) and *Song of Freedom* (1936). His rendition of Earl Robinson's (1910–1991) "Ballad for Americans" (1938), on both CBS radio and at the **New York World's Fair**, became legendary. Robeson, a political activist, and the first major black artist to refuse to perform before segregated audiences, served as a spokesperson for a variety of causes especially equal rights for black Americans.

By 1939, annual record sales had once again attained their pre-Depression levels, about 50 million discs. That same year vocalist Billie Holiday released "Strange Fruit" (music and lyrics by Lewis Allen [pseudonym of Abel Meeropol, 1903–1986]), a controversial condemnation of lynching. The major recording companies and radio networks refused to touch the song, fearing a consumer backlash. Lynching as a means of mob rule and intimidation had become almost commonplace and closely associated with race relations in the South following the Civil War. The number of reported incidents began to fall at the beginning of the twentieth century and significantly decreased during the 1930s. By the end of the decade, such reports had become rare. White people,

it seemed, increasingly viewed violence like lynchings as unconscionable and repulsive, but "Strange Fruit" reminded listeners of its continued existence.

Radio and movies perpetuated unflattering images of minority groups, and consumer products, especially foods, had long used blacks in stereotypical ways as part of their advertising and labeling. In the late 1800s, a Missouri mill owner used the mammy image along with the name Aunt Jemima, taken from a popular vaudeville song, to promote a pancake mix. He then sold the pancake recipe and the Aunt Jemima marketing idea to the R. T. Davis Mill Company, which developed an advertising plan to use a real person to portray Aunt Jemima.

In 1933, the Quaker Oats Company, the owner of the Davis Mill Company since 1926, employed Anna Robinson (d. 1951) to play the role of Aunt Jemima. She prepared and served pancakes at Chicago's 1933 Century of Progress Exhibition and for several years made appearances at county fairs, food shows, and local grocery stores and supermarkets. Packaging before and during the 1930s usually consisted of a picture of Aunt Jemima and often a message in dialect, such as "Don't you fret, Honey! Jus' festify dem wif my pancakes!" Billboards featuring her smiling face would announce "I'se in town, honey." Similarly, Uncle Rastus, Aunt Jemima's male equivalent, appeared throughout the 1930s in print ads for Cream of Wheat, a hot cereal.

Even products like chewing gum used demeaning tactics in their advertisements. A 1933 cartoon for Beech-Nut Gum shows a white adult male and an adolescent boy and girl getting captured by black cannibals. But thanks to Beech-Nut Gum and some silly magic tricks, which could be obtained for five gum wrappers, they gain their freedom. Certainly the image of white superiority over bloodthirsty savages added support to much of the racial stereotyping so rampant in the United States during the first half of the twentieth century.

Along with the abundance of such imagery throughout all facets of popular culture, one event and the subsequent trial associated with it further reveals the deep racial divisions that plagued the country during the 1930s. A group of white teens got into a fight with some black youths on a train passing through Alabama on March 25, 1931. All hobos, the whites lost the fight and subsequently got thrown off the train. Two young white girls, also transients, claimed they had been raped by the blacks. At that point, local law officers arrested and jailed the blacks, aged 12 to 21, in the town of Scottsboro, Alabama. Following a quick trial that began 12 days after the event, and despite evidence to the contrary, eight of the young men—including one who suffered severe retardation—received convictions for rape and accompanying death sentences. The court spared the life of the 12-year-old.

This highly publicized event drew outraged reactions from across the country and letters poured into Scottsboro pleading for pardons. Ministers preached sermons; jazz artists like Duke Ellington and Cab Calloway held fund-raising events; the distinguished black poet Langston Hughes (1902–1967) wrote about visiting them in the penitentiary; and blues singer Leadbelly (b. Huddie Ledbetter, 1888–1946) immortalized them in song. Eventually, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned the initial verdicts, and after a series of retrials lasting until 1937, only five of the nine received convictions. Appeals dragged on; in 1948 one escaped from prison and the remaining four received paroles in 1950.

But the 1930s experienced a slow awakening of the country's social conscience, as evidenced by the reaction to the Scottsboro case, the continuing popularity of groups

like the integrated Benny Goodman Quartet, the acceptance of black athletes in some sports, and racially blind New Deal legislation and programs. The 1929 stock market crash severely disrupted the lives of those who already lived at or below the poverty line and, as usual, minorities suffered the worst consequences. Their conditions improved only slightly after the Depression, but some racial barriers had been weakened and small steps taken toward equality and respect.

See also Children's Films; Fairs & Expositions; Fletcher Henderson; Hollywood Production Code; Leisure & Recreation; Motels; Prohibition & Repeal; Religion; Travel

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RADIO. Although somewhere between 60 and 75 million Americans attended the movies at least once a week during the 1930s, untold millions more listened to radio *each* and *every* day. The most pervasive form of communication ever developed up to that time, radio broadcasting leveled regional and social differences and barriers by its very ubiquity. Everyone could share in the same programming through national networks.

At the beginning of the decade, slightly over 600 AM (amplitude modulation) stations broadcast to almost 14 million receiving sets, or 46 percent of American homes, a remarkable statistic in itself, given that radio as a mass medium had been around only since 1920. Its phenomenal growth did not slow down with the Depression. By the mid-1930s, the actual number of active stations had dropped slightly because of the economic situation, but people continued buying new radios without any significant letup. In 1935, over 21 million sets could be found in 67 percent of homes. At the close of the 1930s, the industry had recovered from its slump, and 765 stations sent their signals to over 51 million receivers in 81 percent of homes. In addition, many families had multiple sets, a clear reflection of radio's vast popularity.

The purchase of a radio would not have been undertaken lightly during the Depression. Small, table model receivers cost \$40 and more in the early 1930s (over \$450 in contemporary dollars), although prices declined throughout the decade; a cheap plastic "pee-wee" radio could be had for about \$10 in 1939 (or roughly \$145 today). Many of the larger, floor model receivers served as fine pieces of furniture. Often done in exotic veneers with striking **Art Deco** and Streamlined styling, a top-of-the-line radio could cost hundreds of dollars. Since much American family life in the evenings revolved around the living room radio, people seldom begrudged this significant investment if their budgets allowed it. Manufacturers like Atwater-Kent, Crosley, Emerson, General Electric, Magnavox, Philco, RCA, and Zenith pitched their products as much for their aesthetic elegance as they did for their electronic excellence.



Radio served as an important piece of furniture in many American homes; this 1939 floor model receiver dominates the living room. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

As radio became part and parcel of the everyday lives of Americans, the medium assumed a unique importance. Unlike movies and print media, it gave the illusion of being free. Radio entertained continuously, from **music** to drama to comedy, provided instant news, weather, and sports, and educated with endless self-help and instructional shows. A twist of the dial brought in just about anything a listener might want, and detailed schedules in **newspapers** and **magazines** informed the public about favorite shows. Most Americans considered radio a necessity, right along with **food** and shelter. Even in the worst of the Depression, very few people defaulted on their receiver payments.

Car radios, introduced to the driving public in 1927, initially met some resistance. Less than 1 percent of all vehicles boasted a receiver in 1930, but interest in them grew, despite the Depression. Over 2 million vehicles had radios by 1935, and that number jumped to 7 million—a quarter of all **automobiles**—by the close of the decade. A growing percentage of consumers no longer viewed the car radio as a luxury; it had become just as necessary as one in the home. Amid continuing economic woes, the radio had succeeded in becoming "Depression-proof." Advertisers quickly grasped the importance listeners placed on radio and willingly put their dollars into commercials; ad spending went from slightly over \$3 million in 1932 (roughly \$44 million in contemporary dollars) to well over \$100 million by 1940 (\$1.5 billion).

American radio acquainted an avid listening public with hundreds of personalities who grew to be household names. Some of these entertainers moved directly to radio

from vaudeville, others came from movie careers and sometimes mixed radio with film, and still others started in radio and stayed there. Whatever route they followed, those who found a niche in broadcasting often rose to an unparalleled level of popular fame.

In addition to the array of stars, American radio during the 1930s offered a variety of programming hitherto unseen in entertainment. Not even the movie industry, churning out hundreds of feature films yearly, could approach radio's output of dozens of shows each day, hundreds each week, thousands by the end of a year. The quality may have been wildly uneven, but the selection was unparalleled.

Selected Programming on American Radio during the 1930s (arranged chronologically by category)

Category	Selected Artists/Performers and Shows	Dates
Music and Variety	Vaughn De Leath, Vaughn De Leath (and other titles)	1920–1939
	Billy Jones and Ernie Hare, The Happiness Boys	1921–1940
	Wendell Hall, The Red-Headed Music Maker	1922-1937
	Harry Horlick, A & P Gypsies	1923-1936
	(Various hosts), The Clicquot Club Eskimos	1923-1936
	(Various hosts), The Eveready Hour	1923-1930
	(Various hosts), The Ipana Troubadors	1923-1934
	Joe Kelly (and others), The National Barn Dance	1924–1970
	Whitey Ford (and others), Grand Ole Opry	1925-present
	Billy Hillpot and Scrappy Lambert, The Smith Brothers	1926-1934
	Rudy Vallee, The Fleischmann Yeast Hour; The Royal Gelatin Hour	1928–1939
	(Various hosts), The Old Gold Hour (and other titles)	1929–1948
	Lanny Ross, The Lanny Ross Show (and other titles)	1929–1952
	Gene Arnold, The Sinclair Wiener Minstrels	1930-1939
	Ben Bernie, Ben Bernie, The Old Maestro	1930-1943
	Bing Crosby, The Music That Satisfies, Kraft Music Hall, The Chesterfield Show, Philco Radio Time (and other titles)	1930–1956
	Eddie Cantor, The Chase and Sanborn Hour	1931–1938
	Arthur Tracy, The Street Singer	1931-1942
	Kate Smith, The Kate Smith Hour	1931-1952
	(Various hosts), The Chesterfield Quarter-Hour	1931–1933
	Whispering Jack Smith, Whispering Jack Smith	1932-1935
	Charles Winninger, The Maxwell House Show Boat	1932-1937
	(Various hosts), Manhattan Merry-Go-Round	1932-1949
	Al Jolson, Kraft Music Hall, The Lifebuoy Program (and other titles)	1932–1949
	(Various hosts and formats), The Camel Caravan	1933–1954
	Don McNeill, The Breakfast Club	1933–1953
	Jimmy Durante, The Jimmy Durante Show	1933–1950
	(Various hosts), The Vicks Open House	1934–1938

Category	Selected Artists/Performers and Shows	Dates
	Pat Barrett, Uncle Ezra's Radio Station	1934–1941
	Phil Spitalny, The Hour of Charm	1934–1948
	Edward Bowes, Major Bowes' Original Amateur Hour	1934–1948
	Louella Parsons, Hollywood Hotel	1934–1938
	Horace Heidt, The Horace Heidt Show	1935–1953
	(Various hosts), Your Hit Parade	1935–1957
	Martin Block, other disc jockeys, Make-Believe Ballroom	1935–1954
	Kay Kyser, Kay Kyser's Kollege of Musical Knowledge	1937–1949
	(Various hosts and formats), The Fitch Bandwagon	1938–1948
	(Various hosts), The Texaco Star Theater	1938-1940
Comedy	Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll, Amos 'n' Andy	1928–1955
	Goodman Ace and Jane Ace, Easy Aces	1930-1945
	Raymond Knight, The Cuckoo Hour	1930-1936
	Will Rogers, The Will Rogers Program	1930-1935
	Frederick Chase Taylor and Budd Hulick, Stoopnagle and Budd	1930-1938
	Chester Lauck and Norris Goff, Lum and Abner	1931-1954
	Art Van Harvey and Bernardine Flynn, Vic and Sade	1932-1946
	Ed Wynn, The Texaco Fire Chief, The Perfect Fool	1932-1937
	Jack Benny, The Jack Benny Program	1932–1958
	Fred Allen, The Fred Allen Show	1932-1949
	George Burns and Gracie Allen, Burns and Allen	1932-1950
	Jack Pearl, The Jack Pearl Show	1932-1937
	Joe Penner, The Baker's Broadcast	1933-1937
	Bob Hope, The Pepsodent Show (and other titles)	1935–1955
	Jim Jordan and Marian Jordan, Fibber McGee and Molly	1935–1959
	Milton Berle, The Milton Berle Show (and other titles)	1936–1942
	Edgar Bergen, Edgar Bergen/Charlie McCarthy Show	1936–1956
	Fanny Brice, Baby Snooks	1936–1951
Drama (Anthology)	The Collier Hour	1927-1932
	Grand Hotel	1930-1940
	The First Nighter Program	1930-1953
	Death Valley Days	1930-1945
	Lights Out	1934–1939
	Lux Radio Theater	1934–1955
	The Cavalcade of America	1935–1953
	The Columbia Workshop	1936–1945
	Hollywood Playhouse	1937–1940
	The Campbell Playhouse (originally Mercury Theater on the Air)	1938–1940
Crime, Police, and Detective Series	True Detective Mysteries	1929–1930; 1936–1939
	The Shadow	1930–1954

Selected Programming on American Radio during the 1930s (Continued)

Category	Selected Artists/Performers and Shows	Dates			
	Sherlock Holmes	1930–1936; 1939–1946			
	The Eno Crime Club	1931-1936			
	Twenty Thousand Years in Sing Sing	1933-1939			
	Calling All Cars	1933–1939			
	Gang Busters	1935–1957			
	Mr. Keen, Tracer of Lost Persons	1937–1955			
	Big Town	1937–1951			
News, Sports,	Walter Winchell, Walter Winchell's Jergens Journal	1930–1957			
Public Affairs,	Westbrook Van Voorhis, others, The March of Time	1931–1945			
and Talk	John Howe, The University of Chicago Round Table	1931–1955			
	Marion Sayle Taylor, The Voice of Experience	1932–1939			
	Ed Sullivan, The Ed Sullivan Show	1932-1946			
	Mary Margaret McBride, Mary Margaret McBride	1934–1954			
	Jimmy Fidler, The Jimmy Fidler Show	1934–1950			
	America's Town Meeting of the Air	1935–1956			
	Bill Stern, The Colgate Sports Newsreel	1937–1956			
	Hedda Hopper, The Hedda Hopper Show	1939–1951			
Education	Betty Crocker	1924–1953			
	Aunt Sammy	1926–1935			
	Ida Bailey Allen, The Radio Homemakers Club	1926–1936			
	Walter Damrosch, The Music Appreciation Hour	1928–1942			
	Everett Mitchell, The National Farm and Home Hour	1928–1958			
	Allen Prescott, The Wife Saver	1929–1943			
	John MacPherson, The Mystery Chef	1930–1948			
	The American School of the Air	1930–1948			

The preceding chart barely begins to list all the programming available on radio. Categories like soap operas, science fiction, and serials stand as distinctive entries in radio programming and receive separate discussions elsewhere in this encyclopedia. The topics above—music and variety, comedy, and so on—suggest some of the balances of power existing during the period. A series could be created because of an individual's popularity (e.g., Eddie Cantor and *The Chase and Sanborn Hour*, Bing Crosby and *The Kraft Music Hall*, Rudy Vallee and *The Fleischmann Yeast Hour*), but corporate interests and sponsors underwrote the expenses. So Chase and Sanborn Coffee, Kraft Foods, and Fleischmann's Yeast insisted on their product names receiving top billing, not the star. People tuned in for Cantor or Crosby or Vallee, but the sponsors, along with their advertising agencies, enjoyed de facto control of any content. Regardless of a show's title, radio entertainers seldom oversaw the productions in which they starred. Radio might exist as a seemingly creative medium, but other interests held the financial reins of power.

The chart also indicates how much early radio featured music and variety in its offerings, an obvious acknowledgment of its roots in vaudeville. By the early 1930s, well over two-thirds of total radio programming consisted of music/variety-based shows, with a large proportion of that figure—about 40 percent—focused on genres other than straight popular selections, such as classical, operetta, ethnic, or regional. Stations also broadcast a great deal of incidental music that served as background or brief features on variety shows, comedy series, and the like. Wherever people turned their radio dials, they could pick up music and, most likely, popular music.

Larger stations often retained studio bands. On call for most of the broadcasting day, they featured lineups that included some of the best instrumentalists in the business. Their job consisted of playing for live commercials, background music for dramatic shows, backing singers and vocal groups, and generally being available whenever someone called for live music. More often than not, what they played could be categorized as mundane; no one considered the studio band the star, who or what they accompanied received the attention. Studio orchestras nonetheless provided stable employment for countless musicians.

As the decade progressed, music programming declined, but only slightly. By 1939, it still constituted 57 percent of all broadcasting, down only about 10 percent from 10 years earlier. The type of music featured, however, changed markedly. Popular music showed a sharp increase at the expense of all other formats. Approximately 75 percent of all the music on the air consisted of popular songs when the 1930s drew to a close.

Classical music, once a staple of early radio, commenced a long, slow decline. To maintain prestige, the networks continued to broadcast programs like *The Voice of Firestone* (NBC, 1928–1954), *General Motors Concerts* (NBC, 1929–1937), and *The Ford Sunday Evening Hour* (CBS, 1934–1942), but they knew such shows drew a limited audience. In the main, classical selections all but disappeared from regular schedules; not until the rise of FM (frequency modulation) in the 1950s would alternative forms of music again be heard with any regularity. The popular song, the "hit," dominated the airwaves.

With the onset of the 1930s, comedy, crime, and dramatic programs grew in number, demonstrating that both the radio networks and advertising executives realized the still-new medium could draw audiences and prosper with a broader range of productions. Many "serious" dramatic series, such as *Grand Hotel* and *The First Nighter Program*, also entered programming schedules during the decade. A typical entry in this genre would be *Lux Radio Theater*; its name came from a popular beauty soap. Hosted by Cecil B. DeMille (1881–1959), a celebrated Hollywood director, the series presented one-hour adaptations of leading motion pictures, often using the same performers as had starred in the movie. *Lux Radio Theater* illustrated the close connections between film and radio, an ideal way of publicizing motion pictures while at the same time having a top-ranked radio show.

Although music and variety, comedy, and drama occupied a good part of the broad-casting schedule, radio also emerged in the 1930s as a primary carrier of news and information, and a number of news reporters and journalists rose to prominence. This new breed, weaned on electronic newsgathering instead of newspaper beats, realized radio's potential during the 1930s, and brought a measure of distinction to the networks. Newscasters—itself a relatively new designation that replaced "reporter"—like Elmer

Davis (1890–1958), Gabriel Heatter (1890–1972), H. V. Kaltenborn (1878–1965), Raymond Gram Swing (1887–1968), Lowell Thomas (1892–1981), and Edward R. Murrow (1908–1965) redefined the traditional image of a reporter. They introduced a personal aural style to their scripts, and often added interpretive commentary to ongoing stories. News on the radio, no less colorful than that found in many newspapers, also offered personality.

When World War II loomed, people relied on their radios for late-breaking bulletins about the deteriorating international situation. Entertainment might remain radio's primary function, but listeners sought information along with escapism. Edward R. Murrow, for example, a member of the CBS news team, brought unequalled sincerity and gravity to his reports. In his mournful voice, he described the darkest days of late 1939 after conflict had broken out across Europe. His descriptions of the London Blitz remain classic, a calm voice in the face of disaster, but one foretelling that worse lay ahead.

Another kind of journalist also gained an audience during the Depression era: the electronic gossip columnist. Coming from the newspaper tabloids and fan magazines that had established themselves during the Roaring Twenties, writers like Jimmy Fidler (1900–1988), Hedda Hopper (1885–1966), Louella Parsons (1881–1972), Ed Sullivan (1901–1974), and Walter Winchell (1897–1972) created gossip-oriented shows that audiences loved. Relying on tidbits and innuendo about the most popular (or notorious) celebrities of the day, these rumormongers became celebrities in their own right, often engaging in real and fabricated on-air feuds with one another.

Dr. John Brinkley & Border Radio. As radio increasingly demonstrated its influence in the late twenties and early thirties, a few individuals attempted to take advantage of the power—real or perceived—the medium possessed. In order to side-step federal restrictions on radio networks imposed by the Federal Radio Commission (FRC), some entrepreneurs built high-powered transmitters in Mexico near the Texas border. They created several stations, all starting with the letters XE; these border broadcasters mushroomed in number by 1930 and, given their power, could saturate North America with a variety of programming. They attracted a widespread rural audience, a group that fundamentalist preachers who had been banned from regular U.S. stations willingly paid a large price to reach.

The move to Mexico gave birth to what some called "border radio." Coupled with advertising from sponsors that included quack medicines and get-rich schemes, this form of broadcasting evolved into a profitable business for all concerned, and it flourished throughout the 1930s. John R. Brinkley of Milford, Kansas, known as the "goat-gland doctor," pioneered the use of radio to such dubious ends. A physician, Brinkley began touting his revolutionary "transplants," along with a special elixir that he claimed would give men renewed sexual potency.

His outrageous promises had, by 1930, made his Kansas station the most popular one in the country, and his profits allowed him to boost its wattage to the point that he could be heard in much of the nation. That same year, however, the FRC denied Brinkley's application for a license renewal, saying he had deceived listeners. Kansas authorities also revoked his medical license, effectively stripping him of any claims of legitimacy. Brinkley appealed the FRC decision, but a state court upheld the agency.

Desperate to regain his influence, Brinkley decided to take advantage of the border stations outside the FRC's jurisdiction. In 1931, he established himself in Del Rio, Texas.

Shortly thereafter he built a huge transmitter for station XERA in Mexico's Ciudad Acuna, just across the Rio Grande. Brinkley contracted with numerous country musicians, such as the **Carter Family**, to attract listeners. Despite the station's power, the goat-gland doctor's star had faded, and he ceased to be a significant force in broadcasting. Briefly, however, this Kansas doctor enjoyed a moment as a radio celebrity, one of the first to use the medium as a means to questionable ends.

Shows directed at selected niche audiences, such as children (*The Children's Hour*, 1927–1934; many others), classical music buffs (*The NBC Symphony*, 1937–1954; *The Metropolitan Opera*, 1931–present; many others), and specific religious groups (*The Catholic Hour*, 1930–1952; others) have been omitted from this article because of space considerations.

See also Jukeboxes; Leisure & Recreation; Recordings; Religion; Streamlining; Swing

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RADIO NETWORKS. In 1919, a consortium of companies, General Electric, American Telephone & Telegraph, Western Electric, and American Marconi, sought to gain control of radio telegraphy and formed the Radio Corporation of America, or RCA. Through a series of intricate maneuvers with several rivals during the 1920s, RCA created a "central broadcasting organization," or network. Consisting of stations linked by land telephone lines leased from AT&T, which had left the original RCA group, it could broadcast, simultaneously, the same signal to many connected stations. The corporate owners of this new network christened it the National Broadcasting Company, or NBC, in 1926. Leading the way for the commercial development of radio, NBC started with 19 stations, but that number quickly grew. Henceforth, broadcasting would be driven by network radio, and Americans everywhere would share, via the airwaves, news, education, and entertainment.

To fulfill its promise, NBC created two networks under its banner to diversify its programming and attract the maximum number of affiliates. By the beginning of 1927, NBC had a "Red" branch, headquartered at New York City's WEAF, a station originally owned by AT&T but sold to RCA. At the same time, it premiered a "Blue" network, an operation based with WJZ, a neighboring Newark station owned by Westinghouse. Each division offered separate stations, schedules, and shows, with Red stations carrying more **music** and entertainment, while the Blue stations tended to place greater emphasis on news and cultural programming. Not surprisingly, Red usually outstripped Blue in terms of total listeners and sponsor preferences. The sheer size and scope of NBC-Red

and NBC-Blue worried lawmakers, who thought that such a concentration of power would impose unfair influence over the airwaves, although parent RCA vowed it would provide impartial news and education, along with quality entertainment, on both the Red and Blue branches of its new network.

In the fall of 1927, envious of the overwhelming success of the NBC venture, a group calling itself United Independent Broadcasters went on the air with 47 affiliate stations and a base in New York City. This second network struggled financially, and in 1928 Columbia Records rescued it by purchasing shares in the operation. Ironically, the network's association with the record manufacturer ended when Columbia Records sold its stock to William S. Paley (1901–1990) in late 1928. He took over the ownership of United Independent Broadcasters, renamed his purchase the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS radio), and worked to expand and improve the operation.

By 1930, NBC-Red and -Blue could claim 71 affiliates, and CBS boasted 60. Both networks grew dramatically during the 1930s. The success of NBC and CBS captured the attention of those not associated with them, and in time other broadcasters decided to form rival networks. One such competitor, the Mutual Broadcasting System (MBS radio), went on the air in 1934 with four stations. The most successful of a number of attempts to form competing networks, the Mutual effort functioned primarily as a cooperative venture and offered little original programming. Most of its affiliates already had limited associations with NBC or CBS, and they used Mutual to provide further connections among them. In addition, the Mutual shows tended to go to regional or rural markets that attracted small audiences, so it never had the influence or popularity of an NBC or CBS despite an expanding number of associated stations.

By the end of the decade, network radio had emerged as the dominant format in American broadcasting. NBC controlled 182 stations, and CBS stood not too far behind with 112. The Mutual organization claimed 160 affiliated stations. With 765 commercial stations on the air, 454 of them (59 percent) enjoyed affiliation with NBC, CBS, or Mutual; 38 percent, with just NBC and CBS. The numbers can be misleading; of the remaining 300+ stations with no major network connections, most consisted of small, dawn-to-dusk operations that functioned on low power and broadcast to limited local audiences. Like small, rural **newspapers**, they filled the immediate needs of their constituents, such as farming information, market reports, weddings, funerals, and so on; listeners might tune to these stations at times during the day, but could switch over to the stronger network providers for entertainment and drama at other times.

Competition between NBC and CBS remained fierce throughout the 1930s. Both fought to have the biggest names in radio on their rosters. From an entertainment standpoint, NBC leaned more to comedic offerings, such as *Amos 'n' Andy* (Charles Correll [1890–1972] and Freeman Gosden [1890–1982]), Fred Allen (1894–1956), Jack Benny (1894–1974), and Edgar Bergen (1903–1978). CBS, on the other hand, sought topname musical personalities like Bing Crosby (1903–1977), Al Jolson (1886–1950), and Kate Smith (1907–1986). For listeners, the networks' battles meant only that, with a turn of the receiver dial, they could tune into a rich array of shows featuring the best talent money could buy.

The growth of network radio meant the demise of much local, or independent, programming. With growth came increased costs, both for production and for personnel. NBC and CBS signed big-name entertainers to binding but expensive contracts. Smaller

local stations without network affiliations soon realized they lacked the financial ability to undertake programming that would attract large numbers of listeners, and so they rushed to join with the networks, recognizing that this form of broadcasting possessed the resources necessary for success.

One show, one dramatic performance, one song, when played over the networks, had the potential to be heard by much of the population. As an acknowledgment of the power and popularity of network radio, Hollywood in 1932 released a motion picture titled *The Big Broadcast*; instead of film stars, it features radio personalities, such as Bing Crosby, George Burns (1896–1996) and Gracie Allen (1895–1964), Kate Smith, and bandleaders Cab Calloway (1907–1994) and Vincent Lopez (1895–1975), among many others. Rather than fighting radio, the film industry courted the new stars of the airwaves, hoping their fame would draw more patrons to theaters. Three similarly titled movies came out—*The Big Broadcast of 1936* (1935), *The Big Broadcast of 1937* (1936), and *The Big Broadcast of 1938* (1938).

The Federal Communications Commission (FCC), a government agency formed in 1934 from the Federal Radio Commission (FRC; 1927–1934), had as its mission to oversee commercial radio operations in the United States. In 1938, the FCC decreed that the National Broadcasting Company, by virtue of its Red and Blue divisions, had grown too big, too powerful, and stifled competition. Charges and countercharges colored the debate, but federal courts in 1939 ordered NBC to divest itself of one of its networks in order to lessen its size and presumed influence. NBC fought the decision, appealed, and lost. As a result, NBC eventually sold off its Blue network to outside radio interests; in 1943 a new network, the American Broadcasting Company (ABC radio), arose as its replacement. Despite the legal wrangles, the 1930s witnessed both the blossoming and the maturation of network broadcasting, along with the unparalleled growth of radio as a mass medium.

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READER'S DIGEST. Although it had its beginning in 1922, *Reader's Digest* flourished during the 1930s, when its circulation grew markedly. Founded by DeWitt and Lila Acheson Wallace (1889–1981; 1889–1984), this familiar, purse-size anthology of condensed articles and regular features sold about 250,000 copies a month in 1930, a respectable figure by any standard. By the close of the decade, however, that number had jumped to 4 million monthly copies. Credit for such extraordinary success must be given both to the stewardship provided by the Wallaces, and to the monthly content of the *Digest* itself.

As a young man, DeWitt Wallace showed little promise of ever amounting to much, let alone overseeing a publishing colossus. But he entertained great plans for himself, and began sketching out ideas for a new magazine while serving in France during World

War I. Wallace would take articles he found in popular periodicals of the day and practice condensing them to their basic themes. He wanted to create a sample booklet of these condensations and take it to editors back in the States for possible publishing. His notion of reducing previously published materials possessed a certain uniqueness; other digests had come and gone in years past, but they consisted of reprints, not condensations. Also, Wallace's idea came at a time when other media, especially radio and movies, introduced Americans to the idea of short, brief messages and condensed information. Speed and efficiency increasingly became the norm, and his proposal spoke to these changing preferences. In addition, growing numbers of readers saw fiction, the staple of most magazines of the day, as irrelevant; they demanded factual pieces, informative and useful, and Wallace's concept avoided fiction writing altogether.

In the midst of polishing his plans for a new magazine, Wallace married Lila Acheson in 1921, and she encouraged him in his struggling venture. After several futile attempts to interest publishers in his ideas, he realized he would have to put out his digest himself if it were to stay true to his dreams, and so the couple began promoting the as-yet unnamed magazine through mailings and personal appeals for money. Loans, along with several thousand prepaid subscriptions, finally allowed them to bring out the first edition in February 1922. They called the new journal *Reader's Digest*. It contained 31 articles, or roughly one for each day of the month, a number Wallace stayed with for some time.

By 1923, the Wallaces, encouraged that subscriptions continued to pour in, moved from their cramped quarters in New York City to Pleasantville, an idyllic small New York town just up the Hudson River. For the rest of the 1920s, the journal grew rapidly, and the village grew with it, since the magazine quickly became the town's largest employer. The appropriately named Pleasantville served as the perfect setting for the folksy *Digest*, and although both the community and the publishing plant have grown enormously over the years, there the *Digest* has remained. In the midst of this, DeWitt Wallace continued to assiduously go through other periodicals in search of articles for condensation.

Like the **Saturday Evening Post**, another popular magazine of the era, the *Digest* celebrated trustworthy American values, promoting a conservative, insular view that argued for hard work, family, and common sense. Liberal in its attitudes toward sex and women's rights, but doggedly conservative toward immigration, minorities, and race, the somewhat austere early issues of *Reader's Digest* struck a chord with white, middle-class Americans, especially women. No one felt particularly challenged, either intellectually or ideologically, when perusing its pages. With easy-to-read nonfiction, coupled with considerable humor and a dash of self-improvement, the *Digest* entertained, while reinforcing basic beliefs already present with the vast majority of its audience.

But the real secret to the magazine's popularity lay in a technique Wallace and his editors perfected, that of expertly condensing materials, stripping them down to their basic content. Both he and his staffers culled a somewhat narrow range of publications, hunting for articles appropriate to the *Digest*'s ideology and its multitude of middle-class readers. For example, the similarly oriented *Saturday Evening Post* occupied a place on this list, as did such lesser-known publications like the *Century, Forum, McClure's, North American Review*, and *Scribner's*. When the research teams found a piece they thought fit the *Digest*, they would rewrite, recasting difficult constructions, and reduce, excising words, usually descriptive modifiers or unnecessary verbs, along with entire sentences and paragraphs not essential to the thrust of the writing. The end result

consisted of a boiled-down, simplified synopsis of the original, but one rendered readable and grammatical despite the tinkering and eliminations. *Reader's Digest* did not strive for stylistic excellence, but instead aimed its prose at everyday readers, thereby drawing the disdain of the elite and winning the subscription dollars of everyone else.

The issue of copyright seldom seemed to bother Wallace or his staff. When they found an article they wanted to condense, they rarely went through the niceties of permissions. Most people received *Reader's Digest* through subscription, not a newsstand purchase, and so Wallace did not see his journal as a direct competitor with his sources. Also, the magazine went mainly to the heartland—the Midwest—away from the publishing centers of the East Coast. Circulation figures, although they climbed steadily throughout the 1920s, remained low enough that Wallace thought of his creation as small and not in the big leagues of publishing.

In 1929, however, the *Digest* initiated newsstand sales, a move that heightened its visibility to other publishers, who recognized the newcomer as competition. To be safe, DeWitt Wallace decided, at the urging of others, to pay reprint fees to his primary sources. He had deliberately kept his soaring circulation figures secret, so few people realized how much money the *Digest* made. As the Depression deepened, he drew up exclusive agreements with those magazines he most used, such as *Saturday Evening Post*, *Collier's*, *Woman's Home Companion*, and about two dozen other periodicals. This arrangement assured him of a continuous supply of material and little risk of a later copyright battle.

As the *Digest* grew both in importance and circulation, other American magazines increasingly felt the brunt of the Depression and found themselves in financial trouble. Thus, in the early 1930s Wallace conceived the idea of the "planted article." The *Digest* would commission writers to create pieces that matched the magazine's philosophy. These articles would in turn be "planted" in another journal, like *Saturday Review* or *Christian Century*, which would then agree to let the *Digest* reprint it, for a fee. The arrangement worked well and allowed the *Digest* to maintain the facade that it found its material on the open marketplace.

Another innovation that occurred in the early 1930s involved the introduction of anonymous original articles, pieces not taken from other publications, in the *Digest's* contents. This new feature proved so popular with readers that the editors relented and allowed signed pieces beginning in 1933. In a short time, such material occupied fully half the magazine's space. Submitted or commissioned, anything appearing in *Reader's Digest* still had to reinforce the philosophies espoused by the Wallaces. These additions seemed to please subscribers and newsstand buyers alike; by mid-decade, *Reader's Digest* outsold all other American magazines save four—*Saturday Evening Post, Liberty, Collier's*, and *Woman's Home Companion*—and its subscription figures topped 1 million. And the *Digest* achieved this feat without the benefit of advertising, fiction, or illustrations.

By 1936, the *Digest* had moved in the direction of condensing entire nonfiction books. Starting with *Man*, the *Unknown*, a 1935 best seller by the European writer Alexis Carrel (1873–1944), *Reader's Digest* proceeded to publish monthly book condensations, some as brief as 16 pages. A popular feature, it led to Reader's Digest Condensed Books, a separate operation created in the 1940s that offered subscribers bound volumes containing shortened literary works, both fiction and nonfiction.

Despite its obvious commercial success, the *Digest* could hardly be called an elegant or sophisticated magazine. Not until 1939 did the first simple line illustrations appear.

And readers would not see an advertisement in their favorite periodical until 1955; prior to that time, the *Digest* relied on subscriptions and newsstand sales alone, claiming that any advertisements might somehow compromise content and the relationships established with contributing publications. But it did offer chatty, upbeat writing, along with features like "The Most Unforgettable Character I Ever Met," "Toward More Picturesque Speech," and "It Pays to Enrich Your Word Power." After the first few issues, the *Digest* also freely employed humor. It titillated its audience with endless slightly suggestive jokes and puns. In addition, it ran articles that included sex in their focus. Never off-color, *Reader's Digest* nonetheless kept the subject of sex in the forefront, and few complained.

By the end of the 1930s, rich and successful, occasionally liberal and consistently conservative, *Reader's Digest* had become a national institution. It remained ambivalent about aspects of fascism and Nazism; it espoused a fervent anti-Communist bias; and it encouraged American isolationism as World War II approached. The dream of Lila and DeWitt Wallace had reached fruition.

See also Best Sellers; Illustrators; Life & Fortune

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RECORDINGS. The history of the American recording industry during the 1930s rivals any drama the most imaginative playwright might create. With a sprawling cast of players, ceaseless warfare among everyone involved, and a byzantine plot almost too complex to follow, the action follows the classic pattern of heady times, disaster, and a long, slow road to recovery.

The mass production of phonographs and recordings commenced in the 1890s; by 1910, records directly challenged traditional **sheet music** as the primary means of reproducing **music** in homes. The Columbia, Victor, and Edison labels dominated the business in the early twentieth century, but names like Brunswick, Gennett, Okeh, Paramount, Perfect, HMV, and Vocalion established themselves as strong competitors, acquainting the public with contemporary dance music, along with popular **jazz** and blues.

The wide introduction of **radio** as a mass medium in the 1920s initially drove record and phonograph sales downward, but the general prosperity of the era had them rising again, and by 1929 the industry had achieved a substantial recovery. For example, in 1921 the recording industry boasted sales in excess of \$100 million (roughly \$1 billion in contemporary dollars), an historic high. By mid-decade, however, record sales had slumped to \$59 million (\$683 million). In 1929, income had climbed back to \$75 million (\$888 million), but in October of that year the stock market collapsed and reversed everything. The following chart shows just how hard the Depression affected the recording industry, and the gradual steps toward a recovery:

American Record	d Sales	during t	the 1930s
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Year	Annual Sales (in millions)	Number of Records Sold (in millions)
1929	\$75	about 70
1930	\$46	about 40
1931	\$18	about 15
1932	\$11	about 10
1933	\$ 5	about 4
1934	\$ 7	about 5
1935	\$ 9	about 7
1936	\$11	about 8
1937	\$13	about 10
1938	\$26	about 40
1939	\$36	about 55
1940	\$52	about 80

The sale of over 350,000 records qualified a song as a popular hit in the early 1920s; by 1930, the figure had fallen to 40,000 records, and showed no signs of improving. In the darkest days of the Depression, 1931–1933, the average sales for a hit record totaled 3,500 copies in the first three months of its release, and an additional 1,500 copies might sell in the remaining three months prior to its disappearance from retailers' inventories. And those figures represent hit records; less popular songs did proportionally worse, to the point that basic recording costs might not even be met by many releases.

The record industry seemed mired in insoluble problems, but radio exhibited evergrowing strength. As evidence, the Radio Corporation of America (better known as RCA) bought the struggling Victor Record Company in 1929. Victor, which had been part of the Victor Talking Machine Company since 1901, lacked financial resources in the weakened economy. RCA, in turn owned by AT&T, General Electric, and Westinghouse, already controlled the successful National Broadcasting Company (NBC radio), and the acquisition of the Victor label gave the broadcasting giant a vast archive of recorded music. In a related move, RCA had also created the RKO (Radio-Keith-Orpheum) film studio, a move that provided the company access to **movies**. In short order, RCA had entrée to all the electronic media of the day, a feat that provided them some insulation from most economic fluctuations and troubles. If recordings faltered, the movies might prosper, and radio seemed impervious to anything.

RCA's acquisitions merely hint at the complex transactions that would occur throughout the American recording industry during the 1930s. For example, Brunswick Records, part of a company that produced pool tables and pianos, came into being shortly after the parent firm began manufacturing phonographs in 1916. Boasting the latest technology, Brunswick also owned a budget line called Melotone. After purchasing the once-prosperous Aeolian and Vocalion catalogs in 1924, Brunswick seemed poised to become a major label. But instead the company witnessed an overall sales decline, despite its new holdings. Warner Brothers Studios, enjoying high profits from their movies, bought Brunswick in 1929. But the filmmakers, like the rest of the nation, fell on hard times after the

market crash. Hoping to cut their losses, Warner Brothers in 1931 sold Brunswick to the American Record Company (ARC), an upstart group that had been organized in 1929.

ARC made its money by buying out struggling labels and retailing bargain discs in five-and-dimes and cheap variety stores. Formed in 1929 by the merger of Regal Records, Cameo Records, and the Scranton Button Company, the new firm overnight built an extensive catalog by taking over many smaller, financially straitened recording companies. It acquired the inventories of independent labels like Banner, Conqueror, Medallion, Pathe (U.S. only), and Perfect. Some of these little-known labels also featured subsidiaries of their own. Cameo owned Romeo Records, a brand sold by the S. H. Kress variety stores. It also held the Lincoln brand, a label that featured dance music and jazz.

The 1931 purchase of Brunswick Records from Warner Brothers finally gave ARC a well-known label. Instead of pricing Brunswick selections at their prevailing 25- to 50-cent rates (roughly \$3 to \$6 in contemporary money), the company made Brunswick their prestige line and retailed the label at a premium 75 cents a disc (\$9). This move may have cost ARC some sales, but it gave the company stature in the market.

As these changes reverberated through the recording industry, of the original "big three" labels—Columbia, Victor, and Edison—only Columbia Records, founded in 1888, remained as a major independent label. Victor had been absorbed by RCA, and Edison got out of record and phonograph production entirely. Columbia had grown rich during the Jazz Age boom times; in its heyday, it manufactured not only Columbia discs and phonographs, but also Silvertone and Supertone records for Sears, Roebuck and Company from 1905 to 1931. In addition, from 1925 to 1931 it produced Diva Records for the W. T. Grant chain stores. Okeh Records, a division within Columbia, produced considerable jazz and dance music. The company's wealth even allowed it to assist in the creation of the Columbia Broadcasting System in 1928. What no one foresaw, of course, was how radio would prosper, while the formerly thriving recording industry would stumble.

Change finally came to Columbia in 1931. As a result of mergers, the label survived, first as a part of EMI (for Electric & Music Industries), a British conglomerate. With Columbia continuing to accrue losses, EMI in turn sold the company to Majestic, a firm that nominally manufactured radio receivers. But the economic crisis continued and the label went on the auction block once more. The always-alert American Record Company picked up the once-prestigious label for next to nothing in 1934.

In an ironic turnaround, CBS in 1938 proceeded to acquire the entire American Record Company catalog, a move that once more associated the radio network with its namesake Columbia label. This purchase also gave NBC's primary rival a significant stake in the recording industry. CBS promptly sold one of their acquisitions, the aforementioned Brunswick, to American Decca in 1940. That same year, CBS dropped the remaining ARC listings, retaining only the Columbia imprint.

Before falling on its own hard times, ARC, by virtue of its numerous labels and the practice of discounting records, had become a force in popular music. The company's various discs sold from 25 to 50 cents apiece (roughly \$3.50 to \$7.00 in contemporary dollars), and often retailed at three for a dollar (or three for \$14.00). To achieve these discounts and still turn a profit, ARC sometimes obtained masters from the bigger labels and stamped cheap copies from them. ARC's Banner Records, for example, consisted almost entirely of reissues. To keep manufacturing costs at an absolute minimum, these smaller labels recorded on surfaces like waxed or chemically treated paper, and also on

metal or tin foil. As might be expected, they produced minimal fidelity, and the recording seldom lasted much beyond a handful of plays. They also specialized in what the industry disingenuously called "hick discs," performances by little-known rural bands and singers that usually played anonymous songs that required no copyright fees.

While the American Record Company expanded throughout much of the decade, the other surviving record firms slashed prices, dropped artists, cut back on recording sessions, and reduced individual takes on a particular number to just one, provided no obvious defects could be detected. Victor, which had stubbornly held prices to their 1920s levels, created the Bluebird label in 1933 as a response to such policies; the new Bluebirds sold for 35 cents each (roughly \$5.50 in contemporary money). Other companies struck deals with large retailers like Woolworth's and Sears, Roebuck and Company to sell miniature records measuring 8 inches in diameter, instead of the traditional 10, for a dime (\$1.50 in contemporary money).

Between 1930 and 1932, "Hit of the Week" Records tried selling discs at newsstands. The one-sided records, for the bargain price of 15 cents (\$2.00) and made of Durium, a concoction of paper and resin, gave a listener three to five minutes of scratchy music. Aside from presaging radio's **Your Hit Parade** by a few years, "Hit of the Week" fared poorly.

Despite the gloom that pervaded much of the recording industry, a few individuals saw prosperity beckoning and took advantage of it. In 1934, British investors started American Decca, a new label and offshoot of English Decca, a well-established one. Fortunately for American Decca, crooner **Bing Crosby** (1903–1977) came aboard from Brunswick, and the label also acquired the catalog of Gennett Records, an old (1917) firm that had built a rich trove of blues and jazz sides. To battle ARC's low prices, Decca recordings sold for a bargain 35 cents. In a short time, Decca's cheap discs, along with their roster of stars, made them one of the sales leaders for the decade.

As the decade neared its end, the three major labels increased their hold on the industry. In 1938, for example, record sales totaled approximately 40 million discs. A more detailed breakdown would reveal the following figures:

Victor—over 13 million discs Decca—over 12 million discs Columbia/ARC—over 9 million discs Independent labels—about 6 million discs

Although the independents sold a respectable number of recordings, their total came nowhere close to the sales enjoyed by the Big Three.

"Race Records." Although depressions and recessions cannot be considered racially motivated, minority groups have traditionally suffered out of proportion to their numbers during economic upheavals. Black musicians were no exception. In the 1930s, racial prejudice existed as a fact of life in the recording industry. The major labels had long avoided hiring or promoting black artists, forcing black musicians to seek out the small, independent labels for work. But many of these labels failed during the 1930s, which meant the disappearance of job opportunities for uncounted talented people.

Many recording companies carried black artists on their rosters, but in their advertising and distribution made little effort to reach mainstream (i.e., white) audiences. Their

recordings carried the dubious label "race records," meaning they could usually be obtained only in predominantly black neighborhoods or in small, specialty record shops. Columbia's subsidiary label Okeh, Victor's Bluebird, and Decca's Sepia all included black musicians and singers, but most larger distributors, fearful of a white consumer backlash, refused to carry them.

The dilemma facing black recording artists can be illustrated by Black Swan Records (1921–1924), one of the first labels to feature jazz and blues. Because it specialized in recording black performers, Black Swan found most white markets closed to distribution of their race records. This kind of racial myopia forced Black Swan out of business in 1924, long before swing brought about a renewed interest in jazz and dance bands a few years later. A similar fate awaited any other black-oriented labels, and race records emerged as a metaphor for economic failure from the 1930s onward.

Swing proved the tonic the recording industry as a whole needed. It reinvigorated many struggling companies, and guaranteed the continuing fortunes of the major labels. Although most firms continued to issue purely pop sides and music geared to more specialized tastes, the big swing bands, the most popular performers of the later 1930s, sold in such numbers that they carried everyone with their success.

See also Count Basie; Carter Family; Duke Ellington; Benny Goodman; Woody Guthrie; Fletcher Henderson; Glenn Miller; Race Relations & Stereotyping; Songwriters & Lyricists

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REGIONALISM. In the area of art during the Depression years, two distinct approaches, or "schools," of painting rose to national prominence: Regionalism and **Social Realism**. Of the two, Regionalism attracted the larger popular audience, although Social Realism had its ardent supporters. Regionalists tend toward themes of national identity, and they employ images of the "American scene," especially those of the land itself as a carrier of meaning. Instead of Paris and sidewalk cafes, the Regionalists might paint an American farm and depict the bounteous crops the land provides. A conservative movement, not a radical one, Regionalism celebrates a nostalgia for the past, especially the rural past that artists saw as fast disappearing under the impacts of technology and urban growth.

The Regionalist painters did not limit themselves geographically, and often took American history and mythologized it, elevating the commonplace and giving it heroic status. Unlike their colleagues with ties to Social Realism, Regionalist artists made no attempt to debunk or challenge American institutions and values.

The Regionalist movement had its roots in the 1920s, a time when the arts turned away from Europe and celebrated American culture. The term had originated with a

group of Southern writers who wanted to create literary works about the people, places, and activities they knew. Although focused on a particular locale and mainly agrarian in theme, these poets and novelists aimed for a much broader audience, hoping to attract attention to the South and what they saw as its distinctive culture. What began with literary antecedents spread to other areas of American life, and eventually critics applied the term to a number of artists who likewise found their inspiration in the land.

By the 1930s, Americana in all its forms had become fashionable, and scholars and lay-people alike earnestly declaimed on the merits of American **architecture**, art, literature, and **music**. In a short time, supporters of European cultural expression found themselves on the defensive. Critics went out of their way to denigrate much modern European painting, and a form of xenophobia manifested itself in many of the journals that dealt with current trends in the arts. In the field of painting, New York's prestigious Whitney Museum of American Art had its founding in 1931, the first major museum devoted solely to the subject, and numerous American-only exhibitions at other institutions reflected this growing interest that flourished during the decade.

Perhaps in response to the Depression or to the war clouds forming once again over Europe, the arbiters of taste and style threw their support behind any paintings that depicted what many called the "American scene." Those artists who comprised the Regionalist school found themselves the darlings of the intelligentsia, and they enjoyed much praise and little criticism during the 1930s. They also received some modest **New Deal** government patronage after the election of **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945) in 1932. The creation of federal arts programs of various kinds encouraged artistic expression that celebrated America and American values; the emphasis the Regionalists placed on just those subjects made their endeavors particularly attractive to government agencies responsible for granting funds.

Although Regionalism may have provided most of the crowd favorites, other schools of art—provided the practitioners themselves were Americans, either by birth or later citizenship—also received critical blessings. But the surest guarantee of success remained a realistic, representational style and the positive treatment of American themes. Nationalism ran deep during the 1930s, and only World War II and its aftermath tempered such jingoistic feelings in the arts, and not completely, even then.

Over the decade, many painters strove to be a part of the popular "Regionalist" category, but with the passage of time, only a few of their number have survived the close examination that always follows any faddish movement. Thomas Hart Benton (1889–1975) and Grant Wood (1891–1942), two painters who elicited a great deal of popular attention in the 1930s, continue to hold up well. Wood remains the better known of the two, primarily on the basis of his American Gothic, a work he first exhibited in 1930, and one of the few paintings from the era that remains instantly recognizable to millions, both in its original form and as the object of countless parodies.

Critics also tended to place John Steuart Curry (1897–1946) in this group, although he never achieved the celebrity of Benton or Wood. Just as Benton claimed Missouri and Wood, Iowa, Curry, too, came from the Midwest—Kansas—and its rural character, its rich fields, and tempestuous weather figure significantly in his works. Examples that display all these themes include *Tornado* (1929) and *Line Storm* (1934). While in his twenties, Curry had worked as an illustrator, and this experience finds reflection in the clear narrative sense, along with a lack of abstraction, characteristic of these works.

Another facet of Curry's painting that places him in the front ranks of the Regionalist movement involves the absence of any social commentary. When farm families live in impoverished surroundings, as in *Kansas Wheat Ranch* (1930) and *The Homesteading* (1939), he attaches no economic or political "messages" to it; rural poverty exists as a fact of Midwestern life in the 1930s, and Curry serves merely as an objective recorder. Instead of a class struggle, he paints the ongoing struggle of man and nature, but often optimistically, in contrast to the more pessimistic and political social realists.

Only in some of his paintings and murals dealing with history does Curry manifest an interest in social injustices, especially in the area of race. His portraits of black Americans may seem stereotypical to some today, but paintings like *The Fugitive* (1933) and *The Mississippi* (1935) possess a real power of their own, especially in light of the times.

Curry went to Wisconsin in 1936. His *Tragic Prelude* for the Kansas State capitol (1938–1939), with its tortured figure of John Brown (1800–1859) urging on his followers, may not be the stuff of bucolic Americana, but it captures a tragic chapter in American history. The background, the Midwestern prairies, carries the threat of natural disasters that could accompany the man-made one of civil war.

It can be argued that a number of American artists made stabs at Regionalist themes in the first 30 to 40 years of the twentieth century. The realistic depiction of the land and its people attracted diverse painters in the 1930s, but seldom if ever would they be considered Regionalist painters. They bring a different artistic sensibility to their work, and use the landscape, particularly the rural landscape, as a means to other ends. The conscious celebration of the American scene remains conspicuously absent from their work, thus divorcing them from the movement itself.

In their own distinctive way, the Regionalists documented American life in the 1930s, arguing for an American art that embraced values and beliefs long held by the majority of citizens. Instead of an art for art's sake, theirs became an art for culture's sake.

See also Edward Hopper; Illustrators; Race Relations & Stereotyping; Reginald Marsh; Charles Sheeler

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RELIGION. The Great Depression took its toll on the American people economically, emotionally, and spiritually. Denominational choice varied but Christianity prevailed virtually everywhere. Contrary to what might be expected, however, few displays of religiosity occurred. Mainstream religious communities for the most part maintained a steady course, presenting a muted response to the times, although some individual churches experienced a drop in income.

Robert and Helen Lynd (1892–1970; 1892–1982), authors of *Middletown* (1931), an influential study of everyday middle-class American life in Muncie, Indiana, returned to that community in 1935 and published *Middletown in Transition* (1937). They found that during the Depression most major religious denominations had small increases in

membership, but average weekly church attendance actually dropped. They further learned that women made up the majority of churchgoers, and that few of either sex under the age of 30 attended with any regularity. Even with religion's limited role in American lives, most homes contained some religious decorations and many families paused before a meal to offer a blessing. A 1938 oil painting by the popular illustrator **Norman Rockwell** (1894–1978) titled "Family Saying Grace," lends credence to this 1930s tradition.

Although little changed in most churches and synagogues, the Depression brought with it an interest in religious fundamentalism; energetic evangelistic efforts attracted members of the working class, the unemployed, and the destitute. In many cases, nondenominational Bible schools in major cities trained lay workers and Sunday school leaders, as well as supplying pastors and printed materials. Black Americans moving from the South to northern urban centers brought their religious traditions with them, and created new congregations.

The drop in attendance at mainstream church services possibly can be attributed to two factors. With increased ownership of **automobiles**, many chose to skip church in order to go sightseeing, have a picnic at a scenic spot in the country, enjoy activities at an amusement park, or visit family or friends. Also, the ready availability of radios in most households meant that Americans could stay at home to listen to a broadcast of a weekly church service and other religious programming without getting dressed up or, possibly more important, without having to contribute to the collection plate. With resources short for many families, even a few coins on Sunday assumed great importance.

William Ashley "Billy" Sunday (1862–1935), a rousing, flamboyant evangelist, pioneered in the use of radio for religious broadcasting. He became the first of a long line of popular preachers to use the electronic media as a pulpit. A professional baseball player for the Chicago White Sox, Sunday gave up the game when he accepted Christ in 1886 and worked briefly for the YMCA before turning to preaching. As a revivalist, he developed a colorful, "fire and brimstone" style that tackled social issues, especially the evils of alcohol. He aired *The Back Home Hour* on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS radio) at 11:00 A.M. on Sundays from 1929 until 1931. Ably assisted by Nell Sunday (1868–1957), his wife and business manager, he secured a large, devoted following. Sunday died in 1935, by then a prominent and wealthy evangelist, and the inspiration for many such men of the cloth to come.

Aimee Semple McPherson (1890–1944), a colorful Pentecostal leader, and the most famous woman preacher of her time, in 1927 incorporated the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, a new, independent denomination of her making. Born in Canada, McPherson had grown up as a member of the Salvation Army; she converted to Pentecostalism in 1908 and shortly thereafter married and worked as a missionary to China. Widowed, she returned to the states in 1911 and continued her preaching. In 1917, she began publishing *Bridal Call*, a monthly magazine that reprinted her sermons. She remarried, but soon divorced in order to continue her evangelistic efforts without constraint. "Sister Aimee," with her good looks and theatrical delivery, drew thousands to her tent revivals and, like Billy Sunday, achieved celebrity status by the 1920s. She also recognized the potential of radio for the new electronic church; throughout the 1930s, in addition to a heavy revival schedule, she could regularly be heard broadcasting, as well as overseeing the collection of donations in order to open soup kitchens and free clinics.

A significant black spiritual leader from around 1907 until his death, the Rev. Major Jealous Divine, better known as "Father Divine" (c. 1877–1965; his birth name remains under debate, but may have been George Baker), in 1914 founded the International Peace Mission Movement. One of the few genuinely integrated organizations of the 1930s, it operated first out of Sayville, New York, before moving to Harlem in 1932. Divine's charismatic messages brought busloads of people to his tent revivals and his organization provided shelter and food for those in need. The jobs he obtained for his followers proved especially important during the Depression and its accompanying high unemployment. Recognizing the power of the media, by 1936 Divine could be heard on radio and on recordings of his sermons. The International Peace Mission Movement urged high moral standards on its followers but nonetheless attracted thousands to its promise of a better life.

After a colorful career from the 1920s through the 1940s, Divine slowly disappeared from view. His second wife, Mrs. S. A. Divine (for "Sweet Angel"; née Edna Rose Ritchings, b. 1925), or "Mother Divine," has continued as the nominal leader of the organization.

In keeping with individual preachers utilizing radio, various local and independent stations began carrying church services as early as 1921. The National Broadcasting Company (NBC radio), at its inception in 1926, decided to include religious programs, not as commercial offerings, but as a public service. The network made time available to representatives of the mainstream Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faith communities, a move that ignored the growing religious diversity in the country. NBC instituted three programs, *National Radio Pulpit*, *The Catholic Hour*, and *Message of Israel*, based on a standard that said broadcasters would strive for wide appeal, be nonsectarian, and not advocate strong theological positions.

Some of the radio ministries aroused considerable controversy, much of it nontheological. For example, Father Charles Coughlin (1891–1979), a Roman Catholic priest known as the "Radio Priest," started his religious broadcasting career in Detroit in 1926. Three years later, having achieved national prominence, he spoke weekly at three o'clock on Sunday afternoons to audiences estimated at 10 million on the CBS network. On rival NBC, Fulton J. Sheen (1895–1979), a rising young priest, made his first appearance on *The Catholic Hour* in 1928. Throughout the 1930s, he also gained in popularity and regularity of appearances, but not for the same reasons as Coughlin. Sheen eventually moved to **television** in 1951 and gained his greatest fame in that medium.

While Father Sheen stayed close to church doctrines, Father Coughlin's programs became less spiritual and increasingly political as the Depression worsened. His extreme animosity toward President Herbert Hoover (1874–1964) caused CBS not to renew his contract in 1931. Father Coughlin responded by developing his own network of independent radio stations and started a magazine, Social Justice. These moves did not hurt his popularity, which peaked after the 1932 election of Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945), a man whom he had supported. It is said that Father Coughlin at times received more mail than the president. Coughlin's right-wing, anti-Semitic stance and rhetoric intensified after 1934, and his social protest targets soon included Roosevelt, along with bankers, the wealthy, and individual Jewish leaders and institutions. Times improved and Coughlin's influence began to decline by 1940; he finally left the air in 1942 when he lost listeners, stations, and the support of his Catholic bishop.

Strongly partisan programs such as those broadcast by Father Coughlin and others created public relations difficulties for individual radio stations. In 1932, CBS decided to follow the standard that had been set by NBC and instituted policies stating how airtime would be allotted to religious organizations. They offered representatives of the three major faith communities free time for programs that avoided controversial or theological doctrine matters. In 1934, both NBC and CBS engaged the Federal Council of Churches to provide oversight regarding the content of network Protestant programs.

Troubled by the social and economic inequities that the Great Depression exacerbated, some evangelists and preachers engaged in relief efforts for the jobless and hungry. Dorothy Day (1897–1980), a journalist turned social activist, along with Peter Maurin (1877–1949), in 1931 published a newspaper, the *Catholic Worker*, and founded the Catholic Worker Movement in 1933. This organization regularly condemned capitalism and Communism and urged nonviolent action and hospitality for the impoverished and downtrodden. In the depths of the Depression, Day opened a House of Hospitality in the slums of New York City offering food, clothing, and shelter to the needy. The movement spread and at its peak had established more than 50 houses of hospitality and communal farms.

During the 1930s, media evangelists and others capitalized on the power of radio, with the more charismatic figures gaining widespread popularity and drawing millions to their tent revivals and radio programs. By and large, however, organized religion played a limited role in most Americans' lives. The radio, the automobile, and the rise in leisure time emerged as new competitors for church attendance.

See also Illustrators; Leisure & Recreation; Magazines; Political Parties; Prohibition & Repeal

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RESTAURANTS. In the 1920s and 1930s, people who chose to "eat out" faced an array of choices, ranging from the kind of food served to the dining atmosphere provided. During those years, American restaurants underwent significant change and growth. The birth of franchises, the proliferation of roadside eateries, along with the expansion of lunch rooms, coffee and sandwich shops, chain restaurants, and diners powered this growth. The names varied—cafeterias, tearooms, hamburger stands, beaneries, delicatessens, greasy spoons, inns, lodges, taverns, soda fountains—but they offered everything from sit-down dinners to a quick bite on the run. Larger cities like New York and Philadelphia also had automats, self-service eating places. Because of the Depression, many Americans initially avoided restaurants to save money, but not for long; even in the days following the crash, people continued to eat out, especially for lunch.

The Prohibition years, 1920–1933, witnessed the closing of the doors to saloons that had traditionally served free lunches, and increasing numbers of workers in urban areas lived too far to go home for a midday meal. With these two factors in mind, Edgar W. Ingram (1880–1966) and Walter L. Anderson (1880–1963) in 1921 opened a small hamburger stand on a public transportation route in Wichita, Kansas. Housed in a concrete building that had been painted white, and featuring a tower at the corner, their establishment offered an affordable, 5-cent (roughly 57 cents in contemporary money) flattened hamburger topped with onions and served in a warm bun. Ingram and Anderson's stand created a winning image for hungry workers—a healthy hamburger in a clean, safe setting. Prior to this time, most hamburger stands, both on the roadside and in urban centers, tended to have the appearance of shacks. Plus they had gained, sometimes rightly, sometimes wrongly, a reputation for serving patties composed mostly of gristle and old beef in a greasy spoon atmosphere.

In a nod to its architectural style, the two entrepreneurs named their venture White Castle. In addition to counter service, they also successfully engaged customers in a take-out business—"Buy a Bagful" and "Buy 'em by the Sack." This innovation allowed them to dispense their burgers from a small shop and that reduced overhead. Open 24 hours a day, the White Castles quickly multiplied to additional sites and burgeoned in the 1930s. Each shop guaranteed no variation in quality or taste of food. Their accomplishment served as a model for urban food stands and restaurant systems for many years thereafter.

Other hamburger stands and restaurants also experienced success, and their owners likewise opened new facilities; a few of these evolved into chains that could span several cities or states. Most chains featured a limited menu and catered to shoppers, workers, and other business people traveling to downtown factories and businesses on bus and trolley routes. Some of the owners did not hesitate to acknowledge their debt to White Castle and offered 5-cent "hamburger sandwiches" served in a spotless facility. Beyond the basic hamburger, the menu varied some from one chain to another, but most included chili, waffles, hotdogs, sandwiches, ham and eggs, along with a limited selection of beverages.

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Date Founded	Chain Name	Location of First Site
1921	White Castle	Wichita, Kansas
1926	White Tower	Milwaukee, Wisconsin
1926	Maid-Rite Hamburgs	Muscatine, Iowa
1929	Toddle House	Houston, Texas
Early 1930s	White Manna	Jersey City, New Jersey
1932	Krystal	Chattanooga, Tennessee
1936	Rockybuilt	Denver, Colorado
1937	Bob's Big Boy	Los Angeles, California
1938	Royal Castle	Miami, Florida

Prefabricated components made construction of new buildings easy and fast and contributed to the success of the chains. It also allowed for buildings to be moved from one

site to another in order to adjust to changes in traffic flow or public **transportation** routes. These chains, the precursors to the ubiquitous "fast food" restaurants of today, utilized standardized designs and building materials. Even the financial arrangements for going into such a business fell into identifiable patterns. Yet, each chain boasted its own distinctive architecture, a quality that allowed the buildings themselves to function as bill-boards, readily identifiable as reliable, clean places to eat.

Fine dining, which traditionally had consisted of elaborate, multicourse meals accompanied by solicitous service, became available only in the fanciest of restaurants. Such places were expensive, something that put off many customers in a difficult economic period. In addition, a growing interest in dieting and a simple, calorie-conscious, purely American menu of meat, potatoes, vegetables, and a light dessert limited their clientele. Haute cuisine faced hard times in the Depression.

While upscale restaurants suffered, new technologies offered assistance to cooks both at home and in cheaper eateries. Refrigeration, which made great strides during the 1930s, guaranteed the safety of a variety of foods. Another benefit manifested itself with Clarence Birdseye's (1886–1956) successful development of a method for quick freezing food in 1923. Inventions like the pop-up toaster (1930), the electric mixer (1930), the electric can opener (1931), improved electric percolators (1930s), the Waring Blendor (1930s), and the electric coffee grinder (1937) made food preparation easier. In addition to these helpful inventions, restaurants readily used canned and other prepackaged items that minimized labor costs.

Although numerous places to eat could be found in factory and business areas, additional food stands and restaurants began to dot the roadside during the 1920s and 1930s. As **automobiles** grew in popularity and highways rapidly improved, choices likewise increased. Americans have always had the wanderlust; they coupled that urge with a love affair with their cars. Twenty-six million vehicles traversed the nation's roads by 1930. Even in the depths of the Great Depression, Americans took to the highway for work, for **travel**, or for a Sunday afternoon family drive. But once on the road, if no one had packed a picnic basket or lunch pail, a place to eat needed to be found.

The diner, a miniature restaurant, served as one source of roadside food and grew in popularity. Initially located near factories and businesses, diners flourished along American highways during the 1930s and attracted a variety of customers looking for fast, inexpensive meals and familiar, friendly service. Distinctive in their appearance, the origins of the buildings housing typical diners varied—they could be obsolete horse-drawn streetcars, decommissioned railroad passenger cars or trolleys, or newly manufactured structures. But all had the cozy, dining car ambiance and provided an alternative to the limited offerings of a hotdog or hamburger stand. Plus they usually offered a full menu, just like more upscale restaurants.

By the 1930s, specially equipped factories mass produced, transported, and erected between 100 and 200 new diners each year. Quickly set up, most of these structures rested on a concrete slab and convinced many people that all diners had once been rail-road cars, a mistaken perception that had a negative effect on some potential customers. The automobile was replacing the passenger train as the way to travel and escape, especially from urban areas. Eating in a building reminiscent of a less desirable way to travel did not hold the same enticement for some as stopping at more traditional restaurants. On the other hand, many liked the efficiency and compactness of the diner; they found

it less intimidating than a regular sit-down restaurant. In time, the latter group held sway and the diner became a part of the landscape.

Drive-ins provided yet another dining choice. This unique way of eating in the privacy of the car, instead of publicly in a restaurant, first appeared in the fall of 1921 along the road connecting Dallas and Fort Worth, Texas. Jessie G. Kirby and Reuben W. Jackson (both active during the 1930s) opened what they called the Pig Stand and sold hamburgers, sandwiches and a barbeque pork sandwich named the "pig sandwich." Instantly successful, the concept soon expanded throughout Texas and then to other states; by 1934, over 100 drive-ins could be found along busy streets and highways.

Carhops, at first young men and later women, became a fixture at the Pig Stand and other drive-ins. These employees earned their curious name by jumping ("hopping") up onto the running boards then found on most automobiles. A practical means of facilitating entry and exit, the running board proved the perfect way to both take orders and serve food. In good American fashion, the carhops often sported costumes of one sort or another.

In 1931, a Pig Stand in California added the novelty of "drive-through" service. Customers eased their cars to a drive-up window, gave and received their order, and then returned to the highway. This innovative idea quickly caught on, and drive-ins with drive-up, take-out windows added another option to the available dining choices.

Howard Johnson's Restaurants entered the already-crowded field of roadside eating in the mid-1930s. Howard Johnson (1896–1972), a New England businessman, became a part of the food business in 1925 when he bought a small corner drugstore in the Wollaston section of Quincy, Massachusetts. To promote the soda fountain, the busiest part of the store, Johnson replaced the three flavors of commercial **ice cream** (vanilla, chocolate, and strawberry) with his own natural flavored, high-butterfat homemade products. He enjoyed immediate success and gradually increased his selection to 28 flavors. Soon after introducing his own ice cream, Johnson opened a beachfront ice cream stand that he had painted bright orange. Over the next few summers, he added more beachfront stands to his holdings and put high quality hotdogs on his menus. The unique presentation of a tasty hotdog with a slit down the center, placed in a buttered, toasted roll and served in a cardboard holder made it a recognizable Howard Johnson product.

By 1929 Johnson had advanced from ice cream and hotdog stands to a family-style restaurant in Quincy. This establishment served, in addition to hotdogs and 28 flavors of ice cream, typical New England fare consisting of fried clams, chicken pot pies, and baked beans. The stock market crash of 1929 curtailed further expansion until 1935, when Johnson persuaded an acquaintance to become his "agent" and open a Howard Johnson restaurant by the roadside in Orleans on Cape Cod. The two men agreed to a franchise arrangement—Johnson guaranteed uniformity in all aspects of the business and he provided the design, menu, standards, and food products for a fee. The investor-franchisee put up a certain amount of money and got to manage the restaurant and realize a percentage of the profits. A bright orange roof with a cupola on a white, clapboard colonial building ensured immediate recognition and maximum visibility. These first Howard Johnson's enjoyed success, and by the end of 1936 Johnson could claim 56 locations, a total that jumped to 107 sites along East Coast highways by 1939.

Cities, especially the larger ones, also claimed ethnic restaurants that attracted nonethnic customers. Italian-American restaurants, often decorated with red-and-white checkered tablecloths and sporting a candle stuck in a Chianti bottle, served minestrone, spaghetti and meatballs, ravioli, and scallopine. Such establishments enjoyed their greatest popularity in cities located in the northeastern section of the country. In order to continue to attract customers, most Italian restaurants relied more on a pastaand-tomato-sauce theme than on authentic Italian cooking.

Chinese restaurants, frequently called chop suey parlors, also dotted larger American cities throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Their menus featured won ton soup, egg rolls, barbecued spareribs, sweet-and-sour pork, and beef with lobster sauce, a mix that had been created to whet Americans' appetites; it bore little resemblance to authentic Chinese fare.

Greek Americans also realized success in the industry at this time. These entrepreneurs did not usually serve authentic Greek foods, but instead operated American-style restaurants such as coffee shops, steak houses, and family restaurants.

As the number of restaurants grew, people needed guidelines about quality. Duncan Hines (1880–1959), a traveling salesman for a printing firm, usually ate out when on the road. Frequently, his wife accompanied him and over many years the couple had developed a hobby of keeping a list of restaurants and dining rooms that offered exceptional dishes. In 1935, instead of mailing friends Christmas cards, the couple sent out 1,000 copies of a list they had compiled of 167 superior eateries from 30 states and Washington, D.C. Their criteria for "superior" included cleanliness, fresh tablecloths or place mats, neatly dressed staff, no overly fancy décor, no rich sauces, and a good cup of coffee. The response to their listings was overwhelming. Friends requested additional copies, as did strangers who had seen the list. Realizing that their hobby could be turned into a business, in 1936 Hines published his reviews as a book, Adventures in Good Eating. It sold so well that two years later he left sales to review restaurants full time. The "Recommended by Duncan Hines" sign became a valuable marketing tool for restaurants around the country.

Prior to the publication of Hines's book, people who ate out had little to rely on for restaurant recommendations. Even when they found a guide, too often an affiliation with the restaurant made the entries read like an advertisement instead of a review. Objectivity and availability arrived with *Adventures in Good Eating* and by 1939 it had became a nationwide best seller. Riding on his success, Hines in 1938 published a hotel guide, *Lodging for a Night*, and in 1939, a cookbook, *Adventures in Good Cooking*.

Throughout the 1930s, and despite the Depression, the restaurant industry grew both in numbers of facilities across the country and in kinds of restaurants and foods available. Americans knew what they wanted—straightforward home cooking, simply prepared and presented, and served quickly. Howard Johnson's, chain restaurants, hamburger stands, drive-ins, diners, and ethnic restaurants experienced success because of understanding and meeting these requirements. In 1937, two brothers, Maurice (1902–1971) and Richard McDonald (1909–1998), opened a hot dog stand, The Airdrome, in Arcadia, California. In an effort to increase sales, they moved the building to San Bernardino. After sizing up the new craze of eating at drive-in restaurants, the McDonalds determined it possessed more potential than had yet been realized. In 1940, the brothers altered their existing restaurant and opened, in May of that year, McDonald's Barbeque (the stress on hamburgers would come later). Always innovating and experimenting, Maurice and Richard McDonald led the way to a bright future for drive-ins.

See also Best Sellers; Buses; Coffee & Tea; Design; Desserts; Frozen Food; Hotels; Prohibition & Repeal; Trains

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ROBESON, PAUL. A controversial figure throughout much of his life, Paul Robeson (1898–1976) embodied many of the promises and problems faced by prominent American blacks during the twentieth century. Born in Princeton, New Jersey, to a former slave-turned-minister and a Quaker schoolteacher mother, Robeson won admission to Rutgers University in 1915, the third black student to attend the school. While there, he excelled in all that he attempted, earning 15 varsity letters in sports, being selected to the collegiate all-American football teams in 1917 and 1918, gaining acceptance to Phi Beta Kappa honor fraternity, and graduating as class valedictorian. From Rutgers, he went to Columbia University Law School, receiving a degree in 1923 and supporting himself by playing professional football on weekends.

In addition to all his other talents, Robeson showed promise as an actor and a singer, especially for his command of black spirituals. While in law school, he appeared in several theatrical productions, and when his legal career faltered because of racial inequities, he turned to performing. A 1925 silent picture, *Body and Soul*, which featured an all-black cast, gave him his introduction to the film world, although his progress would be painfully slow. Not until 1930 did a studio cast him in another movie, *Borderline*, an undistinguished British production. Between *Borderline* and 1942's *Tales of Manhattan*, his final film, he would appear in eight additional pictures, six of them done by English studios.

Robeson said he found a better racial climate in the British Isles than he did the United States, moving there permanently in the late 1920s, after appearing in London stage productions of Eugene O'Neill's (1888–1953) *The Emperor Jones* in 1925 and **Jerome Kern** (1885–1945) and Oscar Hammerstein II's (1895–1960) acclaimed *Show Boat* in 1928. Abroad, he experienced greater freedom, both socially and artistically. Periodically, however, he returned to the United States when opportunities—few and far between—beckoned. Thus in 1933 he repeated his role as Brutus Jones in a film adaptation of *The Emperor Jones*.

The offer of a chance to reprise the *Show Boat* character of Joe in a motion picture retelling of the musical brought Robeson back to his homeland in 1936. His powerful rendition of "Ol' Man River" electrified audiences and continues to be recognized as the definitive interpretation. Strong as his American roles were, they led to little else in the States, and he again traveled to England. Four films—*Jericho* (1937), *Big Fella* (1937), *King Solomon's Mines* (1937), and *Proud Valley* (1940)—marked his return to foreign shores, although none of these **movies** have come down to the present as essential

viewing. His performances at times teeter on the edge of racial stereotyping, although Robeson never stoops to embarrassing Uncle Tom caricatures.

In 1939, on a program called *The Pursuit of Happiness* that played on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS radio), Robeson enjoyed one of his finest moments. Composer Earl Robinson (1910–1991) had, in collaboration with lyricist John Latouche (1917–1956), written an 11-minute cantata called "Ballad for Americans." Robeson sang the unabashedly patriotic piece in his finest baritone. People loved it and "Ballad for Americans" went on to become a fixture at the ongoing **New York World's Fair**, being broadcast several times a day.

A strong advocate of social tolerance and political liberalism—he refused to perform before segregated audiences—Robeson began to speak out against fascism during the later 1930s. He protested the lack of a united front against Nazism, and openly embraced the government and policies of the Soviet Union after a trip there in 1934. These



Actor Paul Robeson (1898–1976). (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

latter actions brought him under the scrutiny of the **Federal Bureau of Investigation** (FBI) for possible Communist links, a charge that would haunt him for the rest of his life. As the likelihood of war grew stronger, so did Robeson's protests; by the early 1940s some saw him as a fervent patriot and others as a Communist sympathizer.

Despite a record-breaking turn in a 1943 Broadway production of *Othello*, the suspicions about his loyalty grew, especially in the Cold War hysteria of the 1940s and 1950s. He found himself banned from American **television** in 1950, blacklisted by the recording industry in 1953, and generally snubbed by the artistic community. He nonetheless continued to speak out against racism and intolerance, remaining true to his beliefs and paying the price of isolation. Only well after his death in 1976 did some of the recognition denied him in life begin to accrue.

See also Musicals; Race Relations & Stereotyping; Radio Networks; Recordings

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ROCKEFELLER CENTER (RADIO CITY). Located in the heart of Manhattan and occupying 12 acres of prime real estate, Rockefeller Center represents the hopes and dreams of Depression-era America. One of the largest construction projects of the twentieth century, it involved the talents and skills of tens of thousands of people. By 1940, 14 separate buildings, most of them large, had been erected; that number would continue to grow, and today this massive undertaking comprises over 20 buildings.

The site for Rockefeller Center, three contiguous blocks bounded by 5th and 6th Avenues, and running from 48th Street to 51st Street, could not have looked too promising except to people with a visionary sense. The area had once been the Elgin Botanic Gardens, but this greenery had long since disappeared, replaced by a motley jumble of bars, cheap **hotels**, and rundown shops, sometimes called "the speakeasy belt." Columbia University had obtained possession of the land during the nineteenth century, and the university rather grandly called the deteriorating blocks the Columbia Upper Estate.

In the late 1920s, the Metropolitan Opera, New York City's prestigious musical organization, was searching for a new home, and some thought the Columbia Upper Estate would make a good location. Participants in this search included John D. Rockefeller Jr. (1874–1960), the philanthropist son of the fabulously wealthy family patriarch, John D. Rockefeller Sr. (1839–1937). A patron of the arts, he contacted Columbia University and leased the land for the opera company. But the crash of 1929 forced the Met to back out of the deal, and Rockefeller, lease in hand, looked to other opportunities for his real estate.

Raymond Hood (1881–1934), a prominent and successful architect responsible for such landmarks as the Chicago Tribune Tower (1924), the New York Daily News Building (1930), and the McGraw-Hill Building (1931), proposed that Rockefeller fund a "superblock," a grouping of modern buildings that would interconnect. David Sarnoff (1891–1971), the energetic head of the Radio Corporation of America (RCA), wanted high-quality production facilities for his company's growing radio operation, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC radio). From the alliance of Rockefeller, Hood, and Sarnoff, grew the vision for Rockefeller Center. Because of NBC's connection to the enterprise, it promptly got dubbed "Radio City," a name that, even in the age of television, has continued to identify the complex.

In order to keep costs down, the planners opted for a plain, stripped-down modernism for the building exteriors. Several architectural firms would collaborate on Rockefeller Center, including Reinhard & Hofmeister; Corbett, Harrison & MacMurray; Godley & Fouihoux; and, of course, Raymond Hood. They agreed that the centerpiece would be a soaring skyscraper surrounded by lower buildings, and Hood's RCA Building, 850 feet and 70 stories tall, fits the bill. For continuity, each building would consist of a steel frame clad in Indiana limestone with aluminum trim. Windows would be assembled almost flush with the surface, providing facades that alternate dark (windows) and light (limestone) vertical lines, an effect that carries the eye upward and emphasizes height. In keeping with New York City's setback regulations, the RCA Building recedes as it rises, but its simplicity of line and form does not suggest **Art Deco** so much as it does the more contemporary **International Style** then beginning to make inroads in architectural thinking. Its spare, slablike **design** looks to the future, and echoes little of the past.

Groundbreaking commenced in 1931, the dark shadows of the Depression notwithstanding. At the end of that year, workmen erected a small, simple Christmas tree amid



Rockefeller Center from the air. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

all the construction mud and clutter, and there they received their holiday paychecks. No one knew it then, but a tradition had begun. Each year thereafter a Christmas tree has stood at Rockefeller Center. By 1933, it had gotten more formalized, and lights sparkled on the tree for the first time. Toward the end of the decade, bigger, taller trees came to be the rule, and the decorations grew ever more elaborate. By then, virtually everyone proclaimed Rockefeller Center a rousing success, and the towering Christmas tree bespoke that success.

In December 1932, the sparkling Radio City Music Hall opened its doors. With seats to accommodate almost 6,000 patrons, it boasted an opulent foyer that led audiences to the auditorium. Once seated, they faced the "great stage," a huge, deep-set area that allowed both live performances and movie projection. The interior decoration of the theater displayed the talents of Donald Deskey (1894–1989), a relatively unknown designer, but one destined for success throughout the 1930s. His work at the Radio City Music Hall artfully blends Art Deco, **Streamlining**, and the mechanical precision of industrial design. It all works, and well. The Music Hall has become a beloved American institution, from its 36 high-kicking Rockettes to the latest blockbuster from Hollywood. Everyone who enters the theater for the first time oohs and aahs over the interior decoration, a triumph of modernism and entertainment.

The following year, the RCA Building itself opened. It featured high-speed elevators to whisk visitors to the top floors, and it ensured its tenants' comfort with central air conditioning, a luxury few tall buildings anywhere enjoyed at that time. On the 65th floor,

the Rainbow Room, a posh restaurant and lounge, offered superlative views, **food**, and drink, although people would have to wait until the repeal of Prohibition to enjoy anything containing alcohol. That event occurred in late 1933, and it became legal for people in New York to buy and consume **alcoholic beverages** in 1934. The Rainbow Room evinced a hopeful view of the future, and it reinforced a view of New York City as a cosmopolitan town, filled with stylish men and women.

By virtue of his interests in the arts, John D. Rockefeller Jr. saw to it that painting and sculpture held an important place in the overall design of the complex. Indoors and out, significant works of art catch the eye. Complementary murals, Man's Intellectual Mastery of the Material Universe by the Spanish artist Jose Maria Sert (1874–1945), and Man's Conquest of the Material World by the Welsh painter Frank Brangwyn (1867–1956), embellish the lobby of the RCA Building, and Rene Chambellans' (1893–1955) bronze dolphins frolic in the Channel Gardens. Ezra Winter (1886–1949) contributed the mural The Foundation of Youth for the Radio City Music Hall, while sculptor Lee Lawrie (1877–1963) created a large outdoor figure of Atlas supporting the earth which, like several other works of art at the center, aroused some controversy. A number of onlookers saw, not Atlas, but the Italian dictator Benito Mussolini (1883–1945) in the heroic rendering, while others claimed the work resembled Christ when viewed from certain angles.

An unseen mural, however, aroused the most attention. In 1932, famed Mexican painter Diego Rivera (1886–1957) received a commission from Nelson Rockefeller (1908–1979), the son of John D. Jr., to paint the commanding mural Man at the Crossroads in the main entrance to the RCA Building. Rivera, in addition to his artistic renown, enjoyed considerable notoriety for his left-wing political views, and so the commission from the nominally conservative Rockefellers elicited some surprise. Worked commenced in 1933, and everyone seemed pleased with the progress. But Rivera painted in the recognizable face of the late Russian Communist leader Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924), and to that Nelson Rockefeller objected. Each side offered compromises, but to no avail, so the Rockefellers paid off Rivera's contract and workers destroyed his mural before it ever received a public viewing. In its place, they substituted a less controversial work, Man's Conquest, by Jose Maria Sert.

On the other hand, the completion of an ice skating rink in Rockefeller Plaza, an open, public area near the center of the complex, offended no one. Originally this space, a sunken rectangle with plantings and walkways around it, was to be a grand entrance to the New York subways below. But construction on the subway spur got delayed, so the owners tried exclusive, expensive shops, but they proved too isolated, too out of the traffic flow.

A roller skating rink came next, but most people found it too noisy and rowdy. Fortunately, advances in freezing and maintaining ice for outdoor skating came along in 1936 and allowed for the installation of one of the most beloved features of the center. Open during the winter months—an equally popular outdoor café replaces it in warmer weather—the skating rink daily drew overflow crowds. Above the popular sunken rink, the gilded figure of Prometheus gazes benignly down on the people below. Created by Paul Manship (1885–1966), it remains one of the best-known, nongovernmental sculptures in the entire country.

Throughout the decade, Rockefeller Center served as a shining example of civic planning on a grand scale. One compelling reason for its popularity rests in its judicious use of open areas, easily accessible to pedestrians. In fact, the center even boasts its

own private street, Rockefeller Plaza, a space happily available to the public. In all, Rockefeller Center displays an enlightened attitude about the role of skyscrapers and the ongoing street life below them.

This huge undertaking, which resulted in the construction of temples of technology and commerce, celebrates American capitalism in all its grandeur. It promises victory over economic disaster, and people of that time agreed. Ira Gershwin (1896–1983), the lyricist brother of composer George Gershwin (1898–1937), penned words to his brother's song "They All Laughed" (1937), a song first heard in the movie musical *Shall We Dance*, starring the inimitable **Fred Astaire** (1899–1987) and **Ginger Rogers** (1911–1995). Art imitating life, it sums up the popularity of Rockefeller Center, suggesting how people laughed about the complex during its construction, and following that with a line about how they fought to get in once it opened its doors.

See also Architecture; Chrysler Building; Empire State Building; George & Ira Gershwin; Movies; Musicals; Prohibition & Repeal; Radio Networks; Restaurants; Songwriters & Lyricists

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ROCKWELL, NORMAN. No American illustrator has ever enjoyed greater popularity than Norman Rockwell (1894–1978). Born in New York City, he early in life decided on a career in art. As a teenager, he attended the Chase School of Fine and Applied Art, the National Academy of Design, and the Art Students League. In this last institution, he studied under Thomas Fogarty (1873–1938) and learned about the world of commercial art. He also familiarized himself with the work of Howard Pyle (1853–1911), one of the premier **illustrators** of the day.

By age 19, Rockwell had graduated to art director of *Boys Life* magazine, the official journal of the Boy Scouts of America. That ushered in a 64-year affiliation with the Scouts, a relationship that would result in covers, calendars, and many more illustrations for various scouting publications.

In the 1920s he solidified his emerging reputation as a reliable and imaginative free-lance illustrator. **Advertising** art for a myriad of products—Edison Mazda Lamps (a trade name for General Electric light bulbs), Fisk Tires, Interwoven Socks, Maxwell House Coffee, Willys-Overland **automobiles**, Jell-O, and a host of other companies—came from Rockwell's studio, and he probably would have been considered a successful commercial artist had he done nothing else.

In 1913 Rockwell moved to New Rochelle, New York, a suburban community that had become something of an artists' haven. Important illustrators like Howard Chandler Christy (1873–1952), John Falter (1910–1982), Joseph Christian Leyendecker (1874–1951) and his brother Frank Xavier Leyendecker (1878–1924), Clare Briggs (1875–1930), Nell Brinkley (1886–1944), and Coles Phillips (1880–1927) resided there,



Artist and illustrator Norman Rockwell (1894–1978). (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

and Rockwell learned from them all. For 27 years he would call New Rochelle home, and the themes and techniques that characterize his work during the remainder of his career he mastered in this tranquil location. Not until 1930 did he move to Arlington, Vermont (and later to Stockbridge, Massachusetts), the rural villages that appear in so many of the paintings from his mature years.

Three years after his move to New Rochelle, and emboldened by his advertising contracts, Rockwell approached George Horace Lorimer (1867–1937), the famed editor of the Saturday Evening Post. Far and away the most popular magazine of the day, it featured cover art done by leading illustrators; a Post assignment signaled the pinnacle of commercial success. Lorimer liked Rockwell's samples, and at age 22 the young artist embarked on an affiliation with the magazine that would last through 1963 and result in 322 Saturday Evening Post covers and a level of fame unequalled by any other American illustrator. Because of the magazine's high circulation, an average of 4 million people saw each cover, giving him the largest audience ever enjoyed by an artist before or since.

Rockwell did not rely only on the Saturday Evening Post once he had become

established with the publishing giant. His work also appeared in Boys' Life, Farm & Fireside, Judge, Ladies' Home Journal, Leslie's, Liberty, Literary Digest, Popular Science, and Woman's Home Companion. A superb technician and stylist, and endowed with a story-teller's imagination, most of Rockwell's pictures are essentially narrative. He knew how to stop action at just the right moment, revealing enough of an ongoing story that viewers find it easy to make sense of the composition.

In reality, Norman Rockwell learned his craft as a classical painter, working in the well-established European tradition of bourgeois story telling. But he complemented that internal talent with exceptional external skills as an artist, a combination that guaranteed success with his public. Throughout his career, he focused on the passing American scene, painting the small towns and their citizens, filling the canvas with anecdotal detail. Despite his penchant for folksy settings, Rockwell can hardly be classified a Regionalist, the school of painting so popular during the 1930s, and even less can he be called a Social Realist. His canvases depict an America that never really existed,

a nostalgic exploration of life as people would like it to be. By focusing on the ordinary and the familiar, he casts his subjects in a warm, often humorous, glow. Because of this approach, and because of his technical skills, Norman Rockwell set the standards for American illustration from the 1920s onward into the postwar years.

The Depression never appears in a Rockwell painting. With the onset of the decade, Rockwell's work for the Saturday Evening Post does shift slightly from his earlier output. He executed 67 Post covers during the 1930s, or about seven a year, and the presence of children, a staple in his earlier covers, undergoes a marked decline. Adults become his focus, perhaps in recognition that the Depression era demanded a more serious—more "adult"—response from artists. At the same time, Rockwell doubtless 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 accompanying stories or advertisements. Instead, he provided pictorial reassurances: that social and political rituals had meaning, and that the family and the individual would ultimately triumph. A little laughter and a bit of mischief, he seemed to say, would lighten everyone's spirits.

A few contemporary references nevertheless creep into some of his 1930s work. Hollywood actor Gary Cooper (1901–1961) appears on a 1930 *Post* cover, as does Jean Harlow (1911–1937), the reigning "Blonde Bombshell" of the **movies** in 1936. Two coeds swoon over a photograph of leading man Robert Taylor (1911–1969) two years later. Rockwell also displays a growing appreciation of **fashion** trends during this time. He depicts the slim—but curvaceous—look favored by stylish women, along with their popular permed hair. His men, on the other hand, remain attired in shapeless suits that could come from almost any decade, a wry comment on the lack of distinctive dress for most American males of the period.

In even the most mundane advertisements, Rockwell's carefully lettered signature always appears on his work. A simple device, it helped sustain his growing fame and popularity. And for the innumerable ads, his signature suggests an unspoken endorsement of the product. Over time, Norman Rockwell successfully blurred the line between high and low culture by focusing on popular culture. His work has long appealed to a large, diverse mass of people, and his public acceptance ensconced him as the most beloved—and possibly the most influential—American artist of all time.

See also Regionalism; Social Realism; N. C. Wyeth

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RODGERS & HART (RICHARD RODGERS & LORENZ HART). Composer Richard Rodgers (1902–1979) met lyricist Lorenz Hart (1895–1943) when both were still in their teens. Rodgers, born in New York City, had a prosperous childhood and attended Columbia University. Hart, also New York–born, likewise attended

Columbia, and friends introduced the two in 1919. Although dissimilar in personalities—Rodgers prided himself on being steady, reliable, and highly organized; Hart, on the other hand, was disorganized, erratic in his habits, and bordered on being unstable—they found complementary traits in one another and paired up as a songwriting team. By 1925 the two could claim a number of songs, most of them forgotten. But that year also saw their Garrick Gaieties, a revue that featured "Manhattan" and "Sentimental Me." The popularity of these numbers and a succession of others put the talented duo on their way to national recognition.

With a new production almost yearly, and sometimes twice a year, Rodgers and Hart ranked among the most prolific of the many **songwriters and lyricists** who found favor in the 1930s. Memorable **music** seemingly flowed from their collective imaginations, and they set new expectations for the American musical theater. Thanks to **movies, radio**, and **recordings**, many of their songs have become standards, those melodies and lyrics known by both the public and a variety of performers over a long period of time.

In 1929, Rodgers and Hart opened *Spring Is Here* on Broadway. It introduced audiences to "With a Song in My Heart." The number became associated with singer Jane Froman (1907–1980) and made her a star; she would perform it frequently, and sang it in First National's 1930 film adaptation of the play. This period also introduced such standards as "A Ship without a Sail" (from *Heads Up*, 1929) and "Ten Cents a Dance" (from *Simple Simon*, 1930). The latter song laments the life of a taxi dancer. This 1920s-era term describes a woman employed by a commercial dance hall who will dance with any man willing to pay a dime (roughly \$1.20 in contemporary money). Sung by Ruth Etting (1896–1978), the soulful tune burnished her career, and reminded critics and audiences that Rodgers and Hart could handle just about any subject and make memorable music.

As the Depression worsened, America's Sweetheart came to Broadway in early 1931. A superficial musical at best, it nonetheless contained an insouciant response to hard times with "I've Got Five Dollars" (roughly \$66 in contemporary dollars). This jaunty piece quickly became a hit with the public, a musical riposte to unemployment, breadlines, and despair.

Later in 1931, the team headed west to join a number of their compatriots in Hollywood. They remained absent from Broadway for four years, instead focusing their energies on movie scores. Their hiatus proved financially profitable, and a number of pictures bore their musical stamp. One of the first of their films released during this period carried the title *Ten Cents a Dance* (1931). Despite the promising use of *Simple Simon*'s familiar song, *Ten Cents a Dance* cannot be considered either a musical or a Rodgers and Hart creation. Instead, the movie functions as a melodrama for actress Barbara Stanwyck (1907–1990), recounting the dreary life of a taxi dancer.

Both Richard Rodgers and Lorenz Hart worked as artists for hire, as did most songwriters and lyricists, both on Broadway and in Hollywood. They provided music appropriate to the project. For example, their collaboration on the film *The Hot Heiress* (1931) forced them to create such forgettable tunes as "Nobody Loves a Riveter" and "You're the Cats." On the other hand, they wrote a sparkling score for *Love Me Tonight* (1932), a lighthearted vehicle for the popular French entertainer Maurice Chevalier (1888–1972), along with Jeanette MacDonald (1903–1965). It features "Mimi," "Isn't It Romantic?" "Lover," and the title song. An often overlooked film, *The Phantom President* (1932), indulges in some sharp political satire and probably amused people in gloomy 1932. It boasts an all-star cast consisting of George M. Cohan (1978–1942), Jimmy Durante (1893–1980), and Claudette Colbert (1903–1996). The Rodgers and Hart score, although it has no real standouts, does contain the topical "This Country Needs a Man," "Somebody Ought to Wave a Flag," and "Give Her a Kiss."

Topicality continued with *Hallelujah*, *I'm a Bum!* (1933). An unusual rhymed musical comedy, it features Al Jolson (1886–1950) and captures some of the flavor of the Depression in Ben Hecht's (1894–1964) and S. N. Behrman's (1893–1973) literate script. Unemployment and money worries drive the story, and Rodgers and Hart contributed "You Are Too Beautiful" and "I'll Do It Again," plus a good Depression number, "What Do You Want with Money?" They even have uncredited cameos in the picture.

Evergreen (1934), an original film produced and filmed in England, was also released by theaters in the United States. The somewhat unbelievable story of a young woman masquerading as her mother, the movie contains several outstanding numbers, including "Dancing on the Ceiling" (a tune dropped from Broadway's Simple Simon in 1930), "Dear, Dear," and "If I Give In to You."

Bing Crosby (1903–1977) joined with the two songwriters for a light movie musical called *Mississippi* (1935). It proved a good artistic pairing for both, although the major parties did not get along well on the set. Despite much bickering over the music, Rodgers and Hart created "Soon," a tune not to be confused with a 1930 song of the same title from the Gershwin brothers, along with "It's Easy to Remember" and "Down by the River." Crosby enjoyed a hit with "It's Easy to Remember," but because of disagreements would not record anything else by Rodgers and Hart for several years thereafter.

The pair eventually tired of the West Coast, and in 1935 they returned to New York City to score *Jumbo*, an extravaganza mounted by showman Billy Rose (1899–1966). A popular hit, *Jumbo* contained some of the greatest Rodgers and Hart melodies, including "The Most Beautiful Girl in the World," "My Romance," and "Little Girl Blue."

The success of *Jumbo* put the two at the top of their game, and they followed it with another stage hit, *On Your Toes* (1936). This musical allowed Richard Rodgers to compose a more formal, extended work that was contained within the larger play "Slaughter on Tenth Avenue." A ballet, it enlivened the show and eventually took on a musical life of its own, becoming a favorite of classical and "pops" orchestras everywhere. Hart, of course, contributed some fine lyrics for other songs in *On Your Toes*, notably "There's a Small Hotel" and "Glad to Be Unhappy."

The cinematic version of *On Your Toes* did not come out until 1939, and it barely acknowledges the memorable Broadway score. Melodic snippets of the songs remain, but they get relegated to background music instead of production numbers. Nonetheless, "There's a Small Hotel" receives its due, and Hollywood pulls out all the stops—lighting, camera angles, special effects—for Rodgers's foray into ballet, "Slaughter on Tenth Avenue." But film and play remain poles apart.

While *Jumbo* and *On Your Toes* were drawing in Broadway audiences, Rodgers and Hart continued to write scores for the movies. They contributed the music for *Dancing Pirate*, a trifle that played on the nation's screens in 1936. The lilting "When You're Dancing the Waltz" originated with this little-known picture, as did "Are You My Love?" but the film's greatest claim to fame rests with its being the first musical in which the cameras shot the dance sequences in Technicolor.

Continuing their Broadway run of one hit after another, Rodgers and Hart introduced *Babes in Arms* early in 1937, with music that included "Where or When," "I Wish I Were in Love Again," "My Funny Valentine," "Johnny One Note," "Imagine," and "The Lady Is a Tramp," certainly one of the greatest collections of American standards ever written for a single play.

MGM adapted *Babes in Arms* for film in a lavish 1939 production, but one that, like *On Your Toes*, does violence to the original score. The big studios sometimes recognized quality scoring, and with a sympathetic director and producer, everything can come together into a fine picture. Other times, however, too many hands and too many interests muddy up what might have been an outstanding film; *Babes in Arms* serves as a case in point.

Two of the hottest players in MGM's stable at the time were **Judy Garland** (1922–1969) and Mickey Rooney (b. 1920). When MGM obtained the rights to *Babes in Arms*, the studio wanted to promote this pair of popular young actors, but executives felt that much of the original score would be seen as "too adult" for Garland and Rooney, so they hired other songsmiths to create substitutions. Most of the Broadway score disappeared, leaving the title tune and "Where or When" as the survivors. With such a change in credits and music, the theatrical *Babes in Arms* and the screen adaptation become two different vehicles. Both provide audiences good musical comedy; each possesses its own merits; but any attempts to equate them can be linked with the old apples to oranges comparison.

Rodgers and Hart opened a second Broadway show in the fall of 1937, *I'd Rather Be Right*. It included "Have You Met Miss Jones?" and the humorous "We're Going to Balance the Budget," a subject of considerable concern in those post-Depression years. Another of their infrequent forays into topicality, the song exists as a trifle for the pair, but it carries perhaps their most unusual title.

Maintaining their frenetic theatrical pace, in 1938, the duo's *I Married an Angel* gave audiences the title tune plus the haunting "Spring Is Here." In a bow to the success of author Dale Carnegie's (1888–1955) best-selling 1937 book, the show also included "How to Win Friends and Influence People," hardly their best-remembered effort. Later that year Rodgers and Hart collaborated with playwright George Abbott (1887–1995) for a musical version of Shakespeare's *The Comedy of Errors* (1623). Their interpretation, *The Boys from Syracuse*, served as the pair's second offering of the year. A musical romp, the team provided the delightful "Falling in Love with Love," "This Can't Be Love," and "Sing for Your Supper."

On the movie front, 1938 saw *Fools for Scandal*, a comedy designed to feature the talents of star Carole Lombard (1908–1942). It did poorly, both critically and at the box office. The accompanying Rodgers and Hart score, about as light as the movie, includes "How Can You Forget!"

As the decade wound down, the songwriters enjoyed yet another Broadway hit, *Too Many Girls* (1939). The humorous "Give It Back to the Indians," a song about New York and its problems, both real and perceived, brightened the production, as did the tongue-twisting "Potawatomine" and "I Didn't Know What Time It Was," one of their great love songs. In a sly poke at contemporary musical arrangements that frequently buried the melody, they also contributed "I Like to Recognize the Tune."

Too Many Girls became a movie in 1940, the last film adaptation of the decade for Rodgers and Hart. Its move to the screen did little damage, and the score emerged

relatively unscathed. Film and **television** buffs might find the casting for the movie of particular interest. On the stage, Marcy Westcott (active 1930s) had the lead, but on the screen a pre–*I Love Lucy* Lucille Ball (1911–1989) takes top honors. Lucy's husband-to-be, Desi Arnaz (1917–1986), also landed roles in both productions.

Lorenz Hart died in 1943, bringing to an end a remarkable pairing. Richard Rodgers would, of course, go on to team up with Oscar Hammerstein II (1895–1960), himself a most successful lyricist from the 1920s and 1930s. The new pairing of Rodgers and Hammerstein would write theatrical history with their great hits like *Oklahoma!* (play, 1943; film, 1955), *Carousel* (play, 1945; film, 1956), *South Pacific* (play, 1949; film, 1958), and many others. But Richard Rodgers and Lorenz Hart also made history in the 1930s, contributing a body of unforgettable songs to American music.

See also Best Sellers; George & Ira Gershwin; Musicals

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ROLLER SKATING. Primitive roller skates have been traced to seventeenth-century Holland, and roller sports, or "dry land skating," have enjoyed continuous popularity since then. Never a big fad in the 1930s, and limited primarily to children, most roller skates consisted of a metal frame, straps, and four wooden or composite wheels. Clamps, adjusted with a key, locked the skates to the soles of one's shoes. Most youngsters from that period no doubt from time to time experienced a skate coming loose from a shoe.

The Roller Derby came into being with Leo Seltzer (active 1930s) in 1935. An entrepreneur who had staged such events as six-day bicycle races and dance marathons, he conceived of the derby as a mix of racing, **football**, and endurance games. Seltzer's first derby consisted of many competing two-person teams, each trying to skate the equivalent of the distance between New York City and San Francisco. Like the dance marathons of that time, participants had to stay upright and skating, accumulating miles as they raced around an oval track. Spectators cheered them on and waged bets on individual teams.

From this beginning, the sport evolved into nightly exhibitions of roughhousing as teams raced around a track, attempting to best their competitors, bumping and colliding at high speed, and generally trying to create thrills for the onlookers. Most of the time, each team had the same number of men and women skating for it, one of the few athletic contests that allowed both sexes to participate on an equal footing. Real and imagined rivalries among members of competing teams attracted public and press attention, as well as increasing paid admissions, the life blood of the sport.

It would not be until the advent of **television**, however, that the Roller Derby came into its own as a sport. Not much could be done in terms of **radio** descriptions of players



Girls roller-skating in New Orleans. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

endlessly going round and around a track, no matter how many collisions they endured, but following the end of World War II the Roller Derby's audience underwent a remarkable expansion.

See also Fads; Leisure & Recreation; Marathon Dancing

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ROOSEVELT, ELEANOR. The child of a well-established and wealthy New York family, and the niece of President Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919), Anna Eleanor Roosevelt (1884–1962) displayed a keen intelligence at an early age. Before she could even speak English, she had learned French from a nurse. After the deaths of both parents during her childhood, she lived with her grandmother and at age 15 enrolled in a boarding school in England. Naturally, everyone hoped the young Eleanor would mature into a conventional society matron. Upon completing her education, and seemingly less shy and more willing to engage in social functions, she returned to the United States, made her New York society debut in 1902, and three years later married a distant cousin, Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882–1945), later known to millions as FDR. The couple had six children, five of whom survived infancy.

As was customary for women of her time and social standing, she joined the Junior League of New York. But, unlike many in her class, she felt a deep concern about the less fortunate. Prior to her marriage, she had worked in the East Side slums as a social worker teaching literature, calisthenics, and dance to poor immigrants at a settlement house. She joined the National Consumers' League in order to investigate working conditions in the garment districts.

In 1910, Franklin won election to the New York State Senate; this victory marked the beginning of remarkable careers for both Eleanor and FDR as distinguished public figures. While living in Albany, Eleanor frequented many of the state legislative sessions and attended her first national Democratic Party convention in 1912. Thereafter, she assisted and supported FDR in all his political ambitions and races, a path that culminated in his successful election as the president of the United States, an office he would hold for an unprecedented 12 years, from 1933 until his death in 1945.



First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt (1884–1962). (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

Eleanor's interest in politics caused her to twice author a piece for the Junior League titled "Why I Am a Democrat"; the first version appeared in 1923, and the second in 1939. She continued to write about politics with "Women Must Learn to Play the Games as Men Do" for *Redbook* magazine in 1928, the year she assumed the position of director for the Bureau of Women's Activities for the National Democratic Party.

A marital crisis occurred in 1918 when Eleanor learned of an affair between Franklin and her social secretary, Lucy Mercer (1891–1948). She considered divorce, but for family, financial, and political reasons decided to remain married; her personal relationship with her husband would never be the same. Feeling alone and betrayed, Eleanor began to engage in more activities outside the home. Since Franklin served as assistant secretary of the navy (1913–1920), the Roosevelts lived in Washington during much of this time. She volunteered at St. Elizabeth Hospital as a visitor to World War I veterans; because of her ability to speak French fluently, she attended the 1919 International Congress of Working Women, a gathering of representatives from 19 nations that met in the capital, to assist with translations and conversations.

Out of an interest in improving working conditions for women, she joined the Women's Trade Union League in 1922. Through that organization, she established significant friendships with Marion Dickerman (1890–1983) and Nancy Cook (1884–1962), two colleagues who held similar interests and concerns. In 1925, the threesome, with Franklin's support and assistance, built Stone Cottage at Val-Kill, a creek that ran two miles from Springwood, the palatial Roosevelt mansion located at Hyde Park, a small community on the Hudson River north of New York City. They next erected a larger structure near Stone Cottage and founded Val-Kill Industries, a nonprofit furniture factory dedicated to providing jobs for unemployed rural workers. After nine years of operation,

Val-Kill Industries closed, and Eleanor had the building remodeled and converted into apartments for herself and guests.

The delegates to the National Democratic Convention in 1920 selected Franklin Roosevelt as the running mate for James M. Cox (1870–1957) in his bid for president. As FDR rose in the political world, newspaperman Louis Howe (1871–1936) became a valued confidante and adviser. Howe had first met the Roosevelts in 1911 and served as chief of staff for Mr. Roosevelt during his tenure as assistant secretary of the navy.

FDR's closest adviser, Howe accurately sensed that Mrs. Roosevelt could make significant contributions as a political partner, and he began to deliberately involve her in a variety of roles. The two discussed drafts of Mr. Roosevelt's speeches, and Howe instructed her in how to gain access to the press. He coached her in speech-making and public appearances and informed her of the issues surrounding the campaign, a practice he would continue in future races. The Cox-Roosevelt ticket suffered a heavy defeat at the hands of Republican Warren Harding (1865–1923), but Eleanor Roosevelt had moved forward in her goal of becoming an activist in many areas of American life. She frequently credited Howe for helping her overcome her natural shyness and reluctance to speak before gatherings.

Shortly after the couple's return to New York in 1921, Franklin contracted infantile paralysis, or polio, and the disease permanently paralyzed his legs, causing him to temporarily withdraw from the public eye and any political endeavors. At the same time, Eleanor expanded her private and public engagements and involvement in social service. She joined the League of Women Voters, chaired its Legislative Affairs Committee, and held the position of vice president for the New York branch. She also actively participated in the women's division of the New York State Democratic Committee. She met and befriended Mary McLeod Bethune (1875–1955), president of Bethune-Cookman College. Along with Marion Dickerman and Nancy Cook, she purchased Todhunter School in 1926, a private school for girls in New York City, and added teacher of history and government to her growing list of accomplishments. Through all of this work, she fought for many controversial issues of the day, such as better working conditions for both men and women, and women's rights in general.

Not only did Mrs. Roosevelt engage in activities pursuant to her own interests, she also served as her husband's eyes and ears, especially during his illness and seclusion, reporting to him the results of her investigations and observations. She remained steadfastly interested in various political efforts, especially those that touched on social conditions. As her husband's stand-in with the Democrats, she kept his name before the public and brought key party officials, public figures, and others to see him.

Mrs. Roosevelt, along with Howe, encouraged FDR to resume his political career. He won a bid for governor of New York in 1928 and repeated it in 1930. At the beginning of his second term, Governor Roosevelt took bold steps to combat the Depression and its effects on New York, actions that gained national attention. With continuing active support and assistance from Mrs. Roosevelt, he began campaigning for the presidency and easily gained the Democratic nomination in 1932. Both he and Mrs. Roosevelt crisscrossed the country on speaking tours that year, and he handily defeated the incumbent Herbert Hoover (1874–1964).

Following the election, Mrs. Roosevelt continued to travel extensively across the United States and frequently did so by flying, a means of **transportation** considered

unsafe and risky by many. She had first shown an interest in **aviation** by agreeing to fly over the capital city in 1933 with famed aviatrix **Amelia Earhart** (1897–1937). The airlines, always looking for a way to reassure the public about the safety of air **travel**, delighted in the "Flying First Lady" who often allowed herself to be photographed standing next to an airplane. She even wrote an article, "Flying Is Fun," for *Collier's* magazine in 1939.

On March 6, 1933, two days after the presidential inauguration, encouraged by her friend, journalist Lorena Hickok (1893–1968), Eleanor Roosevelt became the first president's wife to hold a press conference for women reporters only, a practice that she continued on a regular basis. Initially, these gatherings helped female journalists keep their jobs as reporters, but they also supplied pertinent information for the reporters to convey to their readers. Mrs. Roosevelt focused her press conference discussions around her activities and the immediate interests of women, not on the president's prerogatives of national and international events.

Throughout her 12 years as First Lady of the United States, Mrs. Roosevelt had much to talk about; in addition to meeting with reporters, she engaged in considerable writing and radio work. She had gained some experience in commercial radio before 1933, but ceased this activity with her husband's election. In 1934, however, she decided to resume appearing on sponsored programs in order to reach larger audiences through this growing medium, a decision that exposed her to severe criticism. She won over many of her potential critics by donating any sponsors' money to the American Friends Service Committee, a group that in turn disbursed it to relief efforts recommended by Mrs. Roosevelt. People, especially women, attached importance to her views and her shows enjoyed a wide listenership. Station WNBC dubbed her the "First Lady of Radio" in 1939, and she continued broadcasting beyond the decade.

Before moving to the White House, Mrs. Roosevelt had written a variety of articles for magazines. She contributed "What Are the Movies Doing to Us?" in 1932 to Modern Screen, and that same year also saw the publication of her first book, When You Grow Up to Vote. She followed that with It's Up to the Women (1933), a compilation of her articles and speeches that focused on the important role of women in successfully seeing the country through the crisis of the Depression. In this book, Mrs. Roosevelt urged women to be economically wise with household budgets and preparing meals. She offered advice on child rearing, getting along with one's husband and children, and appealed to women to take leadership in issues involving social justice, encouraging them to join and support trade unions, and to enter politics.

When a contract she had with *Woman's Home Companion* ended in 1935, United Features Syndicate immediately offered her a daily 400- to 500-word newspaper column. It appeared in the form of a diary called "My Day." In the first of these, published on December 31, 1935, Mrs. Roosevelt described the White House quarters and activities during the Christmas holidays. The column soon appeared in 62 **newspapers** with a total circulation of a little over 4 million readers. Until shortly before her death in 1962, six days a week she faithfully submitted pieces dealing with current and historical events, social and political issues, and her private and public life. She also continued to write books; in 1937 came *This Is My Story*, and in 1938 both My Days and *This Troubled World*.

Upon assuming her responsibilities as First Lady, Eleanor Roosevelt reluctantly resigned her teaching position at Todhunter, but soon found herself on a nationwide

lecture circuit, a form of teaching, to explain the **New Deal**. By the end of 1935, she experienced such demand that she signed a contract with the W. Colston Leigh booking agency to do two lecture tours, each two weeks long. Her first audience, almost 2,000 people in Grand Rapids, Michigan, gave her rave reviews and in 1937 she agreed to lengthen her contract to three-week tours. A Leigh brochure advertised five potential speech topics: relationship of the individual to the community; problems of **youth**; the mail of a president's wife; peace; and a typical day at the White House.

With her writings, radio shows, speeches, organizational memberships, and humanitarian efforts during the 1930s, Eleanor Roosevelt was an untiring advocate for improved conditions and opportunities for blacks, youth, the poor, the unemployed, and women. She worked closely with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National Council of Negro Women. At her urging, President Roosevelt gave a few blacks positions in cabinet-level departments, meeting regularly with them in an informal group known as the "Black Cabinet." She pleaded, unsuccessfully, for the passage of an antilynching bill in 1938.

Perhaps her greatest acts in behalf of the racially discriminated came from two deeply felt personal decisions she made. First, when she attended the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1938, she refused to obey a segregation ordinance that required her to sit in the white section of the auditorium, away from her black friends. Just one year later she dropped her membership in the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) because they would not allow Marian Anderson (1897–1993), a world renowned black contralto, to sing at Constitution Hall.

In 1934, she wrote "Youth Facing the Future" for Woman's Home Companion. In this article, she worried about the nation's youth as they experienced difficulties in completing a formal education, obtaining occupational training, and securing jobs with adequate compensation. She lobbied hard with her husband and members of his cabinet for the formation of the National Youth Administration (NYA; 1935–1943), a federal program to aid rural and urban young men and women in the areas of education and job training. She also worked closely with the American Youth Congress (AYC), an organization of young people that advocated civil rights, housing, and jobs. In 1939, however, she parted ways with this group when they supported the Nazi-Soviet nonaggression pact.

In addition to speaking out for the unemployed and disadvantaged, Mrs. Roosevelt in 1935 helped create federal agencies that supported the arts, music, theater, and writing. These New Deal projects served jobless artists, musicians, actors, and authors. In addition, she spent time visiting coal mines, slum areas, and relief projects. The construction of Arthurdale, West Virginia, in 1933, a planned New Deal resettlement town, serves as an example of her direct involvement with relief. Mrs. Roosevelt had learned of a plan in West Virginia to move impoverished laborers to newly constructed rural communities. She visited the area and brought it to the attention of FDR; he decided to federalize the project by placing it under the direction of the Department of the Interior. Advocacy such as this for the poor brought her thousands of letters seeking help, a number of which came from children. She answered many of them and always sought ways to offer help, sometimes out of her own pocket.

As First Lady, Mrs. Roosevelt also performed all the traditional duties expected of someone in that role. She oversaw the running of the White House, received special guests visiting the United States, and served as hostess for official receptions and

dinners. She also made sure that the family living quarters were comfortably, but modestly, furnished, and she always welcomed visits from her children and many grandchildren.

Eleanor Roosevelt changed the role of the First Lady of the United States, but she should not merely be remembered in this way or simply as the wife of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Her work as a civil rights activist, humanitarian, social reformer, author, teacher, and lecturer established her as a public figure in her own right and as one of the most important women of the twentieth century.

See also Federal Art Project; Federal Music Project; Federal Theatre Project; Federal Writers' Project; Political Parties; Race Relations & Stereotyping; Radio Networks; Shirley Temple

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ROOSEVELT, FRANKLIN DELANO. The 32nd president of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945), frequently referred to as FDR, guided the country through the Great Depression, one of its worst domestic crises. In the midst of a debilitating economic collapse, he offered its citizens a **New Deal**, assuring them that they had "nothing to fear but fear itself." His presidency, unparalleled in length and scope, carried into a fourth term and spanned 12 years (1933–1945), making him the only chief executive to serve more than two terms.

Born into a prestigious family of considerable wealth in the Hudson River community of Hyde Park, New York, Franklin was the only child of the elderly James Roosevelt (1828–1900) and domineering Sara Ann Delano Roosevelt (1854–1941). Under his mother's tutelage, he learned to ride, shoot, row, and play **polo** and lawn **tennis** as a young boy, while also gaining an appreciation for public service and active involvement in philanthropic pursuits.

Frequent trips to Europe made him conversant in German and French; at home he received much of his early **education** from private tutors. At age 14 he enrolled at Groton, an elite private preparatory school in Massachusetts. Regarded by his teachers and peers as an amiable young man with an engaging personality, he did not distinguish himself in academics, athletics, or student government. After graduating from Groton, he entered Harvard University and received a BA degree in history in three years (1900–1903).

In 1903, Franklin met Anna Eleanor Roosevelt (1884–1962), a distant cousin and niece of President Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919; president from 1901–1909). They married two years later, despite strong objections from Franklin's mother, and had six children, with five surviving infancy. He entered New York's Columbia University to study law and passed the bar examination in 1907 without taking a degree; he immediately began to practice with Carter, Ledyard, and Milburn, a respected and well-established New York City firm.

After three years, Franklin found he had little interest in law. Emulating his cousin Theodore Roosevelt, whom he admired, he entered public service through politics. He



Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945), the 32nd president of the United States. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

ran successfully as a Democrat for the New York State Senate in 1910, and served two terms. A supporter of the presidential candidacy of Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924) in 1912, Roosevelt accepted an appointment as assistant secretary of the navy after Wilson's victory. He held the office from 1913 to 1920. During World War I, he oversaw defense contracts and navy shipyards and bases in New York, which gained him significant state political influence. Louis Howe (1871–1936), a man who would become his trusted friend and confidante, served as his chief of staff.

As assistant secretary of the navy, FDR proved to be an energetic, efficient administrator. His popularity and success in naval affairs brought about his 1920 nomination for vice president on the Democratic ticket beside James M. Cox (1870–1957) of Ohio, the presidential candidate. This experience allowed him to meet Democratic politicians throughout the country, although the Cox-Roosevelt ticket suffered defeat at the polls. Following the election, Franklin and Eleanor returned to private life and maintained a home in New York City as well as spending time at Springwood, Sara Roosevelt's palatial estate at Hyde Park.

In the summer of 1921, while vacationing at the family's summer retreat at Campobello Island, located off the coast of New Brunswick, Canada, Roosevelt contracted infantile paralysis, or polio. He withdrew from politics and public life and in 1924 traveled to Warm Springs, Georgia, in hopes of achieving rehabilitation by swimming in the curative waters. In his determination to get better, which he believed essential to holding public office again, he had heavy iron braces fitted for his hips and legs and taught himself to walk short distances. In private, he utilized a wheelchair, but carefully avoided being seen using the device in public.

Despite his courageous efforts to overcome the crippling disease, Roosevelt never regained the complete use of his legs. He did, however, derive some benefit from the waters at Warm Springs and in 1926 bought an aging spa there and continued to spend considerable time in Georgia. In later years, a cottage that he had built at the springs became known as "the Little White House," where he died in 1945.

During the worst of Roosevelt's illness, Eleanor and Louis Howe strove to preserve his political reputation and encouraged him to again pursue elected positions. They apprised him of social and political conditions both in New York and the country, brought important politicians and other public figures to visit him, and generally kept his name before the public.

Howe, who had become enthralled with the anti–Tammany Hall stands taken by Franklin as a New York senator, headed FDR's state reelection campaign in 1912. Henceforth he assisted Franklin with statements on public issues, wrote magazine articles under FDR's byline, and coordinated his appearance at the 1924 Democratic convention. At this event, Roosevelt dramatically appeared on crutches to nominate fellow New Yorker Alfred E. Smith (1873–1944) as the presidential candidate against

Republican Calvin Coolidge (1871–1933). Although Smith lost, Roosevelt nominated him again in 1928. Smith failed in his second bid, this time at the hands of **Herbert Hoover** (1874–1964). Despite the party's losses, Roosevelt had positioned himself as a rising star of the Democratic Party.

Clearly embarked on a return to the political world, Roosevelt's comeback officially occurred in 1928 when he won the election for governor of New York. Following the stock market crash of 1929, FDR spoke directly to the state's citizens through radio broadcasts. He advocated a number of innovative relief and economic recovery initiatives that included low-cost hydroelectric power for rural areas, farm-to-market paved roads, unemployment insurance, and property tax relief for farmers. The New York legislature, controlled by Republicans, either defeated or diluted most of his requests, but Roosevelt had appealed to voters as a liberal reformer and easily won reelection in 1930. His victory in hand, he began to campaign for the presidency. The Depression worsened over the next two years and Roosevelt's bold efforts to combat it in New York enhanced his national reputation. A successful governor with a recognizable name, FDR won the Democratic nomination to run against Herbert Hoover in the 1932 election.

The Roosevelts campaigned energetically throughout the nation. Assisted by the trusted Louis Howe and with friends like party leaders James Farley (1888–1976) and Edward Flynn (1891–1953), FDR won by a landslide with 57 percent of the popular vote and 472 of the 531 electoral college votes. His party also secured large majorities in both houses of Congress, putting the Democrats in charge of the executive and legislative branches of the federal government for the first time in almost 20 years.

Buoyed by his sweeping victory, the new president immediately appointed an administrative staff of people with a wide range of expertise and backgrounds including Farley, a fellow stamp collector, as postmaster general. The highly qualified Frances Perkins (1882–1962) became secretary of labor, the first woman in American history to hold a cabinet post. Other appointees included Henry Morgenthau Jr. (1891–1967), as secretary of the treasury, 1934–1945, and Harry Hopkins (1890–1946). The latter served in a variety of positions, including director, Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), from 1933 until 1934; director, Works Progress Administration (WPA), 1935–1938; secretary of commerce, 1938–1940; and FDR's personal assistant and adviser, 1940–1945. Roosevelt selected a progressive Republican, Harold L. Ickes (1874–1952), as secretary of interior, 1933–1946, and head of the Public Works Administration (PWA), 1933–1938. He also chose Henry Wallace (1888–1965) as secretary of agriculture, 1933–1939. Wallace, a maverick Republican who supported much of the New Deal, in time switched his membership to the Democratic Party. He shared the ticket with Roosevelt as the party's candidate for vice president in the 1940 election.

Prior to FDR's March 4, 1933, inauguration, conditions in the country had deteriorated even more. Factory closings, farm foreclosures, and bank failures increased while unemployment soared. From the vantage point of the campaign trail and concerns brought directly to him by his wife, President-elect Roosevelt grew to better understand the desperation that had crept into public life and relentlessly spoke of the need for action. He frequently said, "Do something. And when you have done that something, if it works, do it some more. And if it does not work, then do something else."

Once in office as president, Roosevelt proceeded to vigorously address the most urgent piece of business, the ongoing banking crisis. Following the 1929 stock market crash,

many bank depositors across the country rushed to their banks to withdraw their savings. As a result, between 1930 and 1933, more than 9,000 banks closed their doors because they did not have enough cash on hand to meet this unexpected demand. When banks failed, depositors lost their holdings, and people with money at other banks panicked and, in turn, demanded their cash, creating a vicious cycle.

Roosevelt and his administrative staff proposed, and Congress in a special session in March 1933 immediately passed, the Emergency Banking Relief Act. This legislation called for a four-day shutdown of U.S. banks, referred to as a bank holiday, and gave the executive branch of the government power to reopen banks once they had been examined and declared sound. By April 1, 1933, the situation had stabilized and most of the nation's banks had returned to normal operations. Because of the new backing of the federal government, the people's faith in the banking industry had been restored.

On March 12, 1933, the day before the banks could reopen, FDR initiated on **radio** a remarkable series of evening broadcasts that came to be called "Fireside Chats." Tens of millions of Americans listened at 10:00 P.M. to that first presentation, during which the president took as his topic "On the Bank Crisis." He attempted through this and future chats to give American citizens a sense of hope and security during the difficult times.

Originating directly from the White House, each chat began with a reassuring "My dear friends." Roosevelt chose his words carefully, using a simple vocabulary but never patronizing his audience. He built a sense of intimacy between his listeners and himself. The Fireside Chats built positive public relations for the administration despite the hardships created by the Depression. Critics charged him with unfairly utilizing the airwaves for political purposes, but all reports suggest that the chats had a calming effect and FDR employed the powerful medium of radio throughout his administration.

Between 1933 and 1944, Roosevelt conducted a total of 30 Fireside Chats, with 14 of them occurring during the 1930s. The first chats dealt primarily with economic issues and how New Deal programs would address them. In 1934, he spoke in June and September, first on the subject "review of the achievements of the 73rd Congress," and next "on moving forward to greater freedom and greater security." In September 1936, the topic of the only program for that year bore the title "On Drought Conditions," a reference to the Dust Bowl. The last Fireside Chat for the decade aired on September 3, 1939, immediately following the German invasion of Poland. In it he discussed "the European war." According to estimates, the Fireside Chats drew audiences larger than the top-rated network shows.

Roosevelt also connected with the American public in other "everyday life" ways. For example, he openly pursued his hobby of **stamp collecting** throughout his presidency. An ardent collector since the age of eight, he personally approved the aesthetic composition of every stamp issued by the U.S. Post Office during his terms of office and even had a hand in designing a number of commemorative issues. He willingly posed for endless photographs showing him with his dapper cigarette holder tilted up at a jaunty angle. He reveled in the media attention paid a president, always comfortable in front of a camera or a microphone. He could also be seen in theater newsreels, magazine spreads, and almost daily in the **newspapers**. Franklin D. Roosevelt clearly understood mass media better than any of his predecessors, and he emerged as a popular culture celebrity.

But this notoriety never interfered with his work, and the grueling pace he established during his first hundred days continued unabated throughout his presidency. During

those first days and weeks, President Roosevelt and his cabinet formulated, and Congress enacted, sweeping measures to address the economic crisis, to bring relief to the unemployed, and to hasten recovery in business and agriculture. The delivery system designed by the government to carry out these laws consisted of new federal programs, many with long names. These New Deal efforts became known as "alphabet agencies"—CWA, FDIC, FHA, NYA, TVA, and so on.

For example, FERA (the Federal Emergency Relief Administration) operated from 1933 to 1935 and sent \$3 billion (roughly \$45 billion in contemporary money) to local relief agencies and to fund depleted public work programs, while the **Civilian Conservation Corps** (CCC; 1933–1942) employed young unmarried men to work on tasks that would improve public land and conserve natural resources. This program served as one of the most successful of the New Deal efforts. The PWA (Public Works Administration, 1933–1939) created new infrastructure and community maintenance project jobs. Other agencies assisted business and labor, insured bank deposits, regulated the stock market, and subsidized home and farm mortgage payments.

Two organizations, the NRA (National Recovery Administration, 1933–1935) and the AAA (Agricultural Adjustment Administration, 1933–1945), represented the essence of Roosevelt's New Deal by enforcing controls on prices, wages, trading practices, and production, much to the chagrin of traditionalists more accustomed to a self-regulating economy. The NRA, organized under the terms of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), worked to stimulate competition and benefit producers by implementing various codes for establishing fair trade, while the AAA provided loans to farmers and subsidies for crop reduction.

Despite the ceaseless activity and remarkable successes during Roosevelt's first years as president, the Depression persisted; jobless workers, along with bankrupt farmers, conservative Republicans, and even some disaffected Democrats, openly expressed strong criticism about the lack of progress and the liberal and far-reaching effects of much of this new legislation. Some voiced concerns about the inequities of relief since white males generally received better benefits than women, blacks, or Mexicans. Politicians, radio personalities, and others spoke of their belief that Roosevelt had given in to big business.

As if the Depression did not create enough problems for the American people and the Roosevelt administration, Mother Nature also conspired against them. In 1930, the rains had stopped falling on the already parched southern Plains, primarily Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, and Colorado. Four years later, the dry ground had the consistency of a fine powder, or dust; winds created waves of airborne topsoil known as "black blizzards." Roosevelt issued an executive order in 1934 to establish the Shelterbelt Project, which called for large-scale planting of trees across the Great Plains, the so-called Dust Bowl, to protect the land from erosion. Not until 1937 did the project get under way, and disputes over funding sources limited its success, causing FDR to transfer the program to the Works Progress Administration (WPA, 1935–1943; name changed to Work Projects Administration in 1939).

The New Deal measures that directly involved the government in areas of social and economic life also resulted in greatly increased spending and unbalanced budgets, actions that led to fierce criticism of Roosevelt's tactics. The president and his supporters suffered a heavy blow in 1935 and again in 1936 when the conservative Supreme Court found the legislation behind the NRA and AAA to be unconstitutional.

Undaunted, Congress passed another flurry of liberal legislation, referred to as the Second New Deal. More far-reaching than the original New Deal, these measures immediately met opposition. The Wagner Act of 1935 allowed labor unions to organize and bargain collectively. The Social Security Act, passed that same year, provided unemployment compensation and guaranteed pensions to those retiring at age 65. The Works Progress Administration, the most momentous program because it affected so many people's lives, provided work that addressed both the country's infrastructure and cultural activities.

Following the lead of people like Governor Floyd B. Olson (1891–1936) of Minnesota, a handful of citizens declared themselves socialists and tried to build a third party that advocated collective ownership as the best means of production and distribution. During this difficult time, membership in the Communist Party of the United States hit a high in 1935. But these were splinter groups; the nation at large supported Roosevelt and he easily defeated Republican Alfred M. Landon (1887–1987) in 1936, gaining 61 percent of the popular vote and carrying all but two states in the electoral college. The Democrats also continued their dominance in Congress.

With a second overwhelming victory under his belt, Roosevelt took on the critics of the New Deal. The Supreme Court had already declared some of the hundred-day legislation to be unconstitutional and lawsuits challenging many of the major legislative acts of 1935 had been filed. In February 1937, FDR asked Congress for a statute that would allow the president to appoint one additional justice to the Supreme Court, up to a total of six new appointments, for every sitting justice who declined to retire at age seventy. Additionally, he requested authority to name new judges to the federal judiciary.

Critics immediately objected; they insisted that this power would allow him to "pack" the courts and undermine the Constitutional separation of the three branches of government. In response, and in a major setback, Congress defeated his proposal. But in an unexpected turn of events, the "nine old men," as some called them, began to rule more favorably on New Deal legislation, upholding both the Wagner Act and the Social Security Act. Despite his judicial victories, Roosevelt revealed himself to be an unforgiving president. During the 1938 races for Congress, he campaigned against many of those Democrats who had voted against his plans. These heavy-handed attempts at reprisal backfired; most of his opponents won anyway.

On the economic side, and upholding an old campaign promise to balance the budget, Roosevelt introduced some spending cuts in 1936, steps that partially contributed to the 1937–1938 recession. Republicans immediately used what they called "Roosevelt's recession" as proof of the failure of the New Deal. They successfully gained new seats in both the House and the Senate in the 1938 elections, although the Democrats maintained strong majorities in both. After that, however, Congress could no longer pass major New Deal legislation without a fight, and these reversals represented a low point in FDR's career. Although monumental problems remained, the New Deal and Roosevelt's presidency had succeeded in reducing unemployment, poverty, and homelessness. Legal rights for labor unions, a broader distribution of incomes, and a safety net for the poor, unemployed, and elderly now existed.

The 1939 outbreak of war in Europe caused Roosevelt to shift his attention from domestic to foreign affairs. The Neutrality Act of 1937 forbade American commercial dealings with any nations at war. FDR called a special session of Congress in 1939, and

at his urging they revised the Neutrality Act to allow arms sales to warring nations so long as they paid in cash and used their own ships for transportation. Roosevelt worked on ways to make foreign aid readily available to Britain, France, and China, the nation's probable allies should the United States get actively involved in the conflict. He also took steps to increase the size of the country's armed forces. President Roosevelt easily defeated Republican Wendall Willkie (1892–1944) in the 1940 presidential election, receiving 27 million popular votes to Willkie's 22 million and 449 out of 531 electoral college votes. After the fall of France in 1940, Congress enacted a conscription program, or draft, for military service. Roosevelt signed a lend-lease bill in March 1941 to enable the nation to furnish aid to those nations at war against Germany and Italy.

New Deal legislation and the various accompanying agencies did much to reshape the United States, while FDR's personal leadership gave Americans hope and confidence. But in the end it took American mobilization for war in the early 1940s to truly bring the country out of its economic problems. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the champion of the common man, and more central to the life of the country than any previous president, conveyed an infectious self-confidence and steered the country through the darkest and worst days of the Great Depression. He changed the relationship between the federal government and its citizens and also launched the Democratic Party into a position of prolonged political dominance.

See also Federal Art Project; Federal Music Project; Federal Theatre Project; Federal Writers' Project; The Grapes of Wrath; Woody Guthrie; Hobbies; Magazines; Photography; Political Parties; Radio Networks; Songwriters & Lyricists; Television; Travel

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SATURDAY EVENING POST. Several of the most popular American **magazines** of the 1930s will always be associated with individuals who put their lasting imprints on them: DeWitt and Lila Wallace (1889–1981; 1889–1984), **Reader's Digest**; Henry R. Luce (1898–1967), **Life and Fortune**; Bernarr Macfadden (1868–1955), *Liberty*; and last—but hardly least—George Horace Lorimer (1867–1937), the *Saturday Evening Post*.

The history of the Saturday Evening Post goes back almost to the beginnings of American magazine publishing. Founded in 1828, this weekly miscellany had fallen on hard times—few subscribers and nonexistent profits—toward the end of the nineteenth century. A nondescript collection of poor fiction and poetry, along with a few mediocre articles, its future looked dim. In 1897, however, Cyrus H. K. Curtis (1850–1933), owner of the Curtis Publishing Company, a growing firm that included the profitable Ladies' Home Journal among its properties, bought the struggling Post. A year after his purchase, Curtis, in a stroke of marketing cleverness, declared on the Post's masthead that it descended directly from the 1728 Pennsylvania Gazette, a journal published by none other than Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790). True or not, this distinguished lineage served as the opening of a lengthy and expensive advertising campaign that Curtis orchestrated, coupled with a complete physical makeover of the magazine.

In the midst of all this change, Curtis hired G. H. Lorimer in 1898 as a low-ranking literary editor. A native of Louisville, Kentucky, Lorimer had scattered journalistic experience but few accomplishments, and so he promptly accepted the offer and moved to Philadelphia. A year later, Curtis, mildly impressed with Lorimer's work, promoted him to temporary editor of the magazine, thinking he would find another person to fill the position permanently. But Lorimer in the meantime blossomed as editor in chief, and the "temporary" promotion soon became permanent, enduring until 1936; during those 37 years, Lorimer shaped the *Saturday Evening Post* into a publication that mirrored his beliefs and evolved into the most popular magazine in the country. Following Lorimer's retirement in 1936, veteran journalist Wesley W. Stout (1889–1971) took the helm, doing little to change the successful format established by his illustrious predecessor. The difficult times that would eventually bedevil the high-flying publication did not come until years later.

A meticulous editor, Lorimer allowed nothing to appear on the pages of the *Post* that he himself had not seen and approved. This attention to detail paid off handsomely as

circulation for the revised Saturday Evening Post rose steadily. Readership soared from 2,000 subscribers when Curtis bought the magazine in 1897 to almost 200,000 at the opening of the twentieth century, a testament to Lorimer's astute leadership. Consistently higher figures would continue to be the rule. By 1920, circulation stood at 2 million copies a week; 10 short years later it stood at almost 3 million. That figure would drop during the early years of the Depression, with 1933 being the low point at 2.7 million, but would rebound later in the decade. It did not earn the title "the national weekly" for no reason.

Depression or not, the *Saturday Evening Post* remained the undisputed leader in the field of mass magazines. Everyone knew about the *Post*. With each big, glossy issue, this large-format weekly offered a sure-fire mix of fact and fiction, lots of photographs and illustrations, many features, and pages and pages of advertising—the lifeblood of any periodical. As a rule, ads occupied more than half of each issue; even during the period 1930 to 1939, the magazine averaged a remarkable 100 or so advertisements an issue.

One of the most popular features found in a typical issue involved the front cover. The country's best **illustrators** eagerly sought to execute them, and **Norman Rockwell** (1894–1978) emerged as the public's favorite. He painted his first *Post* cover in 1916, and proceeded to do 321 more in an association that would last until 1963 and earn him a following unequalled by any American illustrator before or since.

During the 1930s, and at the peak of his long career, Rockwell painted 67 *Post* covers, or about seven a year, a remarkable output. Children, families, pets, humorous situations—these subjects made up the focus of his work, and their warmth and familiarity reassured millions during the Depression. A Rockwell painting, executed in a realistic, traditional narrative style, could be understood by all who saw it, and he reinforced the American virtues of hard work and fair play, spiced with just the slightest bit of harmless mischief. Numerous other illustrators joined the *Post's* ranks, especially Joseph Christian Leyendecker (1874–1951), who ran a close second to Rockwell in popularity. These artists also achieved some fame as cover artists, but nothing to equal that attained by Rockwell.

In addition to top-rank illustrators, the *Post* also carried the work of the finest writers in the land. Names like William Faulkner (1897–1962), F. Scott Fitzgerald (1896–1940), Bret Harte (1836–1902), Ring Lardner (1885–1933), Jack London (1876–1916), Don Marquis (1878–1937), Mary Roberts Rinehart (1876–1957), Kenneth Roberts (1885–1957), Booth Tarkington (1869–1946), and P. G. Wodehouse (1881–1975) graced its pages. In the 1930s the magazine recognized the ongoing popularity of mysteries and published stories by Agatha Christie (1890–1976), J. P. Marquand (1893–1960), and Rex Stout (1886–1975). In the broad area of fiction, the *Saturday Evening Post* reigned as the leader in the field, running over 200 short stories a year. Unlike today, most large-circulation magazines ran stories and novelettes, with the industry as a whole publishing some 1,000 fictional pieces annually. The *Saturday Evening Post*, however, ran more stories than anyone else.

Politicians, statesmen, scientists, athletes, entertainment figures, and successful businessmen in particular lined up to contribute their ideas in nonfiction. Their messages revolved around the ideas of hard work and common sense, especially the Depression-era essayists. People should not look to government for a dole (or "relief," as most termed it), but should look to their own strengths to see them through any difficulties. Lorimer and his staffers editorialized endlessly that Americans possessed the necessary grit, the



Boys earned money by selling subscriptions to the Saturday Evening Post, the most popular magazine in the country. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

self-reliance, needed to overcome this economic downturn. Perhaps the most significant acknowledgment of the crisis took place in the early 1930s when the *Post* ran articles giving advice to jobseekers.

Lorimer proved himself a genius when it came to discerning American tastes, and he delivered his interpretations into millions of homes, making believers of countless readers. Many of the offspring of those readers, virtually all boys, had earned a few dollars as *Post* carriers. With canvas sacks over their shoulders, they became a familiar sight as they sought to sell the magazine on the streets, deliver it to homes, and convince people to subscribe. A practice that had commenced in 1899, the small extra income the carriers earned, a penny or so an issue (or roughly 15 cents an issue in contemporary money), proved important during the Depression years. Weekly ads in the back pages of the magazine promised boys additional cash prizes for increasing sales and subscriptions, and the incentives worked. The carriers may not have realized it, but the *Post* and Lorimer were presenting them with the American dream of success, that good salesmanship and pluck would bring them well-deserved rewards.

When President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) and his New Deal swept into power in 1933, Lorimer made no secret of his opposition to their liberal policies in one editorial after another, but his stance obviously had little impact on subscribers. In an apparent contradiction, *Post* readers purchased the conservative, probusiness magazine and simultaneously voted for Roosevelt and his New Deal. The nostalgic picture painted by the magazine of an America that possibly never was perhaps provided a kind of stability and familiarity lacking in day-to-day life; at the same time, readers' electoral

choices reflected a desire for security that demanded embracing change in the form of a new administration and leadership. For his part, Lorimer continued to inveigh against anything connected with the New Deal, making it his editorial mission until his 1936 retirement.

Politics aside, advertisers eyed the *Post*'s subscription numbers happily; anything in the low millions meant a true mass audience. The magazine enjoyed national distribution and so served as a marketplace for products available everywhere. It took a pioneering role in standardizing consumer wants, and much of the ad copy reflects this unification of the buying public. City dweller, suburbanite, or farmer, they all had wants and needs. An ad in the *Post* suggested that everyone desired the product or service. Even in the depths of the Depression, advertisers boldly displayed nationally known products on the pages of the *Saturday Evening Post*, a tacit rejection of any economic collapse.

Throughout the first four decades of the twentieth century, the Saturday Evening Post stood as the unchallenged carrier of American values. From the perspective of the Post, the 1929 stock market debacle did little to dim this view, and George Horace Lorimer and his associates worked tirelessly to continue providing readers an endless, uplifting variety of historical romances, sports yarns, Westerns, and urban tales with businessman heroes, along with nonfiction success stories. That combination, along with the legions of youthful carriers, would have made Horatio Alger (1832–1899) proud.

See also Best Sellers; Photography; Youth

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SCIENCE FICTION (MAGAZINES & BOOKS, COMIC STRIPS, MOVIES, & RADIO). Throughout the twentieth century, science fiction has teetered on the fringes of American popular culture, and the 1930s proved no exception, although a few flurries of interest did develop, especially in the realm of **pulp magazines**, **comic strips**, and movie **serials**. In 1911, inventor, author, and publisher Hugo Gernsback (1884–1967) had penned *Ralph 124C 41+*, a pioneering novel that helped usher in modern science fiction writing. That event, coupled with a rash of cheap fantasy **magazines** during the 1920s, laid the groundwork for much that would happen in the genre, at least for the first half of the century.

Gernsback not only led the way for longer works but also founded the first American magazine dedicated wholly to science fiction in 1926 with Amazing Stories. He closely monitored what other writers were doing in the nascent field, and he correctly sensed that some readers would enjoy a publication that focused more on science and less on fantasy, the direction most authors seemed to be taking at the time. A few years earlier, Weird Tales had made its debut, an anthology of fantasy fiction that emphasized BEMs

(bug-eyed monsters) on its garish covers, along with other repellent creatures. They could usually be seen threatening a helpless woman while her male comrade struggles to overcome these otherworldly adversaries. Fiction, but hardly science, Weird Tales made a niche for itself in the then-growing pulp magazine market.

At first, Amazing Stories contained its share of fantasy, running reprints of material by the likes of Edgar Allan Poe (1809–1849), Jules Verne (1828–1905), and H. G. Wells (1866–1946). The magazine nonetheless attracted a sizable audience and soon branched out into publishing stories by more contemporary writers. As sales climbed, Gernsback followed Amazing Stories with Wonder Stories in 1930. Other publishers recognized a trend in the making, and soon a host of rival publications, all with sensational covers featuring distant planets and galaxies, along with rockets and ray guns, competed for newsstand space.

By the mid-1930s, the height of their popularity, periodicals bearing such similar titles as Astounding Stories, Dynamic Science Stories, Marvel Tales, Planet Stories, Science Wonder Stories, Startling Stories, Super Science Stories, and Thrilling Wonder Stories collectively sold more than 1.5 million issues a year. These futuristic compilations effectively recorded the aspirations of the present, both visually and in their texts, and the future became but an extension of the present. Many of the writers who would later make names for themselves in the field during the 1940s and 1950s, the so-called golden years of science fiction, first saw publication in these pulp magazines.

For the Depression decade, the pulps featuring science fiction outsold anything in more traditional bindings, including like-minded books. With the advent of the inexpensive paperback at the end of the decade, many types of literature, such as Westerns, aviation tales, war stories, mysteries, exotic adventures, and fantasy found an inexpensive format that made them accessible to most readers. Most science fiction novels appeared primarily in paper, often serialized in magazines. Although this format might please fans, it relegated such writing more to newsstands than to traditional bookshops and libraries, reinforcing some people's view that science fiction somehow lacks literary quality.

Despite its perceived absence of credentials, several outstanding novels saw publication during the 1930s: John W. Campbell's (1910–1971) *Black Star Passes* came out in 1930, and *The Mightiest Machine* appeared in 1935. The veteran H. G. Wells published *The Shape of Things to Come* in 1933, later to become a distinguished 1936 film. Perhaps not science fiction in the truest sense, but a classic in its own right, *Brave New World*, by Aldous Huxley (1894–1963), shocked readers in 1932 with its descriptions of human engineering. Jack Williamson (b. 1908), the "dean of science fiction," wrote *After World's End* in 1939, and Philip Wylie (1902–1971) created *Gladiator* in 1930, which usually receives credit for the genesis of *Superman* later in the decade.

Science fiction moved to newspaper comic pages in 1929 with the premiere of *Buck Rogers in the 25th Century*. Written by Phil Nowlan (1888–1940) and drawn by Dick Calkins (1895–1962), the strip gave readers something new and different, and quickly developed a devoted following. Based on a serialized 1928 story by Nowlan called *Armageddon 2419 AD*, it first ran in *Amazing Stories* and featured a young man named Anthony "Buck" Rogers. The model for many subsequent space heroes, Rogers comes out of a 500-year state of suspended animation after a mysterious gas rendered him unconscious in 1919. Nowlan's tale quickly transferred to the comics, went to **radio** in 1932, and appeared as a movie serial in 1939. Looking back at *Buck Rogers*, the images

of space adventure come across as crude and dated, and the dialogue ranks as among the most wooden of any series, even by the standards of the early 1930s.

Although *Buck Rogers* may have had some shortcomings as comic art, its success inspired others to try their luck with science fiction strips. *Brick Bradford* premiered in 1933; William Ritt (1902–1972) penned the stories, Clarence Gray (1902–1957) drew the accompanying frames. After a slow start, *Brick Bradford* established itself as a more scientifically knowledgeable counterpart to the fantastic adventures enjoyed by Buck Rogers. Never a blockbuster strip, it nevertheless carved out a comfortable niche for itself on the crowded comic pages of the 1930s. Eventually adapted to **comic books**, **Big Little Books**, and a 1947 movie serial, *Brick Bradford* stayed in circulation until 1987, long after Ritt and Gray had left it.

In 1934, Alex Raymond's (1909–1956) stylish *Flash Gordon*, recognized as one of the greatest of all science fiction strips, made its newspaper debut. Raymond brought an artistic sensibility to his creation that sets it apart from any rivals. He exhibited particular drafting skills when it came to depicting *Streamlining* for mechanical devices. This made *Flash Gordon* a reflector of the style's popularity in the later 1930s. No doubt the comic strip influenced the way generations of Americans would imagine futuristic technology and design. Sleek rocket ships cruise to gleaming curvilinear cities, although Flash himself more often resembles a medieval warrior than he does a citizen of the future, since swords and cloaks replace ray guns and space suits when combat occurs.

Buck Rogers and Flash Gordon may have been the leaders in presenting science fiction on the comic pages, but other media also tested time **travel**, alien life forms, and all the other standbys of the genre. Science fiction **movies**, closely tied to **horror and fantasy films**—such as **Dracula** (1931), **Frankenstein** (1931), **King Kong** (1933), and a host of others—in their use of special effects, also diverged from them by emphasizing science and the depiction of possible inventions and changed modes of living.

In the Depression decade, American audiences had their first introduction to what the future might hold with *Just Imagine*, a 1930 musical supposedly set in 1980. Largely forgotten today, *Just Imagine* distinguishes itself for its view of the later twentieth century. Looking more like a polished version of the 1930s, strong **Art Deco** and incipient Streamlined details abound. In many ways, this pioneering movie suggests the modernistic milieu featured in most of the **musicals** with **Fred Astaire** (1899–1987) **and Ginger Rogers** (1911–1995) that would achieve such popular acclaim just a few years later.

More serious ventures into the realm of science fiction include *Deluge* (1933), a well-done spectacle that features a tidal wave hitting New York City. Director James Whale (1889–1957) released *The Invisible Man* (1933), a cinematic adaptation of an 1897 H. G. Wells novel, and the movie marks the debut of actor Claude Rains (1889–1967) in the title role. *Transatlantic Tunnel*, a 1935 British import, boasts futuristic sets as engineers bore beneath the Atlantic Ocean, and *Things to Come* (1936), another English offering, adapts H. G. Wells's 1933 novel, *The Shape of Things to Come*. Both the movie and the book have the distinction of eerily foreshadowing World War II, although they take place over the period 1940–2036.

A recurring image in much 1930s movie science fiction involves a mad scientist, a theme that mirrored public uneasiness toward science and technology. In an adaptation of H. G. Wells's *The Island of Dr. Moreau* (1896), filmmakers created *Island of Lost Souls* (1932). Actor Charles Laughton (1899–1962) portrays the evil Dr. Moreau, master of

an island where horrific experiments take place. In a pair of similar efforts, Lionel Atwill (1885–1946) plays two crazed men of science, Dr. Von Niemann in *The Vampire Bat* (1932) and Dr. Xavier in *Doctor X* (1932). Boris Karloff (1887–1969) similarly takes on the role of Dr. Janos Rukh in *The Invisible Ray* (1936), and Albert Dekker (1905–1968) adopts the persona of Dr. Thorkel in *Dr. Cyclops* (1940). In all of these movies, science gets distorted when evil humans use it to their advantage.

The comics' *Flash Gordon* made the transition to film in three serial tales that feature the space hero fighting cartoonish evildoers and employing outlandish—but imaginative—renderings of what space ships and ray guns might look like in some distant future. Deranged scientists and their henchmen may supply material for a number of frightening movies, but this trio of serials brought an element of good spirits to Saturday matinees. Although the villains still play villainous roles, they come across as bizarre creations, not figures of horror.

Flash Gordon: Space Soldiers, in 13 parts, led the way in 1936. Enthusiastic audience responses caused the studio to condense the serial into a regular feature, Flash Gordon: Rocketship, that same year. In 1938, Flash Gordon's Trip to Mars, this time with 15 episodes, played movie screens. Flash Gordon Conquers the Universe came out in 1940; it consists of 12 parts. In all three serials, Larry "Buster" Crabbe (1907–1983) plays the stalwart space voyager. Popular then, the series eventually took on cult status for a new generation of audiences possibly unfamiliar with the comic roots of the movies.

Because of the popularity enjoyed by the Flash Gordon serials, Hollywood attempted a similar set of adventures taken from the Buck Rogers strip. In fact, Buster Crabbe even received the title role in a case of unusual (or uninspired) casting. Looking just like Flash Gordon, Crabbe undertakes heroic deeds in Buck Rogers in the 25th Century (1939), a 12-part serial shot in the period between the production of the second and third Flash Gordon efforts. By most estimates, the Buck Rogers serial does not measure up to the flair of the Flash Gordon trilogy.

Science fiction did not fare well on radio during the 1930s. Networks seemed reluctant to create shows built around outer space or futuristic technologies. They displayed no such hesitation toward **crime** or suspense series, the exotic adventures of a character like **Tarzan**, or even the remarkable exploits of a high school student in *Jack Armstrong*, the All-American Boy, but only a handful of science fiction productions made it on the air.

One of the very first shows in this vein borrowed directly from the comic strips: *Buck Rogers in the 25th Century*. First broadcast from 1932 until 1936, it reappeared sporadically after that, in 1939, 1940, and made its last appearance in the 1946–1947 season. *Flash Gordon* proved less successful. Despite its success in the comics, it found few takers in the radio medium. A handful of stations on the West Coast and later in the East carried it as a syndicated (nonnetwork) offering. At the conclusion of the decade, *The Adventures of Superman*, already garnering considerable attention in comic books, could be heard, first as a syndicated show, and then as a Mutual Network offering in the early 1940s. By that time, however, the curtain had fallen on the 1930s, and the Man of Steel had to contend with World War II.

Lest anyone at the various radio networks think that science fiction themed shows lacked the power to thrill, Halloween night in October 1938 dispelled that idea completely. Orson Welles (1915–1985), an energetic new presence in both radio and

theater, had organized a repertory company called the Mercury Theater. In the summer of 1938, the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS radio) began carrying *The Mercury Theater on the Air*. Each week, the players presented a new drama. For Halloween, they decided to do H. G. Wells's *The War of the Worlds*, a radio adaptation of his 1898 classic about a Martian invasion of Earth.

Using a style that resembled newscasts of the day, Welles and his troupe galvanized listeners with reports of Martians wreaking havoc in the swamps of New Jersey. Despite many disclaimers throughout the show that the broadcast was a dramatic production, a number of people panicked, telephone lines were jammed, and confusion ensued. Probably the best piece of science fiction ever broadcast, it demonstrated beyond the slightest doubt that radio could successfully carry the genre. Unfortunately, it proved too realistic for some officials, and the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) clamped down restrictions on what could and could not be broadcast for public consumption.

The 1930s witnessed a modest amount of science fiction being created in a variety of media. Overshadowed by other popular genres, such as mysteries and big historical **best sellers**, science fiction nurtured a small, but devoted, audience. Following World War II, it would blossom, but the 1930s have to be seen as a decade of building.

See also Mysteries & Hard-Boiled Detectives; Newspapers; Toys

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SCREWBALL COMEDIES. Throughout the Great Depression, American movies provided a wonderful escapist outlet. The gangster violence of *Little Caesar* (1930), the horror of *Dracula* (1931), the fantasy of *King Kong* (1933), and the bubbly music of *42nd Street* (1933) offered respite from the real world. On the humorous side, the film industry served up ample helpings of looniness, absurdity, and wackiness in a long series of pictures called "screwball comedies." Physical comedy and slapstick have always been a major part of motion pictures, but the so-called screwball comedies brought a wholly new kind of comedy to the screen. Aptly named, these popular movies set up ridiculous plot situations and then resolve them in equally ridiculous ways.

The word "screwball" traces its origins back to the mid-nineteenth century, meaning something eccentric or whimsical. It also gained popularity during the 1930s with baseball, especially pitching. In that context, it means a carefully controlled and delivered pitch that seems erratic, at least to the batter. For the movies, the word has become part of a larger vocabulary, suggesting a plot and characters that lack predictability or reason. A fitting term, since irrationality lay at the core of most screwball comedies.

Virtually all the movie comedies that fall into the "screwball" category revolve around romance, but romance from a nontraditional point of view. In these stories, the lovers—for lack of a better term—usually aggravate one another, and their love gets expressed in

playful conflict and sometimes mock combat. Lovers' spats and lovers' quarrels escalate into outright comic fights. Abrasive dialogue characterizes screwball comedy, although no one, speaker, target, or audience, takes the words seriously. The distorting mirror of screwball humor makes sure that everyone sees just how skewed romance can be.

Sex drives much of the action in this genre, but since these films were made at the height of the restrictions imposed by the Hollywood Production Code, nothing overtly sexual can be shown on screen. Undaunted, the screenwriters and directors worked overtime to lace their scripts with innuendo and suggestiveness, but never at the expense of good taste or respectability. They sublimated passion into slapstick and pratfalls, making comedy that passed the censors without fooling anybody. In fact, among the popular themes of screwball comedies are bigamy, divorce, and adultery, but presented with such lightness and grace that no one can be offended, particularly the official arbiters of the code.

Another important motif involves money. Most of the characters in a screwball comedy have both wealth and class, although their wealth often makes them act like nitwits. Otherwise sensible males become amazingly entangled with poor little rich girls, and together they stumble through one misadventure after another, but money cushions all blows. Sometimes the situation gets reversed, and one or the other is suddenly without funds, but the moment passes, and they continue on their madcap adventures. For Depression audiences, this constant reminder of how money greases all wheels seemed to have little effect on the popularity of these movies, and any attempts to read larger meaning into this aspect of screwball comedies will probably bear little reward. First and foremost, they were, and they remain, among the funniest pictures ever produced by Hollywood, and their sociological underpinnings have little connection with their success.

The following list presents a chronological sampling of some of the best titles in the genre, but should not be thought exhaustive or complete:

Representative Screwball Comedies of the 1930s

Title & Date	Director	Stars	Comment
It Happened One Night, 1934	Frank Capra (1897–1991)	Clark Gable (1901–1960) & Claudette Colbert (1903–1996)	One of the first, and still one of the best, it defined the genre and made Capra one of the leading directors of the decade. Won a sweep in the Academy Awards—Best Picture, Best Director, and Best Actor and Actress.
The Thin Man, 1934	W. S. Van Dyke (1889–1943)	Myrna Loy (1905–1993) & William Powell (1892–1984) as amateur sleuths	Loosely based on a novel by Dashiell Hammett (1894–1961), and one of many screwball mysteries that played upon both genres. The first in a series of six films, 1934–1947.
Twentieth Century, 1934	Howard Hawks (1896–1977)	Carole Lombard (1908–1942) & John Barrymore (1882–1942)	Lombard's stellar performance made her the virtual "queen of the screwballs."

Representative Screwball Comedies of the 1930s (Continued)

Title & Date	Director	Stars	Comment	
After the Thin Man, 1936	W. S. Van Dyke	William Powell & Myrna Loy	The second in the <i>Thin Man</i> series; a sequel, but a good comedy in its own right.	
The Ex-Mrs. Bradford, 1936	Stephen Roberts (1895–1936)	William Powell & Jean Arthur (1900–1991)	Another mystery, but this time the investigating couple is divorced.	
Mr. Deeds Goes to Town, 1936	Frank Capra	Gary Cooper (1901–1961) & Jean Arthur	A man inherits millions and proceeds to give the money away. Frank Capra won his second Oscar for Best Director with this movie.	
My Man Godfrey, 1936	Gregory La Cava (1892–1952)	William Powell & Carole Lombard	Powell shines as a man of wealth turned butler.	
The Awful Truth, 1937	Leo McCarey (1898–1969)	Cary Grant (1904–1986) & Irene Dunne (1898–1990)	This picture made both Grant and Dunne major players in the screwball genre.	
Easy Living, 1937	Mitchell Leisen (1898–1972)	Jean Arthur & Ray Milland (1905–1986)	A reversal: a working girl finds herself in the lap of luxury.	
Nothing Sacred, 1937	William A. Wellman (1896–1975)	Carole Lombard & Fredric March (1897–1975)	A harsh, abrasive comedy, laced with racism and misogyny.	
Topper, 1937	Norman Z. McLeod, (1898–1964)	Cary Grant & Constance Ben- nett (1904–1965)	Two ghosts return to the world of the living.	
True Confession, 1937	Wesley Ruggles (1889–1972)	Carole Lombard & Fred MacMurray (1908–1991)	A woman cannot stop telling fibs.	
Bluebeard's Eighth Wife, 1938	Ernst Lubitsch (1892–1947)	Claudette Colbert & Gary Cooper	An heiress versus a millionaire and the wacky situations that their wealth creates.	
Bringing Up Baby, 1938	Howard Hawks	Cary Grant & Katharine Hepburn (1907–2003)	Certainly one of the most hilarious films in the entire grouping.	
You Can't Take It with You, 1938	Frank Capra	James Stewart (1908–1997) & Jean Arthur	An eccentric family teaches others about happiness. This film earned Frank Capra his third Academy Award as Best Direc- tor, and his second for Best Picture.	
Mr. Smith Goes to Washington, 1939	Frank Capra	James Stewart & Jean Arthur	Not really a screwball comedy at all, but more a populist lesson in how faith can overcome cynicism. The movie is included in this listing because Capra directed it, it stars two actors (Stewart and Arthur) who had made a mark just a year earlier in <i>You Can't Take It with You</i> , and it contains enough Capraesque touches to be close, in spirit if not in actual plotting, to his previous work.	

Title & Date	Director	Stars	Comment
His Girl Friday, 1940	Howard Hawks	Cary Grant & Rosalind Russell (1907–1976)	A screwball remake of the classic <i>Front Page</i> (1931), but the hardboiled reporters have comedic romantic twists added.
My Favorite Wife, 1940	Garson Kanin (1912–1999)	Cary Grant & Irene Dunne	This movie reunites Grant & Dunne after their success with <i>The Awful Truth</i> .

Screwball comedies continued to be box office favorites well into the 1940s. Although they rely on stereotypes (wealthy people lacking in common sense, thwarted lovers, jealous spouses, etc.) to a degree, they do so by turning them around. But they also rely on tradition; in the end, the theme of reconciliation overcomes the last obstacles: love conquers all. Their success signaled a return to a more positive kind of movie in the mid-1930s and thereafter, and they replaced the grim, negative images found in the early years of the decade with an affirming vision, albeit a zany one.

See also Mysteries & Hard-Boiled Detectives; Newspapers; Social Consciousness Films

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SCULPTURE. Traditional, realistic, heroic, and monumental: these terms would lead any listing of the qualities possessed by American sculpture during the 1930s. And yet, despite these attributes, the art form lacked a large popular following at that time. Unless people lived in a large city with access to major museums or attended an event such as a world's fair, they had little access to sculpture, especially contemporary pieces. Two 1930s federal government projects supported the work of sculptors and increased the opportunity for Americans to view and enjoy their work. First came the U.S. Treasury Department Section of Painting and Sculpture (1934–1938), followed by the Federal Art Project (FAP; 1935–1943), the latter a part of the Works Progress Administration (WPA; 1935–1943; name changed to Work Projects Administration in 1939). In the nation's capital, these programs contributed immeasurably to a construction boom that transformed the federal presence in Washington, but they also enlivened similar projects across the country.

Edward Bruce (1879–1943) headed the Treasury Department Section and directed the decoration of federal buildings. He assigned jurisdiction for this project to Louis A. Simon (1867–1958), charging him with embellishing new and recent structures with art of all kinds. Under Simon's leadership, approximately 300 pieces of sculpture came to grace many of the capital's buildings. Works by Robert Aitken (1878–1949) at the National Archives Building (1933–1935), Albert Stewart (1900–1965) at the U.S. Customs Building

(1935), Elliot Means (1904–1962) at the Government Printing Office (1937), Charles R. Knight (1874–1953) at the National Zoological Park (1937), and Heinz Warneke (1895–1983) at the Department of Interior building (1939) figured among Simon's choices. Sculpture also embellished the construction of post offices and courthouses throughout the country, allowing Americans to experience fine examples of the carver's art.

With its architecture by Cass Gilbert (1859–1934), the capital's 1935 Supreme Court Building stands as one of the best and last large neoclassical federal structures from the era, and statuary plays a major part in its overall presentation. John Donnelly Jr. (active 1920s & 1930s); provided carvings for the entrance doors, and sculpture groups by Robert Aitken and Herman A. McNeil (active 1920s and 1930s) can be found on pediments above the entrances. Sculptor James Earle Fraser (1876–1953) contributed two 45-ton allegorical seated marble figures that flank each side of the main steps to the building. On the left sits a female, the Contemplation of Justice, and on the right her male counterpart, the Guardian or Authority of Law.

Best known for his earlier works, the Indian head, or Buffalo, nickel (1913), and a seated horseman that symbolizes the passing of the American Indian's way of life, End of the Trail (1915), Fraser became a prolific creator of large-scale public monuments. In addition to the huge Supreme Court statues, his work during the 1930s included Heritage and Guardianship (1933–1935) for the National Archives Building and two statues of Abraham Lincoln (1930) in Jersey City, New Jersey, and Syracuse, New York. In 1938, for the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia, he executed a 30-ton marble memorial to Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) that rests on a 92-ton pedestal. He closed the decade with a 60-foot-tall George Washington (1731–1799) for the 1939–1940 New York World's Fair. Fraser placed the father of the country facing the iconic sculptural symbols of the fair, the Trylon and Perisphere, designed by the architectural firm of Harrison and Foulihoux; this juxtaposition made it appear that Washington looked to the future.

The New York fair was not alone in providing statues for public view; statuary played an important part in all of the major U.S. fairs and expositions of the 1930s. The decade saw Chicago's Century of Progress Exposition (1933–1934), the California Pacific International Exposition (1935–1936), the Texas Centennial Central Exposition (1936), the Greater Texas and Pan American Exposition (1937), the Great Lakes Exposition (1936–1937), and the Golden Gate International Exposition (1939–1940). All of them presented fountain sculptures, along with animal and human figures, as major components of gardens and walkways. American heroes, placed at strategic points on the various fair grounds, reminded citizens of their heritage or, in the case of the siting of Fraser's Washington statue in New York, some also encouraged contemplation of both the past and future. Other statues conveyed information about current happenings and efforts being made to overcome the hardships of the Depression. For example, at the California Pacific Exposition in San Diego, a heroic, 10-foot-high plaster youth coated in bronze celebrated the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC; 1933–1942) and heightened the awareness of fairgoers about this important New Deal program.

While the Treasury Department Section contributed sculpture and other decorations for public buildings, the Federal Art Project focused on providing jobs to unemployed artists who in turn would create works of art for other public facilities. Under the direction of Girolamo Piccoli (active 1930s), the FAP sculpture division created over 13,000 pieces, ranging in size from small ceramic figures to huge stone monuments. Carved

animals enhanced the grounds at the Brookfield Zoo in Chicago, indestructible cement storybook characters found homes in housing project playgrounds, traditional statues of local heroes appeared on the lawns of city buildings and in town squares. Hospitals, parks, and botanical gardens likewise became the proud owners of stone fountains.

Artist Lenore Thomas (Straus) (1909–1988) found employment working for the federal government's Resettlement Administration (RA, 1935–1937; renamed the Farm Security Administration [FSA], 1937–1943); she sculpted large pieces for newly built planned communities. A 12×4×4-foot limestone figure of a mother and child in Greenbelt, Maryland, stands as an example of Thomas's work, and it suggests the monumental quality possessed by much sculpture executed during the Depression.

Like many sculptors, Anna Hyatt Huntington (1876–1973) had studied at the Art Students League in New York City with the renowned Gutzon Borglum (1867–1941). One of the most prolific sculptors of the twentieth century, Hyatt produced hundreds of models of wild and domestic animals as well as heroic monuments. In 1923, she married Archer Milton Huntington (c. 1871–1955), a wealthy philanthropist and collector who generously supported her skills in this art form, as well as the efforts of many of her counterparts. With the onset of the Great Depression, the couple recognized the financial difficulties experienced by numerous artists and through the National Sculpture Society they offered loans to provide relief for those temporarily in need of assistance.

In 1930, the Huntingtons purchased four former South Carolina indigo and rice plantations totaling nearly 10,000 acres at Murrells Inlet, intending to build a winter home and studio. Instead, in 1931 they founded a nonprofit institution with the mission of providing a showplace for American figurative sculpture within a refuge for native plants. A year later the venture opened to the public as Brookgreen Gardens; there the couple placed the works of many American sculptors throughout the gardens and around pools and fountains. Among others, the artists initially included Mrs. Huntington herself, James Earle Fraser, Jo Davidson (1883–1952), Paul Howard Manship (1885–1966), Wheeler Williams (1897–1972), and Joseph Kiselewski (1901–1986).

Elsewhere in the country, another contemporary project of unusually large proportions brought sculpture to the attention of many Americans. Gutzon Borglum in 1924 grew enthusiastic about a proposal to carve historic figures into the granite sides of Mount Rushmore in South Dakota. If undertaken, it would represent one of the largest sculptural projects on earth. The following year he accepted the challenge and in 1927 commenced work on the face of George Washington. Carving continued until October 1941, although actual work took place for only about six and a half years. Delays, caused by weather, lack of funding, and technical problems, accounted for the remaining seven and a half years. Borglum followed Washington with Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865), Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826), and Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919). Each bust measures some 60 feet high, with noses 20 feet long and mouths 18 feet wide. The four presidents gaze out across the Black Hills.

Borglum's son, Lincoln (1912–1986), while still a boy, accompanied his father on the project and officially joined the crew in 1933. That same year the National Park Service started managing the memorial. As delays kept mounting, the Mount Rushmore Commission in 1937 appointed Lincoln Borglum to function as the project's chief sculptor in his father's absence; he would eventually spend more time at Mount Rushmore than did Gutzon Borglum. Workmen finished the mammoth undertaking just before the outbreak of World War II.

Paul Howard Manship, one of the most important figures in American sculpture during the first half of the twentieth century, created, during the 1930s, the Paul J. Rainey Memorial Gateway for the Bronx Zoo (1934). He also did the popular gilded *Prometheus* (1934) that overlooks the ice skating rink at **Rockefeller Center** in New York City, as well as the *Time and Fates of Man* sundial and *Moods of Time* fountain installed in front of the Trylon and Perisphere at the 1939–1940 New York World's Fair. Towering 80 feet into the air, the sundial ranked as the biggest one in the world at the time.

Another prominent sculptor, Jo Davidson, received many commissions for portrait busts of world leaders. In the United States, his works include a 1934 creation of the then-mayor of New York City, Fiorello LaGuardia (1882–1947), and two 1939 full-body bronze renderings: one of humorist Will Rogers (1879–1935), commissioned for the U.S. Capitol Building National Statuary Hall, and the other of poet Walt Whitman (1819–1892), placed at the edge of the grounds of the Perylon Court at the New York World's Fair. The Whitman statue, among the few nonplaster sculptures at the fair, bore the name *The Open Road*, or *Afoot and Lighthearted*.

While most sculptors of the 1930s created traditional representational statues, Alexander Calder (1898–1976) dared to experiment. He had gained recognition and some financial success with his Calder Circus, a miniature reproduction of an actual circus made from wire, cork, wood, cloth, and other easily found materials. In 1932, he began making small moving sculptures and produced his first "stabiles," motorized, free-standing pieces. They worked by manipulating cranks and pulleys. Just two years later, he had completed a number of more delicate, wind-propelled "mobiles." Calder soon concentrated only on these forms, seemingly floating contrivances that relied on motion generated naturally by air currents. Beginning in the 1940s, his mobiles would grow significantly in size.

Sculpture, certainly not the most popular form of artistic expression in the eyes of the general public, nonetheless found official support during the Great Depression, especially through federal programs. Mostly monumental, sculpture by the end of the decade graced many buildings and gardens and could be seen by all who passed by. Brookgreen Gardens became the country's first public sculpture garden and today continues as a National Historic Landmark.

See also Circuses; Ice Skating & Hockey

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SEABISCUIT. Born on the West Coast, Seabiscuit (1933–1947) did not appear to have a promising future as a racehorse. He lost his first 17 contests, and most owners would have given up on him. But then he won several small-time events, and trainers and jockeys saw something, holding out hope that Seabiscuit would eventually

discover his own inner strengths. He went on to endear himself to millions during the later 1930s.

Charles Howard (1877–1950), a wealthy California car dealer, expressed a fondness for the bay colt and purchased him in the summer of 1936. Seabiscuit repaid him by winning the Governor's Handicap in September. October had him winning the Scarsdale Handicap, November the Bay Bridge Handicap, and December the World's Fair Handicap. People began to take notice, especially in California. Seabiscuit traveled east, continuing his winning ways, developing a cadre of devoted fans, and receiving mention in sportswriters' columns.

In June 1937, War Admiral, another impressive horse of the era, won the Triple Crown of Thoroughbred Racing, the sport's premier accomplishment. In a single season, he took the Kentucky Derby, the Preakness, and the Belmont Stakes. For the remainder of 1937, controversy raged over the merits of Seabiscuit and War Admiral and talk of an eventual matchup grew in intensity. Both horses were close in size and weight, although Seabiscuit's supporters tried to paint him as a hopelessly outclassed underdog, while War Admiral's people portrayed their horse as unbeatable. It seemed an ideal contest, making them rivals long before they ever met on a track.

After a seemingly endless series of delays, and an equally endless publicity buildup, the long-awaited match took place on November 1, 1938. At Maryland's Pimlico track, site of the Preakness, and before a crowd in excess of 40,000 spectators, the two horses met for their one and only contest. Broadcast around the country to an estimated 40 million radio listeners, the famous racing announcer Clem McCarthy (1882–1962) breathlessly described the race as Seabiscuit demonstrated his authority and set a track record, winning by four lengths over War Admiral. They would never meet again.

That impressive victory won Seabiscuit "Horse of the Year" for 1938, propelling him to the peak of his fame and popularity. Merchandisers had by this time already begun to capitalize on his ardent following. Books, articles, hats, scarves, and a host of gewgaws emblazoned with Seabiscuit's name and picture already flooded the market, and more would come. Unfortunately, Seabiscuit developed several injuries in 1939 and did little racing after that. But he came back in March 1940, winning impressively at the Santa Anita Handicap, a race that had previously eluded him. A month later, Howard announced Seabiscuit's retirement. The celebrity horse, the world's leading money winner and the first to pass \$400,000 in winnings (roughly \$6 million in contemporary dollars), would live on until 1947, dying at age 14. Shortly thereafter, a mediocre movie starring **Shirley Temple** (b. 1928) titled *The Story of Seabiscuit* (1949) came out, but attracted little attention.

Despite the outpouring of affection for Thompson's horse during the 1930s and early 1940s, Seabiscuit somehow disappeared from most recountings about horse racing and fads of the time. Since he accomplished most of his victories in lesser-known West Coast races and never won the Triple Crown or a number of other prestigious Eastern events, many record books downplayed or overlooked him. The publication of Laura Hillenbrand's (b. 1967) best-selling *Seabiscuit: An American Legend* (2001), along with a follow-up 2002 Public Broadcasting System (PBS) television documentary about the colt and a 2003 Hollywood feature film adaptation of the book (not to be confused with the 1949 movie), introduced a whole new generation of fans to Seabiscuit and secured his place in sports history.

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SERIALS (RADIO & MOVIES). On any given weekday afternoon, kids across America tuned their radios to increasing numbers of continuing stories guaranteed to leave their listeners hanging at the conclusion of each thrilling episode. Come Saturday, that same audience marched to the neighborhood movie house, usually to attend a matinee and see a double feature, along with a newsreel, shorts, and a cartoon or two—and of course, the latest episode of a motion picture serial. These rip-roaring stories ended with the same cliff-hanging excitement that made their radio counterparts so popular, and an entire generation of young people breathlessly followed them throughout the decade.

It did not take long for the major networks to block off their late afternoon schedules for this kind of **youth**-oriented programming, although countless adults no doubt got caught up in the stories, too. From roughly 4:00 until 6:30, the romance-centered **soap operas** of the earlier afternoon gave way to the adventure serials aimed at the after-school crowd. Continuing 15-minute miniplots that stressed action over everything else, and filled with patriotism and heroics, the plotting could, like the soaps, be interminable. But they seldom disappointed. In essence, they filled the airwaves with soap operas for kids, especially boys.

Typical radio serials involved a young man and his pals. "Pals" could be male or female, but usually did not include adults, although a friendly uncle might find a supporting role. As the decade progressed the young males tended to mature, and popular figures from the **comic strips**, or superheroes from **comic books**, replaced many of the earlier characters. All manner of media crossovers occurred in the realm of these radio series. Popularity meant, possibly, a film serial—or even a feature-length movie—based on a radio serial, or vice versa.

As a rule, the radio series pitted good against evil, and good always triumphed, although every conceivable obstacle would be thrown in the way of that triumph. Morality tales in quarter-hour segments, the serials attracted dedicated audiences. With good planning, listeners could hear five episodes each of their favorite shows during the week and then see the latest movie serial involving similar characters at a Saturday matinee. And toward the end of the 1930s, in a perfect week, those same listeners could go to the corner newsstand and devour the latest issues of comic books that also chronicled the exploits of similar heroes. Parents and teachers might bemoan the younger generation's listening, viewing, and reading tastes, but for the school-age crowd, the decade offered a cornucopia of exciting riches.

The credit for possibly the very first adventure-oriented radio serial goes to *Little Orphan Annie*. Based on the popular comic strip of the same name by Harold Gray (1894–1968), the newspaper series had first appeared in 1924; an instant success with readers, imaginative producers at Chicago's station WGN decided to try *Annie* as a continuing radio series. The program premiered in 1930, and the station wisely scheduled

it at 5:45, creating the precedent for children's broadcasting in the late afternoon. Positive listener responses prompted the National Broadcasting Company (NBC radio) to pick it up in 1931, and the network carried it until 1940.

Unlike most adventure heroes then in vogue, Annie is neither male nor born with any great physical prowess. But she possesses grit, a toughness in the face of adversity, a desirable quality in Depression-era America. With a colorful cast of characters straight from the newspaper strip—"Daddy" Warbucks, the Asp, Punjab, and of course her irreplaceable dog, Sandy—Annie makes her independent way. Her adventures charmed children and adolescents who saw in her the freedom to do almost anything, and adults appreciated her ability to endure the worst the Depression could throw at her.

Sponsored by Ovaltine, a popular chocolate-flavored beverage, the serial also established the time-honored custom of offering premiums to listeners. **Toys** and novelties featuring both Annie and Sandy, along with wristwatches, pop-up books, and mugs, could be obtained for proofs of purchase throughout the 1930s. The sponsor's most popular premium, however, turned out to be a "decoder ring" that held secret messages that could not be deciphered without knowledge of the code, available only through Ovaltine. In the midst of this kind of promotion, Hollywood made two feature films about the orphaned heroine, one in 1932 and another in 1939, but neither did well at the box office.

Since paid advertising financed most radio broadcasting, these afternoon serials had many different sponsors. The soap operas might have their detergents and cleansers, the evening variety shows cigarettes and automobiles, but the late afternoon serials had food. The majority of these sponsors had no problems getting their characters to regularly plug the products, and they tied their gifts and premiums in with the series, an approach that proved irresistible for most youngsters. It usually took box tops or other proofs of purchase in order to obtain these treasures, and that provided sponsors an easy way to track listenership.

In 1932, three new entries, also taken from the newspaper comics, came along to challenge *Little Orphan Annie*. First came *Skippy* from 1932 until 1935; based on the long-running strip of that name by Percy Crosby (1891–1964), and also a popular 1931 movie, this afternoon serial tended more toward childish high jinks than it did adventure or suspense. *Buck Rogers in the 25th Century*, the second challenger, provided thrills, **science fiction**, and many radio special effects. It made its debut in 1932, just three years after the futuristic adventures first appeared in **newspapers**. Originally scheduled for 7:15 P.M., from 1933 onward it could be heard at 6:00 P.M. *Buck Rogers* so captivated its print and radio fans that a movie serial featuring the intrepid hero came along in 1939. **Tarzan**, the third offering, already in books, **movies**, and comic strips, ran for four years, 1932–1936, on syndicated radio.

If Little Orphan Annie got the incipient boom in radio serials started, Jack Armstrong, the All-American Boy serves as the quintessential example of the genre. Making its debut on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS radio) in 1933 at 5:30 P.M., this long-running series touted loyalty, friendship, obedience, service, perseverance, clean living, sportsmanship—certainly the qualities American youth should ideally possess, and all couched in one thrill adventure after another. Jack attends Hudson High School, and has as his faithful friends Billy and Betty, along with his fabulously wealthy Uncle Jim. This group follows Jack wherever he may go, few questions asked. Betty and Jack are

pals and excite no sexual tensions, since sex did not exist in 1930s-era radio, and Uncle Jim has his uses, since Jack frequently needs access to expensive technology. In the fantasy world of *Jack Armstrong*, no adventure can be too exotic, no villain too villainous, and no scientific gadgetry too advanced for this remarkable young man. Jack's mix of pep, a popular term denoting enthusiasm, and curiosity played well, making for a serial that endured until 1950 and went far in defining the genre.

A big star in Western films for many years prior to the 1930s, Tom Mix (1880–1940) seemed a natural to make the transfer to radio. Capitalizing on his name, NBC offered a new serial, *The Tom Mix Ralston Straight Shooters* in 1933; it would run until 1950 and the death of most dramatic programming on radio. But the popular actor never actually appeared on the 5:15 P.M. show. Instead, numerous stand-ins played the cowboy, and the action took place at the equally fictitious "T-M Bar Ranch." Wonder horse Tony (or his stand-in) even had a recurring role. Ralston products offered numerous premiums, along with a memorable theme song that reminded everyone that "Shredded Ralston can't be beat."

As the decade progressed, and movies in particular celebrated **crime** as a topic, radio again turned to the comic pages for inspiration. *Dick Tracy*, a strip created by cartoonist Chester Gould (1900–1985) in 1931, came to the airwaves as a late afternoon serial in 1935. The popularity of Tracy soon carried over into all kinds of commercial tie-ins, such as toy guns, **games**, badges, and the like. The hawk-nosed detective also appeared in four separate movie serials between 1937 and 1941. If America ever harbored vigilante fantasies, *Dick Tracy* was there to act them out, and the radio version lasted until 1948.

Another transfer from the comics involved an explorer named Jungle Jim. Created by Alex Raymond (1909–1956), who also originated *Flash Gordon*, *Jungle Jim* premiered on syndicated radio in 1935. Accompanied by a native sidekick named Kolu, Jim prowled unexplored tropical regions, finding adventure and villains at every turn. It all made for good listening and stayed on the air until 1954.

The later years of the decade saw more and more afternoon adventure serials crowding onto the already-jammed network schedules. For example, *Renfrew of the Mounted* (1936–1940) took its audience into the frozen northwest. The series found competition from *Challenge of the Yukon* (aka *Sergeant Preston of the Yukon*; 1938–1955), another syndicated show. In these tales of the Canadian Mounties, Sergeant Preston has as his helper a faithful dog, Yukon King, a Husky ready for any situation involving his master.

The jump from the tranquil campus of Hudson High to the exotic Far East took no effort at all on afternoon radio. *Terry and the Pirates* (1937–1948) came on at 5:15 P.M. and took its listeners on a tour of new and different locales. Adapted from the popular newspaper comic strip drawn by Milton Caniff (1907–1988), *Terry and the Pirates* succeeded immediately when its cartoon original premiered in 1934. With a likable young hero and countless colorful supporting players, it matched up well with the radio serials of the day. Since some of the clouds presaging World War II had already gathered in Asia, it also brought a dash of realism to afternoon programming.

With international events increasingly dominating the news, many of the newer characters appearing in radio serials bore a military look. Clearly, they stood ready to fight any enemies of the United States. This reflection of the real world presented young listeners with exciting ways to cope with it. For example, *Don Winslow of the Navy* (1937–1943) provided a traditional story line about an evil conspiracy and Winslow's attempts to combat it. After 1941 and Pearl Harbor, the serial turned into a rousing

America versus the Axis yarn. The roots of the show came from Frank Martinek's (1895–c. 1960) strip of the same name that had appeared in papers since 1934.

With war almost a certainty, Captain Midnight (1939–1949) provided the requisite thrills and eventually joined in battle against the country's enemies. Captain Midnight, in reality Jim "Red" Albright, differed little from other adventure heroes, but the show offered listeners a chance to join a "secret squadron," yet another premium designed to attract audiences. A reflection of the popularity of anything dealing with aviation, Captain Midnight grew out of several earlier sources. The Model Airplane Club of the Air came into being in 1933. It offered hints and advice about constructing models and underwrote a regionally syndicated radio serial, The Air Adventures of Jimmie Allen. This show followed the exploits of "Jimmie Allen," the pseudonym of Dudley Steele (active 1930s), a real-life pilot. The Jimmie Allen Club published a newsletter, along with a cartoon strip that advocated flying for all. Youthful Hollywood stars like Mickey Rooney (b. 1920) and Shirley Temple (b. 1928) proudly displayed their Jimmie Allen membership badges, which at the time was high endorsement indeed. From this connection came the new serial with Captain Midnight and the "secret squadron" that supplanted the Jimmie Allen Club.

Virtually all of these radio series took their cue from the innumerable movie serials that had been cranked out from the early silent days of film and on into the sound era. Beginning in 1912 with the Edison Company's silent What Happened to Mary? a 12-reeler divided into one episode per reel, producers knew they were onto a popular new format for movies. Actress Pearl White (1889–1938) emerged as the early queen of the serials with fare such as *The Perils of Pauline* (1914), one of the best known of the early serials.

With the onset of sound in the late 1920s, the emphasis changed from heroines in distress to heroes in command, no matter what the dangers. Tarzan, the ape-man creation of writer Edgar Rice Burroughs (1875–1950), had already made his debut in feature movies with *The Adventures of Tarzan* in 1921, followed by *Tarzan the Mighty* in 1928. Thus it came as no surprise that the serialized *Tarzan the Fearless* (1933) and *The New Adventures of Tarzan* (1935) thrilled audiences on Saturday afternoons. The first stars Larry "Buster" Crabbe (1907–1983), an actor destined to make a number of other serials; *The New Adventures of Tarzan* features Herman Brix (b. 1909), one of the lesser-known Tarzans.

Westerns, both books and full-length films, also provided fertile ground for weekly installments of action and adventure. The Indians Are Coming (1930) and The Phantom of the West (1931) typify the genre. Gene Autry (1907–1998), himself the cowboy star of many a "B" Western feature, appears in The Phantom Empire (1935), a curious mix of science fiction and conventional Western storytelling. Buck Jones (1889–1942), another veteran cowboy actor, kept busy throughout the 1930s appearing in regular features and serials such as The Red Rider (1934), The Roaring West (1935), and The Phantom Rider (1936), among others. Even a later big-name Western star like John Wayne (1907–1979) labored in serials early in his career, with roles in The Hurricane Express (1932) and The Three Musketeers (1933), though neither qualifies as a Western. Instead, they offer audiences straight adventure fare.

Always a source of exciting visual effects, aviation entertained young and old at the movies, and proved adaptable to the serial format. Mystery Squadron (1933) has the heroes hunting for the "Black Ace," an unscrupulous pilot who commands a squadron of vintage airplanes up to no good. In 1934, Tailspin Tommy, a series lifted from the

newspaper comic pages, proved popular. The strip, drawn by Hal Forrest (1892–1959), had originated in 1928 and quickly attracted readers. Straightforward in its exposition, it easily transferred to the cinematic medium, and many serial fans consider its 12 installments among the best in an increasingly crowded field.

The success of *Tailspin Tommy* led producers to release *Ace Drummond* (1936), another character borrowed from newspaper comics. Originally the joint creation of Clayton Knight (1891–1969) and famed World War I ace Eddie Rickenbacker (1890–1973), the strip features a number of youthful characters, a device that made it popular among children and teenagers, and that in turn caused it to attract the attention of Universal Pictures. The resultant 13-part aviation thriller has a mysterious villain called "The Dragon" (shades of "The Black Ace") and lots of aerial action. The crossover from comic strips would continue unabated during the 1930s and 1940s, a period when the comics flourished as never before.

A number of futuristic science fiction serials rivaled their aviation counterparts in popularity, and they frequently came from comic strips as well. Buster Crabbe, 1933's incarnation of Tarzan, made much more of a name for himself in the role of Flash Gordon. In 1934, cartoonist Alex Raymond, who had created Jungle Jim, inaugurated Flash Gordon, one of the best of a spate of science fiction series. A public favorite, and exquisitely drawn, Universal Pictures wasted no time in bringing it to the screen. The first serial, Flash Gordon: Space Soldiers, could be seen in 1936. Crabbe's blond good looks overcome his wooden acting, and two years later Flash Gordon's Trip to Mars played theaters for 15 episodes. Lots of gadgets and evil villains fill the screen, and the action, cheap and unrealistic by today's standards, seldom lets up. Audiences did not seem to object, however, and in 1940 came Flash Gordon Conquers the Universe, the last of the group. A fitting finale, it has Flash battling his nemesis, Ming the Merciless, a continuing villain from previous adventures.

Buster Crabbe also landed the role of Buck Rogers, another space pioneer from the newspaper comic pages. Writer Phil Nowlan (1888–1940) and artist Dick Calkins (1895–1962) introduced *Buck Rogers in the 25th Century* just before the Great Depression commenced. One of the very first science fiction strips, it immediately caught the public eye, but not until 1939, would Hollywood create a serial around Rogers' intergalactic adventures. Buoyed by the success of *Flash Gordon*, Universal Studios purchased film rights to the characters in the strip and released the 12-part *Buck Rogers* in 1939, in between the second and third *Flash Gordon* serials. Virtually interchangeable with *Flash Gordon*, including leading man, the various episodes even share gadgetry and props from one another, but enthusiastic audiences seemed not to mind.

Some have labeled the 1930s the golden age of serials, and the term fits well. Whether broadcast in the afternoon or playing at a neighborhood theater, serials provided a healthy dose of escapism throughout the decade and continued to do so well into the 1940s.

See also Hobbies; Radio Networks; Singing Cowboys; Soft Drinks

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SHEELER, CHARLES. A native of Pennsylvania, artist Charles Sheeler (1883–1965) had decided, after his 1900 graduation from secondary school, to be a painter. He entered Philadelphia's School of Industrial Art to study design and then enrolled at the Pennsylvania Academy. Under the auspices of the academy, he traveled to Paris in 1904. Once back in the United States, he found himself on his own as a painter.

Sheeler worked long and hard to achieve recognition as an artist. A second trip to Europe exposed the young painter to the currents of change then exciting many artists abroad. To supplement his income, Sheeler took up commercial **photography** around 1912, usually taking pictures of local architects' commissions. By 1917, he had begun to use his camera expressively and exhibited a number of his prints.

During these formative years, Sheeler came to appreciate **architecture**, especially the lean unadorned lines of Shaker and Amish buildings found scattered throughout southeastern Pennsylvania. At the same time, he saw in the growing factories, and in the great machines housed within them, a new architecture, one based on speed, efficiency, and power. This interest manifested itself in a series of photographs he took of the Ford Motor Company's vast River Rouge manufacturing plant in Michigan. He also produced a painting titled *Upper Deck* (1929), a detailed view of the mechanical trappings of a modern vessel; this notable oil suggested the direction his work would take.

By the time of the Great Depression, Sheeler's artistry as painter and photographer had already reached maturity. He produced many of his finest works during the 1930s, and the themes he pursued in his paintings and photographs caused some to place him among the Social Realists. But such an attempt at categorization does him an injustice, since Sheeler, a product of the machine age, had already charted his own, individualistic course years earlier. Because of his meticulous attention to detail, a larger percentage of critics and art historians have chosen to label him a Precisionist, and certainly a more convincing argument can be made for his leanings in that direction.

Given his interest in vernacular buildings, it might come as a surprise that Sheeler displays little of the fondness for nostalgic scenes in rural settings that often characterize the efforts of the Regionalists at that time. Much of his output, however, revolves around urban subject matter, a trait that becomes particularly evident with those works executed in the 1930s, such as City Interior (1936). This painting presents, not a city at all, but the complex inner workings of a large factory. Sheeler chose for his own artistic territory the industrial landscape, a place of factories and smokestacks, and he then proceeded to suck any remaining life out of it, as in two of his best-known paintings, American Landscape (1930) and Classic Landscape (1931). Painted with technological clarity and exactitude, his industrial portraits tend, like the street scenes done by his contemporary, Edward Hopper (1882–1967), to be eerily quiet, with an overriding feeling of loneliness permeating them. When people do appear, they seemingly cannot connect

with one another. Instead, a sense of detachment dominates his pictures and he places the viewer outside the canvas, looking at the subject from a considerable distance.

Sheeler's photographs of machines exist as a mediating force between his paintings and real life. Filled with minute detail, and capable of sharp contrasts between light and dark, photographs served Sheeler as guides into his paintings. Geometrically ordered, both his photographs and paintings heighten the isolation inherent in his compositions. The two approaches allow viewers to contemplate technological America without intrusion.

Although Sheeler's unsullied factory landscapes and depictions of technology convey the power of industrial America, he shows no workers prepared to run the machines he so lovingly details. The manufacturing potential might be there, but it has not been unleashed. With great factories standing idle in the Depression, Sheeler's paintings provide mute comment on the unrealized force of American industry. In this quiet, unmoving environment, he perhaps reflects the Depression economy, likewise frozen and silent, unable to move.

Not all of his work involved great engines or vast factories. Sheeler could also paint warm, personal scenes, such as *Bucks County Barn* (1932) and *American Interior* (1934). Even with these subjects, however, the attention to detail and precise, geometric arrangement of all elements within the pictures take precedence.

Sheeler never achieved the popular following enjoyed by some of his colleagues, but he had earned great respect from leading museums and galleries. In 1939, in a fitting close to the decade, he produced another classic, *Rolling Power*, an intimate study of the great steel wheels and piston rods of a steam locomotive. That same year he also enjoyed recognition and a rare honor, a one-man show at New York's Museum of Modern Art. He would continue to paint and practice photography until a stroke in 1959 made these activities impossible.

See also Thomas Hart Benton; Reginald Marsh; Regionalism; Social Realism; Grant Wood

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SHEET MUSIC. A print medium that predates recordings, radio, tapes, CDs, and all other electronic forms of preserving music, sheet music could be found in the United States from the earliest colonial times. By the opening of the twentieth century, cheap printed music stood as an important component of American popular culture. Publishing houses that produced only sheet music thrived, and the success or failure of a song could be measured in its sheet music sales. With the Great Depression, coupled with the availability of alternative sources of music, those prosperous days came to an end.

Instead of turning on a radio or playing a recording, people used to listen to live performances of a particular song, performances that often occurred in the home. Many households acquired a piano or a parlor organ, or sometimes a guitar, and young and old mastered the instruments and learned to read music. Sheet music, relatively inexpensive and accessible, provided the necessary notation and assured performers reasonably accurate reproduction. It took technology, in the form of phonographs, recordings, and radio, to challenge the long-standing dominance of this old and trusted medium.

Until the mid-1920s, however, these new technologies coexisted with sheet music, with no one format dominant. Although sheet music sales showed some decline, many Americans continued to enjoy the pleasures of playing an instrument and reading music. Publishers nonetheless took moves to stabilize their industry. In order to compete with the growing popularity of the new electronic media, they lowered the prices on printed popular songs, establishing a set price of 30 cents a copy (roughly \$3.50 in contemporary money) for most titles. An arbitrary figure, they felt 30 cents would be competitive with the prices for recordings, which ranged from less than 50 cents a disc (or \$5.75) for some imports to well over a dollar (\$11.50) for certain classical discs. Since a single recording yielded two sides and two songs, cost-conscious consumers immediately noted that records provided a considerable per-song saving over sheet music, which usually contained just one number.

In addition, recordings and radio permitted listeners to hear their favorites performed by professional artists, instead of a home-style version done by friends gathered around a piano. The nuances of a particular singer or orchestra could be captured on discs, something printed musical notation might never convey. During the 1930s, recordings of popular tunes established a permanent lead over sheet music in total sales, although both formats suffered sharp drops as the Depression worsened. Only radio, perceived as free entertainment, flourished, an advantage it never relinquished.

In the face of plummeting sales induced by the economic crisis, music publishers, along with the record companies, slashed their prices. Twenty-five cents (roughly \$3.75 in contemporary money), sometimes less, became the common price for sheet music for most of the decade, although that figure reverted to pre-Depression levels around 1938–1939. The industry considered any song that boasted sales of over 200,000 copies in a year a real success, and such tunes came along infrequently. The Woolworth's chain of five-and-dimes, discouraged by this declining market, closed its once-bustling sheet music departments in the late 1930s, and rival Kresge's emerged as the main outlet.

Despite shrinking popularity, sheet music did possess one significant advantage over recordings: longevity. Provided it remained in print and available for a sufficiently long time, a song could sell 500,000 or more sheet music copies, but it might take years to accomplish this. A phonograph recording, on the other hand, experienced a much more limited shelf life; the average availability of a record ranged from a few weeks to a few months before wholesalers replaced it with a new release. But if sheet music publishers boasted an advantage in longer availability, the various record labels countered by releasing many more titles. Buyers had far more choices in recordings than they did with sheet music, an important factor for most consumers, one that led to the further decline of music publishing.

The longer life of sheet music also led to discrepancies about how the music industry interpreted popularity with the public. Since record companies tracked their sales closely, they knew within a couple of weeks what records sold well and what releases moved more slowly. In the sheet music business, however, a time lag of 10 weeks or more often existed. People generally did not rush to purchase new sheet music as

readily as they might new recordings, and publishers therefore had to allow printed music to remain with outlets much longer. A song declared a hit by record manufacturers might barely have made a dent in sheet music sales. Most retailers, however, were reluctant to carry sheet music titles for months or years at a time, and so many titles disappeared before they had a chance to become established favorites.

A recording ban that occurred during the 1940s brought about a temporary surge in sheet music sales during World War II, but when the ban ended sales again dropped off. With radios and phonographs in virtually every home by the end of the 1930s, sheet music would never again be a major part of the popular music business.

See also Songwriters & Lyricists; Your Hit Parade

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SINATRA, FRANK. A native of Hoboken, New Jersey, Francis Albert Sinatra (1915–1998) would in time become the leading male vocalist in American popular music. Most of that journey to fame and fortune would occur in the 1940s and the decades following, but Frank Sinatra's extraordinary career began in the 1930s.

During his later teenage years, Sinatra listened to many singers, especially **Bing Crosby** (1903–1977) and Billie Holiday (1915–1959), on records and **radio**; this exposure to other soloists encouraged him to emulate aspects of their styles and apply them to his renditions of contemporary songs. Possessed of a tenor voice as an adolescent, he could reach lower ranges comfortably. Sinatra dropped out of high school at 15 and focused on pursuing a career in music.

In 1935, along with three friends, he entered a radio talent contest, *The Original Amateur Hour*. Calling themselves the Hoboken Four, they hoped for instant fame. The show, which had just premiered Sundays of that year on the National Broadcasting Company's (NBC radio) Red network and enjoyed national sponsorship with Chase and Sanborn Coffee, offered performers the opportunity to be heard by a large audience. The program originated in New York City and Major Edward Bowes (1874–1946) presided over the activities on stage. A genial, easygoing personality on the air, Bowes found himself an overnight celebrity, and thousands of people, young and old, flocked to New York for auditions to be on the wildly successful show. Only 20 musicians, singers, actors, mimics, comedians, and so on would make the final cut for each night's performance, but hopes sprang eternal in those Depression-wracked years. The selected contestants got to do their acts, and listeners voted for their favorites. Only a tiny percentage of winners ever advanced much beyond their moment on *The Original Amateur Hour*, but the Hoboken Four proved to be one of the lucky ones, with Sinatra giving a rendition of Cole Porter's (1891–1964) "Night and Day" (1932), a song destined to be a regular part of his future repertoire.

Soon thereafter, he broke with the quartet and branched out on his own. Good looks and obvious talent got him bookings in small New Jersey nightclubs during the later 1930s. His voice remained somewhat high, and only later would it drop into the baritone range.

He demonstrated a knack for musical phrasing, which allowed him to become an extension of the band rather than just a vocalist in front of it. On romantic ballads he seemingly caressed the lyrics, creating an intimacy between him and the listener. The crooners of the early 1930s—Rudy Vallee (1901–1986), Russ Columbo (1908–1934), and of course Crosby—had also exploited this gift of creating a romantic atmosphere within the confines of a three-minute popular song, the playing time of most 78 rpm records.

Scrabbling for jobs in the late 1930s, Sinatra became a singing waiter at the Rustic Cabin, a well-known Englewood, New Jersey, club that boasted radio remotes. Thanks to widespread broadcasting from the nightspot, people from beyond the confines of the Rustic Cabin heard Sinatra's interpretations of popular songs. Harry James (1916–1983), a virtuoso trumpeter and leader of a newly formed swing orchestra, listened to the young waiter in the spring of 1939 and soon thereafter offered him a contract to perform with his band.

Sinatra came on board the James aggregation in midyear as the lead singer in a vocal group called the Music Makers. Within a short time, the band cut its first recordings, and Sinatra had the honors on two sides, "From the Bottom of My Heart" (music and lyrics by Harry James, Andy Gibson [1913–1961], Morty Beck, and Billy Hayes [both active 1930s]) and "Melancholy Mood" (music by Walter Schumann [1913–1958], lyrics by Vick Knight [1908–1984]). Since the swing era was in full flower and James's band a popular one, the records enjoyed respectable sales, but nothing sensational. He also recorded "All or Nothing at All" (words and music by Jack Lawrence [b. 1912] and Arthur Altman [1910–1994]), but it too did little at the time. Rereleased in 1943, when Sinatra had emerged as a full-fledged star, "All or Nothing at All" became an enormous hit, another song long associated with the singer.

After about six months with James, Sinatra moved on to the Tommy Dorsey (1905–1956) orchestra, another top-flight swing ensemble. As the 1930s drew to a close, this new association would mean great things for the vocalist. Lush arrangements, fine musicians, and a chance to sing some of the best tunes of the day made everything jell, and in the first months of 1940 Frank Sinatra found himself the hottest property in the band. Audiences, especially teenage girls, could not get enough of the "skinny kid from Hoboken," and his career skyrocketed.

One of his first recording sessions with Dorsey included "I'll Never Smile Again" (1939; words and music by Ruth Lowe [1915–1981]); it rapidly climbed the charts to the number 3 position, his first real hit. The overnight popularity of Sinatra presaged a groundswell of change that would alter the face of popular music as the 1940s progressed. Vocalists, male and female, and vocal groups as well, had begun to upstage the bands. The instrumental remained important, but audiences also expected singers to take the stage. In time, the vocalists themselves would begin to front many of the bands, and they often received top billing on record labels.

But that seismic shift occurred after the 1930s officially ended. The Voice, the Chairman of the Board, Ol' Blue Eyes—those familiar nicknames for Frank Sinatra came later, after Harry James, after Tommy Dorsey. The foundations for future acclaim, however, had been established in the 1930s, when Frank Sinatra stood poised to embark on a phenomenal show business career that most other entertainers could only envy.

See also Jukeboxes; Radio Networks; Songwriters & Lyricists; Your Hit Parade; Youth

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SINGING COWBOYS. Western films, always a popular genre in American movies, continued to attract a steady audience during the 1930s. With the addition of sound in 1927, Westerns could go beyond their traditional visual aspects of shoot-outs, cattle drives, and the endless conflicts between cowboys and Indians. Some of the more cheaply produced films—the B movies of second features and Saturday matinees—added music to their screenplays, creating a new category of hero, the singing cowboy.

Throughout the settling of the West and thousands of cattle drives, legend has it that cowboys sang to their cows to calm them and to fill the long lonely hours of work. Relaxing around the campfire at night, the cowhands would pass these songs along to one another, making them part of the oral tradition of folk music. John Lomax (1867–1948), an important American folklorist, published an anthology of these tunes, Cowboy Songs and Other Frontier Ballads (1910), one of the first such collections that attempted to preserve this unique part of American musical culture.

In the mid- to late 1920s, two authentic working ranch hands, Carl T. Sprague (1895–1978) and Jules Verne Allen (1883–1945), recorded cowboy songs for RCA Victor Records. Sprague achieved a degree of individual success with a 1925 disc titled "When the Work's All Done This Fall." Radio entered the picture in 1930 when John I. White (1902–1992) of Washington, D.C., used the moniker "the Lonesome Cowboy," and from 1930–1936 played his guitar and sang on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC radio) show *Death Valley Days*, a program that ultimately ran from 1930 until 1951. It then went on to more years on **television**.

The credit for the first person to sing cowboy tunes in a sound movie probably belongs to Ken Maynard (1895–1973). A famous trick rider for stunts that he did with his horse Tarzan, Maynard worked with the Buffalo Bill Wild West Show and later with Ringling Brothers Circus. He entered films in 1923 as a stuntman and actor and easily made the transition from silent to sound movies with his performance in *The Wagon Master* (1929), a film in which he sang. Maynard went on to make dozens more Westerns, singing in some, but not all, of them.

Once the ice had been broken, many more musically oriented Westerns made their way to local movie houses. Most have been forgotten, perhaps mercifully so. A young John Wayne (1907–1979), playing himself in *The Hollywood Handicap* (1932), seems to strum a guitar and sing in this 20-minute short, but the technique of dubbing allowed someone off-camera to actually play and sing for him. Wayne wisely declined to appear again in a singing role, either real or simulated.

By the mid-1930s, the newly formed Republic Studio, a creation resulting from a 1935 merger bringing together three small production companies, Monogram Pictures, Liberty Films, and Mascot Pictures, used the singing cowboy formula advantageously. Since these

Westerns could be shot outdoors on simple sets, the process usually proceeded quickly and cheaply. They met any standards regarding presentations of sex and violence by the **Hollywood Production Code**, and it all seemed easier with films located in the old West instead of contemporary cities. Also, any cowboy who sang and played for dances capitalized on the ongoing popularity of movie **musicals**.

Soon, auditions for aspiring cowpokes with musical talent had them sitting astride a horse, strumming a guitar, and singing. Finding anyone with this mix of skills, as well as a modicum of acting ability, proved difficult. Gene Autry (1907–1998), a successful radio and recording personality, had already issued a songbook and performed on *The National Barn Dance* when he made his 1934 film debut as a guest vocalist in Mascot Picture's *In Old Santa Fe*, also known as *Down in Old Santa Fe*. Both the motion picture and Autry's appearance received enthusiastic approval, especially from youthful fans in small towns. Despite some obvious deficiencies in acting, along with limited riding experience, Autry found himself Republic's hope for success. The studio billed him as "the Screen's New Singing Cowboy Star" in a 1935 production called *Tumbling Tumbleweeds*, a movie that also featured his horse, Champion, destined to appear with him in most of his subsequent pictures.

Autry quickly became the hottest singing cowboy in Hollywood; between 1934 and 1939 he starred in 36 films. A 1936 effort, appropriately titled *The Singing Cowboy*, even showcased the still-experimental medium of **television**. Autry and the ranch hands appear on screen as if guests on a television show. In 1937, the movie industry voted Autry as its top Western star, and in 1939 his box office appeal rivaled that of veteran actors like Clark Gable (1901–1960), **Bing Crosby** (1903–1977), and Gary Cooper (1901–1961). That same year, he made more money from product endorsements, such as toy cap pistols bearing his name, than from his movies and records combined.

Smiley Burnette (1911–1967), a friend of Autry's and a musician who had worked with him on *The National Barn Dance*, also made his debut in 1934's *In Old Santa Fe*. The next year, he signed on with Republic and became well known as Autry's plump comic sidekick. He appears with Autry in all of his 1930s films and provided considerable music as a songwriter. Over the course of his career, in addition to working with Autry in over 80 Westerns, Burnette also managed to play the comic relief for other cowboy stars at Republic.

When Autry's contract for renewal with Republic came up in 1938, he asked for more money. The studio executives refused. Because of this contractual dispute, Autry failed to report for his next movie. But Republic had expected this move and had already scouted for a replacement. They selected Leonard Slye (1911–1998), a member of a western singing group called the Sons of the Pioneers. Slye, no newcomer to motion pictures, had appeared in minor, uncredited film roles since 1935. He changed his name to Dick Weston in 1937–1938, and because of his prior work, had a strong musical résumé.

When Republic approached Slye, the Sons of the Pioneers had just signed a contract with Columbia Pictures. In order to work for Republic, Slye/Weston withdrew from the group and assumed the name Roy Rogers. With this new billing, he took the lead in *Under Western Stars* (1938), and Republic boasted that "a new Western star is born." Rogers starred in 12 more pictures by the end of the decade. He always appeared with his horse, Trigger, and acquired the nickname "King of the Cowboys." Although Rogers's career did not blossom as early as Gene Autry's, he quickly became Autry's primary rival. In the 1940s, singer Dale Evans (1912–2001) became Rogers's steady onscreen companion as well as his offscreen wife, and the couple often shared top billing.

In 1938, another fairly new and struggling studio, Grand National Pictures, signed Dorothy Page (1904–1961) to star in a series of Westerns featuring a singing cowgirl. Page had a strong background in radio, had sung with several name bands, and appeared in three lackluster movies. For her first singing cowgirl movie, *Water Rustlers* (1939), Grand National billed her as "the new songbird of the range in a Western picture that's different." Unfortunately for both Dorothy Page and the studio, the picture did not prove different enough to be successful. Two more attempts in the series, *Ride 'Em Cowgirl* and *The Singing Cowgirl*, came out in 1939, but also did poorly at the box office. Page retired from acting and Grand National Pictures eventually went out of business.

Before its collapse, Grand National tried to compete with Republic Pictures by producing singing cowboy films that featured Tex Ritter (1905–1974) and his horse, White Flash. The studio hoped that Ritter's lankiness and persona of a "true" Westerner would give him an advantage over the other, more manicured, cowboy crooners. He started with Song of the Gringo in 1936 and followed that with 20 more B productions during the 1930s, including Sing, Cowboy, Sing (1937) and Song of the Buckeroo (1938), almost always playing a character nicknamed "Tex." For a brief time his popularity did challenge Autry's reign, but his solo starring career ended in 1941.

On other musical fronts, the **swing** era had begun to move into high gear in the mid-1930s. In an attempt to capitalize on both the popularity of swing music and singing cowboys, Paramount Pictures brought out *Rhythm on the Range* in 1936. As possibly the least likely cowboy in movie history, the picture stars Bing Crosby, the most popular crooner of the day. In the course of the story, he sings "I'm an Old Cowhand," a cheerful little hit that features music and lyrics by Johnny Mercer (1909–1976), an up-and-coming **songwriter and lyricist**. Roy Rogers, in an uncredited cameo, makes an appearance in this spin-off of the singing cowboy phenomenon.

The singing cowboy movies offered audiences a nostalgic vision of the American West and continued as a popular movie genre through the 1940s. Never claiming to be realistic, their simple plots generally consisted of the good guy catching the bad guys. Usually, a lovely young woman finds herself in a predicament, and a singing cowboy, surrounded by a group of fellow musicians, calms her with a soothing song. In the end, however, the cowboy rides off into the sunset without the girl but with his guitar and his best friend, his horse.

See also Circuses; Radio Networks; Recordings; Serials; Songwriters & Lyricists; Toys; Youth

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SKIING. Lake Placid, a small town in upstate New York, served as the site of the 1932 Winter **Olympic Games**; until that time, the majority of Americans had never attempted skiing. Unless a person resided in a mountainous region with snowy winters, the opportunity simply did not present itself; skiing required more promotion. And,

despite the Depression, the Olympics provided a healthy dose of the necessary promotion. The games failed to generate as much interest as had been hoped—a lack of snow contributed to this situation—but the various events convinced uncounted numbers of people to attempt schussing down a snow-covered hill. Nonetheless skiing remained an activity with a low level of national participation. Depending on whose estimates were quoted, the end of the decade placed the total number of American skiers at approximately 1 to 3 million. Out of a population of 131 million, that translates as anywhere from less than 1 percent to perhaps 2.5 percent—a low percentage in any case.

Not that promoters did not try. In the winter of 1931, the first ski train left Boston, headed for the New Hampshire slopes. It consisted of a Boston and Maine passenger train that carried members of an urban ski club for a weekend outing. By the time of the Lake Placid Games, a number of railroad lines had begun running special **trains** to nearby New England towns. For most of the 1930s, and fueled by the success of railroad excursions, the Northeast enjoyed the lion's share of publicity about skiing and resultant commercialization. Although places like Wisconsin and Colorado inaugurated ski trains of their own, the expansion of the sport in the North Central and Western states would not gain significant momentum until after World War II.

The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC; 1933–1942), one of the many offspring of the New Deal's Works Progress Administration (WPA, 1935–1943; name changed to Works Projects Administration in 1939), labored in the Rockies and other mountainous areas to blaze new ski trails and erect shelters. Their efforts, often executed under primitive conditions, helped prepare many federal lands for the growing popularity of skiing and provided jobs to young men who might otherwise have been unemployed.

In those simpler days, enthusiasts required little; hickory skis, wooden poles, boots, and stout leather bindings sufficed. Both boots and bindings grew progressively more sophisticated as the 1930s progressed, but most skiers voiced no objections to these costlier improvements. Entrepreneurs in 1931 introduced the first tows, simple rope affairs that required considerable strength and dexterity on the part of the person being pulled. Soon the majority of ski areas advertised them. The lodges themselves tended to be rustic and cheap. All the fanciness, **fashion**, and expense now associated with the activity came later, although a glimpse of the future occurred in 1936 when the Union Pacific Railroad opened its posh Sun Valley resort in Idaho. Among other things, it offered the first chairlift, a feature that other ski centers promptly imitated.

Several ski-oriented **magazines** sprang up during the later 1930s, with names like the *Ski Bulletin*, *Skiing*, *Ski West*, *Ski-Week*, and the like. A number of books and manuals, such as *Modern Ski Technique* (1932; went through eight editions) and *Skiing: The International Sport* (1937), were published. **Newspapers** regularly noted skiing conditions in nearby locales, and **radio** stations provided regional ski reports.

Hollywood at first missed the cinematic potential in skiing, limiting most of its output to newsreels with short clips of jumpers or spectacular falls. United Artists finally cranked out *Winter Carnival* in 1939, a frothy Ann Sheridan (1915–1967) movie, and it proved to be a harbinger: after 1940, a number of motion pictures employed winter leisure and recreation as part of their plots. In the meantime, the public got ahead of the studios; by 1940, skiing had become a multimillion-dollar enterprise and only the demands of World War II slowed the growth of the sport.

See also Advertising; Movies; Travel

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SMITH, KATE. Fondly remembered by many as "America's songbird" and "the songbird of the South," singer Kate Smith (1907–1986) first began to attract attention in the mid-1920s; she would remain a musical favorite for the next 50 years. A native of Greenville, Virginia, a small town near Staunton, she spent her early years in Washington, D.C. While still a child, she sang for American troops based in the capital area during World War I.

Smith broke into professional show business with a 1926 Broadway play, *Honeymoon Lane*. Her strong contralto voice impressed promoters, and she gained billing as a stage comedienne, subsequently appearing in *Hit the Deck* (1927–1928) and *Flying High* (1930). She also cut some records during this period, but they gained no notice. In 1930, a talent agent named Ted Collins (d. 1964) witnessed her stage singing. Through his efforts, Columbia Records signed Smith, an important breakthrough for the young vocalist. Following her recording contract, Collins agreed to become her manager, a position he would hold until his death. In 1931, she enjoyed her first recorded hit with "River, Stay Away from My Door" (music by Harry Woods [1896–1970], lyrics by Mort Dixon [1892–1956]). The success of this recording, along with Collins' continuing astute direction, brought her to network **radio** and increasing fame.

In 1931, Kate Smith began a long relationship with the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS radio) and quickly rose to become a star of the first rank. Her work with CBS commenced with *Kate Smith Sings*, a 15-minute show destined to survive until 1952, despite changing titles, shifting timeslots, and different networks. Syndicated variations remained on the air until 1960. Although she already had one show under way, Smith added *The Kate Smith Hour* (aka *The Kate Smith A&P Bandwagon*), a guest-filled variety offering in 1936; it ran until 1945.

Smith introduced *Speaking Her Mind* and *Kate Smith's Column* in 1938. Daytime talk shows filled with folksy wisdom and practical advice, they coalesced into *Kate Smith Speaks* the following year. Her talk format proved popular and endured until 1951. A deeply conservative woman, Smith espoused homespun American values, wholesomeness, and patriotism, themes that gave her a solid following over the years.

As a performer, both on radio and live, Smith opened her shows with a hearty "Hello, everybody!" This signature greeting she accompanied with a farewell "thanks for listenin'." In her early *Kate Smith Sings* broadcasts, she introduced "When the Moon Comes Over the Mountain" (1931; music by Harry Woods, lyrics by Howard Johnson [1887–1941]) as her theme. The song quickly became associated with the singer, and until her death in 1986, it "belonged" to her. Radio exposure led Smith to Hollywood; she broke into the **movies** with *The Big Broadcast* (1932), a celebrity-filled picture in which she does a cameo singing none other than "When the Moon Comes Over the Mountain." Smith then starred in a first-run feature called *Hello*, *Everybody!* Despite her presence,

Hello, Everybody! performed poorly at the box office, and it finished Smith's short-lived venture into the movies, at least for the 1930s.

Kate Smith's recording career, as far as hit singles go, fared little better than her film efforts. Not until 1940 and "The Woodpecker Song" (music by Eldo di Lazzaro [b. 1912], English lyrics by Harold Adamson [1906–1980]) did she next have a hit. But her numerous records sold steadily through the decade, and producers showed little reluctance to employ her, given her immense popularity on radio.

One other Kate Smith recording merits attention. In 1918, at the close of World I, composer Irving Berlin (1888–1989) wrote a song for an army camp musical, Yip Yip Yaphank. Dropped from the final score, the tune languished in a trunk until Berlin exhumed it in 1938. He saw the signs of World War II gathering, wanted to give the nation an unabashedly patriotic song in those dark days, and knew exactly who should perform it. Recognizing her considerable fame and talent, Berlin granted Kate Smith exclusive rights to the words and music to "God Bless America." She first sang it, on radio, in November 1938. Her strong, optimistic rendition of the lyrics lifted people's spirits whenever they heard it, and "God Bless America" evolved into a kind of second, unofficial national anthem. She would cut a recording of "God Bless America" in 1939. Both Smith and Berlin turned over their considerable royalties from the song to the Boy and Girl Scouts of America.

By the end of the 1930s, Kate Smith found herself ranked among the most influential women of the era. "The first lady of radio" had received numerous honors; her music and talk shows had audiences in the millions; and she had attained, at age 33, the status of a national treasure. World War II would only serve to burnish her reputation, and "God Bless America," like "When the Moon Comes Over the Mountain" before it, would always be associated with her.

See also Musicals; Radio Networks; Recordings; Songwriters & Lyricists

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SNOW WHITE AND THE SEVEN DWARFS. Amid considerable publicity, RKO Radio Pictures released a movie version of *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* just before Christmas 1937. Nominally directed by David Hand (1900–1986), but overseen in every detail by producer Walt Disney (1901–1966), the plot comes from a freely adapted fairy tale by the Brothers Grimm. For children of all ages, the film stands, almost 70 years after its initial release, as one of the greatest animated features ever made. When it premiered, promoters proudly proclaimed it the first full-length (83 minutes), all-color cartoon feature.

Disney and his staff had been discussing the project since 1933. The actual creation of *Snow White* took over three years and cost a then-astronomical \$1.75 million (about \$24 million in today's dollars). RKO had been fearful of losing money on a feature-length cartoon, and as production costs rose, studio hands nicknamed *Snow White* "Disney's folly." They need not have worried; the picture garnered over \$8 million (or

\$108 million) in its 1937–1938 release, and has continued to show enormous profits ever since. Only 1939's *Gone with the Wind* earned more during the era.

In order to generate interest in the film, King Features gained rights to run a serialized *Snow White* comic strip on Sundays. Drawn by Hank Porter (1905–1951) and written by Merrill deMaris (active 1930s), the series commenced two weeks before the December premiere of the movie, and about two months prior to the picture's general release. Porter worked from the film's original drawings, so that the strip would serve as a print replica of the motion picture. Additional merchandising included dolls, figurines, **Big Little Books**, and other reminders of the ongoing movie.

Snow White deserves its early publicity. From the first days of animation, artists had meticulously drawn by hand each frame of film. Disney, always a pioneer in the field, made the decision that every frame should not only be hand-drawn but also contain action. He saw to it that his artists depict characters moving, that flowers, even in the background, wave in the breeze, that birds swoop about in the sky. He also filled his **movies** with sound: those same characters speak and sing, the flowers and birds likewise contribute songs and happy chirps. Snow White bursts with action, both visual and aural.

Using what has come to be called a multiplane camera effect, Disney created the illusion of depth on the flat screen. He placed several layers of different drawings, done on glass, on top of one another, allowing each to move independent of the other. Thus stars could orbit the heavens, seemingly in the distance and behind objects in the foreground. Or a forest could consist of many trees, some in the immediate foreground, others at a midpoint behind them, with yet more distant trees in the background. As a character passes these woods, each row, or layer, of forest shifts, allowing the camera to see these various trees at differing angles, just as in real life. Developed in the mid-1930s, the multiplane camera made its first public appearance in "The Old Mill," a 1937 short cartoon in the long-running (1929–1939) Silly Symphony series. The success of "The Old Mill" encouraged the studio to utilize the technology in Snow White, its first extended use.

Although *Snow White* lacks some of the smooth, effortless movement, or fluidity, seen in later Disney movies like *Pinocchio* and *Fantasia* (both 1940), every frame manages to stand as a masterpiece of color and composition. In addition, the **music**, while memorable, sometimes seems stilted or operatic in its presentation. Action comes to a halt while a number gets performed; at its completion, the picture returns to the storyline. Nevertheless, the movie provides a delightful score, with melodic music by Frank Churchill (1901–1942) and lyrics by Larry Morey (active 1930s). Songs like "Some Day My Prince Will Come," "Whistle While You Work," and "Heigh-Ho" received considerable airplay. They climbed the charts to become hits in 1938 and remain as standards today.

Snow White, as a character, lacks a strong personality; cynics might say she comes across as cloyingly sweet. Even the handsome prince speaks and acts in a wooden manner. But those are quibbles; the evil witch, the mirror on the wall, the seven dwarfs, and all the animals burst with personality, giving the picture its interest and zest. Whenever any or all of the colorful dwarfs—Bashful, Doc, Dopey, Grumpy, Happy, Sleepy, and Sneezy—come on screen, they usually steal the show. Each dwarf possesses a distinct personality and physical characteristics, a major step forward in cartoon creation. Until Snow White, most animated films focused on one character. In 1933, Disney had broken that barrier with *The Three Little Pigs*, a short cartoon that served as something of a model

for *Snow White*. Clearly, the three pigs provided invaluable instruction for creating the seven dwarfs.

Walt Disney had won several Academy Awards for his short cartoons in the early part of the decade, and in 1939 he received an Honorary Academy Award for Screen Innovation. Shirley Temple (b. 1928), the popular child star, presented him an unusual Oscar: the normal gold statuette along with seven miniatures, one for each of the dwarfs.

See also Architecture; Children's Films; Songwriters & Lyricists; Toys

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SOAP OPERAS. Variety, laughter, and music may have dominated American radio programming during the 1930s, but pathos, with an occasional dash of bathos, also found a large audience. Continuing, serialized stories that introduce vividly emotional characters and plotting became a major part of the typical radio day. These dramas soon gained the name "soap operas," so called because soap companies—Procter and Gamble, Lever Brothers, Colgate-Palmolive, and others—sponsored most of them, working on the supposition that women constituted most of the listening audience. Broadcasters positioned the shows in the late morning and early afternoon hours, with the idea that housewives, presumably at home with idle time on their hands, would tune in. These sponsors and programmers also assumed—rightly or wrongly—that men would be neither interested nor available, so the "soaps" emerged as a small but significant area of radio created for women in an essentially male-oriented medium.

Several individuals, especially Irna Phillips (1901–1973) and the team of Anne and Frank Hummert (1905–1996; 1882–1966), became the leading names in soap opera production during that era. Together, they wrote and oversaw some 30 different daytime serials. Phillips, often called "the mother of the soap opera," developed *Painted Dreams* for Chicago's WGN in 1930. This show, generally considered to be the first true soap opera, had, in fact, a detergent manufacturer as its sponsor. Phillips based the series on the success of melodramatic love stories then appearing in women's magazines, as well as some romantic film antecedents. Her scripts touched a nerve in her listening audience. *Painted Dreams*, which ran until 1940, led to a succession of similar serials penned by Phillips, who also took speaking roles in some productions of her material. *Today's Children* (1933–1937, 1943–1950), *The Guiding Light* (1937–1956), *The Road of Life* (1937–1958), *Woman in White* (1938–1948), and *The Right to Happiness* (1939–1960) rank among her more memorable creations.

Unlike Phillips, Anne and Frank Hummert did not write soaps but instead created an agency devoted to their production. From all reports, the couple demanded much of their writers and performers, but their high standards assured quality production values. Sponsors agreed; the Hummerts accounted for over half of the **advertising** revenue generated by soap operas. At times, their agency had as many as 18 different serials going

simultaneously, including such popular titles as *Betty and Bob* (1932–1940, considered the first network soap opera), *Just Plain Bill* (1932–1955), *Ma Perkins* (1933–1960), *The Romance of Helen Trent* (1933–1960), and *Our Gal Sunday* (1937–1959). The Phillips and Hummert names did not die out with the decline of radio in the 1950s; a number of their series went on to new lives on **television**.

For housewives and anyone else—clearly soap opera audiences went beyond the stereotype—the daily stories dished up a bit of escapism. They featured molasses-like pacing, a deliberate touch on the part of writers; if a listener missed an episode or two, it required little or no catching up, and their simple plotting and black-and-white characterizations required minimal audience attention. These shows emphasized women—their love lives, their families, and the trials and tribulations of contemporary domestic life. Most serials stood guilty of gender stereotyping, but the followers apparently loved it and maintained a high level of enthusiasm and loyalty.

Like many **movies** of the period, soap operas affirm tradition: marriage, family, and friends. Often set in rural locales, the stories feature simple folk placed in dramatic situations. Good, solid American values eventually win the day, although it takes a seeming eternity to reach resolution. When a story finally winds down, the main characters resolutely march on to the next problem, reassured by the verities expressed in the previous episode. No problem is too great, no crisis too complex for their simplistic solutions. But listeners enjoyed knowing that when an episode eventually reached its conclusion, a new calamity awaited.

Rural or urban, the soaps usually have their characters return, over and over, to lessons learned at mother's knee, or better yet, have mother herself appear to remind them of what they should know. Moralistic and conservative, the writing and plotting function as guideposts for the 1930s.

Popular Radio Soap Operas of the 1930s (alphabetical & by network)

Mutual	CBS	NBC
Backstage Wife (Mutual, 1935– 1936; NBC, 1936–1955; CBS, 1955–1968)	Arnold Grimm's Daughter (CBS, 1937–1938; NBC, 1938–1942)	Against the Storm (NBC, 1939–1942; ABC, 1951–1952)
Kitty Keene, Incorporated (1937–1941)	Aunt Jenny's True Life Stories (1937–1956)	Betty and Bob (NBC, 1932–1936; CBS, 1936–1938; NBC, 1938–1940)
The Life of Mary Sothern (Mutual, 1934–1937; CBS, 1937–1938)	Bachelor's Children (CBS, 1936–1941; NBC, 1941– 1942; CBS, 1942–1946)	Dan Harding's Wife (1936–1939)
The O'Neills (Mutual, 1934–1935; CBS, 1935–1941; NBC, 1942–1943)	Big Sister (1936–1952)	David Harum (NBC, 1936–1947; CBS, 1947–1950; NBC, 1950–1951)
	The Couple Next Door (1937–1960)	Girl Alone (1935–1941)
	Hilltop House (CBS, 1937–1941, 1948–1955; NBC, 1956–1957)	The Guiding Light (originally NBC, 1937–1946; CBS, 1947–1956)
	Joyce Jordan, M.D. (CBS, 1938–1945; NBC, 1945– 1948; ABC, 1951–1952; NBC, 1955)	John's Other Wife (1936–1942)

Mutual	CBS	NBC
	Just Plain Bill (CBS, 1932–1936; NBC, 1936–1955)	Life Can Be Beautiful (NBC, 1938; CBS, 1938–1946; NBC, 1946–1954)
	Marie, the Little French Princess (1933–1935)	The Light of the World (1940–1950)
	Myrt and Marge (1931–1942)	Lone Journey (NBC, 1940–1943, 1946–1947; ABC, 1951–1952)
	Our Gal Sunday (1937–1959)	Lorenzo Jones (1937–1955)
	Painted Dreams (Independent, 1930–1933; CBS, 1933–1934; Mutual, 1935–1936; independent, 1936–1940; NBC, 1940)	Ma Perkins (NBC, 1933–1949; ran concurrently with CBS, 1942–1949; CBS, 1949–1960)
	Portia Faces Life (CBS, 1940– 1941; NBC, 1941–1951)	Midstream (1938–1941)
	Pretty Kitty Kelly (1937–1940)	Moonshine and Honeysuckle (1930–1933)
	The Romance of Helen Trent (1933–1960)	One Man's Family (1932–1959; an evening show instead of daytime)
	Valiant Lady (CBS, 1938; NBC, 1938–1942; CBS, 1942–1946; ABC, 1951–1952)	Pepper Young's Family (1936–1959)
	When a Girl Marries (CBS, 1939–1941; NBC, 1941– 1951; ABC, 1951–1957)	The Right to Happiness (NBC, 1939–1940; CBS, 1940–1941; NBC, 1941–1956; CBS, 1956–1960)
	Woman of Courage (1939–1942)	The Road of Life (NBC, 1937–1954; ran concurrently with CBS, 1938–1942, 1945–1947, & 1952–1954; CBS, 1954–1958)
		Second Husband (NBC, 1937; CBS, 1937–1946)
		Stella Dallas (1938–1955)
		The Story of Mary Marlin (NBC, but often CBS, 1935–1945; ABC, 1951–1952)
		Today's Children (1933–1937, 1943–1950)
		Woman in White (NBC, 1938–1940; CBS, 1940–1942; NBC, 1944–1948)
		Young Dr. Malone (NBC, 1939–1940; CBS, 1940–1960)
		Young Widder Brown (1938–1956)

The chart gives only a partial listing; many other series existed during the decade. Some lasted for only a few episodes; others lingered on but achieved little fame. A handful bypassed the networks and went into syndication; for a fee, stations could subscribe to them. Few series involved big-name actors; cheaply produced and with small budgets, the soap opera world worked on the proverbial shoestring. Players would breathlessly

rush from stage to stage, studio to studio, in order to act out their assigned roles in multiple dramas. For their rapt audiences, the radio soap opera provided a 15-minute breather in a busy day, a dash of escapism in the midst of troubled times.

See also Advertising; Radio Networks

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SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS FILMS. Generally speaking, most Hollywood studios avoided making pictures about social issues in the 1930s, working on the dubious premise that anything topical would turn away much of the audience. In reality, the handful that did get produced attracted reasonable crowds, rebutting the idea that people did not want such reminders of the times.

The outstanding film in this category has to be *I* Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang (1932). Released by Warner Brothers, and directed by Mervyn LeRoy (1900–1987), until then most noted for the gangster film **Little Caesar** (1930), it stars Paul Muni (1895–1967), an actor made famous by his title role in Scarface: Shame of the Nation (1932). I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang marked a new direction for everyone involved.

The story, a true one, originated with Robert C. Burns (1891–1955), who in 1932 published a book titled *I Am a Fugitive from a Georgia Chain Gang*. It proved a sensation, exposing as it did the inhumane conditions then allowed in Georgia prisons. Burns had returned from World War I a penniless veteran and in 1922 got involved in a bungled Atlanta robbery. Justice, swift and harsh, sentenced him to a notorious "chain gang," which physically (and painfully) linked prisoners with chains, making the chances of escape most unlikely. But escape Burns did, fleeing north to Chicago. State authorities tracked him down, and in 1929 they returned him to the horrors of Georgia prison life.

Burns escaped once more and shortly thereafter published his exposé. The book outraged Georgia authorities, but some legal maneuvers—along with considerable public sympathy—allowed him to remain a free man. In the movie, his second escape thrusts him into Depression America, a place where no opportunities exist, and so he will always be on the run, the fugitive of the title.

Americans had already witnessed several film treatments of the nation's prisons, most notably *Big House* (1930), *The Criminal Code* (1931), and another chain gang movie, *Hell's Highway* (1932). But the honesty of *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang* struck a chord; the picture received several Academy Award nominations and emboldened studios, particularly Warner Brothers, to undertake other motion pictures that investigated social ills.

In 1933, the darkest year of the Depression, director William A. Wellman (1896–1975) undertook two movies for Warner Brothers, *Heroes for Sale* and *Wild Boys of the Road*. Both fit the category of socially conscious filmmaking. *Heroes for Sale* focuses on

Tom Holmes, played by Richard Barthelmess (1895–1963), a leading actor from silent pictures who had successfully made the transition to sound. A story of hardships brought on by the economic crisis, the movie deals with drugs, **crime**, Communism, unemployment, and hunger, the last through images of breadlines and soup kitchens. A populist film, it argues for hard work, fair pay, and sharing the wealth. Didactic in its treatment of these themes, *Heroes for Sale* paints a grim picture of the country at that time.

Wild Boys of the Road could easily fit into the **teenage and juvenile delinquency** genre of films. It deals with homeless **youth**, wandering from one "sewer pipe city" to another. Cast largely with unknowns, the picture has a gritty reality to it, and depicts the plight of thousands of young people who cannot find work and often resort to petty crime to survive. A predecessor to the popular Dead End Kids movies of the later 1930s, but more attuned to the Depression and its ripple effects in the lives of families, an overly optimistic ending mars its otherwise harsh realism.

Two similarly titled pictures, *Black Fury* (1935) and *Black Legion* (1937), come later in the decade, but continue the economic themes explored in *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang*, *Heroes for Sale*, and *Wild Boys of the Road*. By the mid-1930s, employment had begun a slow rebound, and attention had shifted from national problems to more localized ones. *Black Fury*, directed by Michael Curtiz (1886–1962), brings back Paul Muni, a multitalented actor. Now playing a Polish coalminer in Pennsylvania, he must endure venal unions, crooked bosses, and a vicious strike. Effective imagery depicts the harsh conditions imposed on miners and gives the film a documentary feel, but it lacks the underlying despair of *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang*.

Black Legion, on the other hand, offers a more involved plot, using vigilantism and hate groups as its villains. The Black Legion, a variation on the Ku Klux Klan, but clad in black, spreads unrest by playing on prejudice and ignorance. Humphrey Bogart (1899–1957), in one of his early leading roles prior to full-fledged stardom, plays a man who falls into the clutches of such a group. The legion also resembles the Black Shirts and Brown Shirts of fascist organizations then becoming increasingly visible in Europe. Their appeals to patriotism and nationalism provide, in retrospect, a chilling glimpse of things to come with World War II. As with Black Fury, however, the themes of Black Legion concern themselves less with the Depression and more with bigotry and intolerance. By 1937, the Great Depression, while fresh in everyone's memory, had become history, and the gathering clouds of war had captured people's attention.

Not every movie that dealt with social issues clothed itself in grim reality. A handful of clever comedies also took on contemporary problems, but in a much more lighthearted way. Director Frank Capra (1897–1991), one of the great innovators of the 1930s, practically wrote the book on **screwball comedies**, those wacky, irreverent mixes of slapstick and sophistication that took moviegoers' minds off the problems of the day. He also created a group of pictures that addressed those very problems, but in a comedic way. In movies like Mr. Deeds Goes to Town (1936) and Mr. Smith Goes to Washington (1939), Capra combines corruption and politics, and completes a populist trilogy of sorts with Meet John Doe (1941). His masterpiece, It Happened One Night (1934), looks unblinkingly at Depression hardships, as well as the gap between rich and poor, and all in the context of one of the funniest films of the decade.

Capra was not alone in blending humor with the Depression. Directors like Leo McCarey (1898–1969), Howard Hawks (1896–1977), George Cukor (1899–1983), and

W. S. Van Dyke (1889–1943) created a number of gems that likewise used the Depression and its problems as parts of their plots. More often than not, the foibles of the rich and the schemes of the poor collide, usually with hilarious results, but in a way that brings out the social and economic inequities so apparent in the 1930s.

See also Gangster Films; Propaganda & Anti-Axis Films; Social Realism

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SOCIAL REALISM. In the area of art during the Depression years, two distinct approaches, or schools, of painting rose to national prominence: Regionalism and Social Realism. Of the two, the Regionalists and their primarily rural pictures elicited more popular attention, but the Social Realists, students of the urban scene, also achieved a measure of recognition. More often than not, these latter painters depicted the poor, the dispossessed, and the jobless that dwelt in the nation's cities. Urban centers have both inspired and repelled American artists since the early nineteenth century and the beginnings of industrialization, so that the unemployment and despair seen in too many towns and cities during the Depression brought about a new wave of interest in depicting this dark side of urban life. Whereas the Regionalists usually embraced an optimistic vision of the United States, the Social Realists saw a need for change; their art carries more of a political or sociological message than does that of the Regionalists.

Although it can be argued that artists like **Edward Hopper** (1882–1967) and **Charles Sheeler** (1883–1965) do not fit comfortably into the Social Realist classification, their depictions of the city as an essentially cheerless, drab, and even ugly place at times put them in league with their Social Realist counterparts. On the other hand, a painter like **Reginald Marsh** (1898–1954), who usually receives the Social Realist brand, imbues the city with a syncopated, raucous life. He examines, often in satirical detail, the big, crowded milieu familiar to millions of Americans. Hopper and Sheeler make the onlooker ponder, but Marsh provides a more celebratory air.

As a rule, the Social Realists found most of their fame limited to museums, galleries, and public displays, such as murals. For example, Ben Shahn (1898–1969) first attracted attention with a series of 23 paintings he called *The Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti* (1932). Shahn dedicated the works to two Italian anarchists, Nicola Sacco (1891–1927) and Bartolomeo Vanzetti (1888–1927), executed in Massachusetts on charges of murder. Their deaths became a rallying cry for the American Left for many years thereafter, immortalized in story and song, as well as art.

Shahn, Lithuanian-born and thus something of an outsider, brings to his Sacco-Vanzetti series a searing sense of injustice, and the paintings earned him a reputation as a left-wing radical, a painter of "causes." In a large 1937 mural executed for the Jersey

Homesteads community center, Shahn depicts the path to the American Dream as an attainable one, but strewn with many obstacles. Unlike the sweeping vistas and patriotic themes explored by the Regionalists, his works challenge cherished beliefs, a stance also undertaken by many of his Social Realist colleagues.

Trained as a typographer and fascinated with lettering, Shahn frequently incorporates bits of text in his paintings. A case in point would be *The Bowery Clothing Store* (1936), where names, numbers, and quotations often aid the viewer in interpreting the work and make his paintings more pointed and precise.

Also a photographer of some note, Shahn traveled under government auspices through the Midwest. His pictures from that journey document some of the wrenching problems faced by Depression-era America, and they gave him materials for his subsequent painting. Works like *Dust* (1936) and *Steel Mill* (1938) capture a portion of that imagery. As the decade wound down, Shahn continued to create socially significant works, but his vision became increasingly personal and less political. Some of the fire from his Sacco-Vanzetti days had waned, replaced by the artist's interest in religious and spiritual questions.

Many other artists, for both ideological and aesthetic reasons, found themselves drawn to Social Realism during the 1930s. In addition to Reginald Marsh and Ben Shahn, any listing of Social Realist artists might include the following names: Philip Evergood (1901–1973), Moses Soyer (1899–1974), and Raphael Soyer (1899–1987). Others, of course, also participated, and this listing should not be thought conclusive.

Evergood received a splendid European education, and his comfortable family background hardly matched the experiences suffered by the economic groups he chose to portray. It took a conscious effort on his part to bridge the gaps that existed between himself and his subjects, and so he developed a distinctive personal vision of the troubled times, often employing grotesque, surreal details as a way of making his point. Like many of his counterparts, Evergood created a number of large-scale murals, such as *The Story of Richmond Hill* (1937), a painting for a library in Queens, and *Cotton from Field to Mill* (1938), a picture for a post office in Jackson, Georgia. One of his most famous works bears the title *Lily and the Sparrows* (1939). On the one hand it depicts a tenement, but it also suggests that tenement life creates an urban prison. Its strange primary figure looks out from her window as sparrows flock around her.

Like Evergood, Moses Soyer (1899–1974) hardly qualified as a member of the proletariat. But in his paintings he displays a heightened social consciousness. He articulates some of the dehumanizing aspects of city life, such as the need for social services, in *Employment Agency* (1935) and *Artists on WPA* (1936).

In a similar vein, Raphael Soyer (1899–1987), Moses Soyer's twin brother, illustrates urban problems with paintings like *Under the Bridge* (1932), *In the City Park* (1934), Office Girls (1936), and *Transients* (1936). Neither he nor his brother held any strong political beliefs, but they displayed a tenacious humanitarian spirit. In their art, they show a leftist militancy, a trait shared with a number of other Social Realists.

Because its themes often troubled onlookers, Social Realism never achieved the popularity of Regionalism. Art with a conscience, it challenged the status quo and raised questions many did not want to consider. Although Social Realism lives on, especially in the works of editorial cartoonists, its audience remains a small one.

See also Federal Art Project; New Deal; Photography; Political Parties; Social Consciousness Films

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SOFTBALL. The game of softball, first played at indoor facilities, originated in 1887; enthusiasts had a variety of names for the new sport, including "indoor baseball," "mush ball," "playground ball," "ladies' baseball," and "kitten ball." Not until 1926 did the term "softball" officially supplant the others.

Perhaps the most obvious difference between **baseball** and softball concerns the ball itself: a baseball (or hardball) measures 9 inches in circumference, whereas a softball has a circumference of 12 inches (some players favor a 16-inch ball). The outer surface of a softball has a slightly mushy feel, as opposed to the unyielding firmness of a baseball. The dimensions of a softball field also differ: 60-foot base paths versus 90-foot base paths for baseball, and the pitcher stands 20 feet closer to the batter in softball (40 feet vs. 60). A softball bat tends to be smaller and lighter than its baseball cousin; games last seven innings instead of nine; and teams can field 10 players rather than the traditional 9, with the extra player usually having the title of rover. Some of the preceding measurements can be further altered, depending on age, gender, and whether the game involves slow or fast pitching. In short, softball accommodates its players.

Many dismissed softball in its formative years as an inferior version of baseball. By the early 1930s, however, the sport had achieved a new level of play and respect, although it continued to be ideally suited for an informal game by players of differing abilities. Leagues had been formed, it enjoyed an official organizing association, and the sport stood poised to attract more players than ever before in its history.

The onset of the Depression caused softball to bloom—a cheap, entertaining, outdoor diversion for everyone, regardless of abilities. Teams flourished, as factories, offices, schools, churches, unions, and even neighborhoods put their 10 players on the field. The rise of identifiable teams led to leagues, and leagues led to rankings and contests, just like baseball. By 1932, various championships attracted sizable crowds, which in turn focused more national attention on the game. Chicago's **Century of Progress Exposition** of 1933–1934 sponsored a softball tournament with designated slow- and fast-pitch categories. These events garnered considerable publicity, and over 350,000 people watched the tournament at one time or another. With that success, by 1936 as many as 1 million Americans participated in softball in some capacity.

Both the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS radio) and the National Broadcasting Company (NBC radio) networks covered national championships, and the number of players just kept growing; 1 million grew to 5 million, and by the end of the decade, 11 million Americans played softball, with women constituting almost one-quarter of that figure. Millions more—men, women, and children—came to the games as avid fans, and entrepreneurs even attempted, unsuccessfully, to create professional softball teams and leagues. The game, true to its roots, stubbornly remained an amateur diversion, open to all.

As part of the national recovery effort, various government agencies constructed thousands of parks and recreational areas around the country, and many included fields that fit the official dimensions of a softball diamond. In addition, the National Youth

Administration (NYA, 1935–1943) also assisted in building fields on private property, allowing churches and fraternal organizations to have proper playing areas. The Federal Rural Electrification Administration (REA, 1935–1994), another government agency, introduced night lighting to hundreds of fields long before the major league baseball teams enjoyed such play. Softball became so widespread and so popular that many sporting goods manufacturers witnessed an upturn in business despite the economic hard times.

It did not hurt the game that President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) himself sponsored a team, the White House Purgers. In fact innumerable celebrities of the day—newscasters Edward R. Murrow (1908–1965) and Lowell Thomas (1892–1981), writers Franklin P. Adams (1881–1960) and Dale Carnegie (1888–1955), to name but a few—played the game. Softball, not baseball, in many ways served as the national pastime during the Depression, one of the most open and democratic sports ever to achieve such remarkable popularity.



A softball game. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

See also Leisure & Recreation; Radio Networks

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SOFT DRINKS. Called "soda," "soda pop," "pop," "dope," or "tonic" depending on the region, soft drinks contain two basic ingredients: sugar, or another acceptable sweetener, and carbonated water, or "soda water." The "soft" comes from the absence of alcohol; people refer to intoxicating drinks as "hard" beverages. Originally sold for medicinal purposes, as well as for personal enjoyment, soft drinks evolved quickly. They went from beverages with naturally carbonated mineral water to manufactured products using artificially carbonated water. An additional step involved adding flavors—lemon, strawberry, vanilla, ginger, cherry, peach and so on, along with flavors found in nature like root beer and sarsaparilla.

During the first 10 years of Prohibition, 1919–1929, annual American per capita consumption of bottled soft drinks increased from 38.4 bottles to 53.1, and nationally the number of manufacturing and bottling plants grew from 5,194 to 8,220. With the stock market crash, however, the numbers began to drop. In 1932, consumption had fallen to

its lowest point since before Prohibition, 27.1 bottles per person. The number of plants also declined because small operations merged into larger regional facilities. The industry rebounded as the country commenced its long recovery from the Depression; by the end of 1939 per capita consumption had passed pre-Depression numbers. Statistics showed the figures standing at 88.6 bottles per person, with 6,155 plants supplying that demand.

Soda fountains date back to the early 1800s, and those located in drugstores could dispense medicinal drinks as well. Pharmacists naturally became involved in the creation of drinks sold at their fountains. The more enterprising ones hoped to find a mix of ingredients that attracted customers and increased sales.

One such pharmacist, John Pemberton (1831–1888), in 1886 made a syrup from kola nuts, the leaves of the coca plant, and cinnamon. He called his concoction "my temperance drink," and saw it as a cure for hangovers, headaches, and depression. After several trial runs that involved serving this elixir to customers at Jacob's Pharmacy in Atlanta, Georgia, Dr. Pemberton expressed his satisfaction with the formula; he began selling the drink on May 8, 1886.

Frank M. Robinson (active late 1800s), Pemberton's bookkeeper and partner in this venture, suggested the name of Coca-Cola—a catchy phrase that described the two principal ingredients. Robinson trademarked the name in 1893 after creating the distinctive Coca-Cola script in 1886. It first appeared in an advertisement in the *Atlanta Journal* on May 29 of that year. Coca-Cola became the first widely available drink that qualified both as a patent medicine and a soda fountain beverage.

Soon after the syrup's introduction, soda water joined the list of ingredients. Its inclusion changed a medicinal potion into a refreshing soft drink. The name went through an unofficial shift, when patrons began to call it "Coke." In 1887, another pharmacist, Asa Candler (1851–1929), bought the rights to Pemberton's syrup. Through two timely strategies—organizing the company to sell the syrup to franchised bottling operations for the final addition of the soda water and initiating a massive advertising campaign first in newspapers and later on radio to raise public awareness of the product—Candler expanded the consumption of Coca-Cola from Atlanta and its environs to much of the South and then to every part of the nation.

Robert W. Woodruff (1889–1985), president of Coca-Cola from 1923 to 1939, standardized the product by training salesmen in the proper mixing of the syrup with soda water; they in turn trained soda fountain jerks in these procedures. Woodruff also continued the company's extensive advertising. During the 1930s, in a unique selling strategy, the company hired women to go door to door offering to install, free of charge, wall-mounted bottle openers in the kitchen. These salespeople also left coupons for six-packs of Coke.

With Repeal in 1933, Coca-Cola sales dropped temporarily, but Woodruff's leadership prevented any drastic economic disasters during the Depression. His successes at that time culminated with an exclusive contract for distribution rights at the 1939–1940 New York World's Fair. Prior to the fair, Coca-Cola had enjoyed a series of "firsts": countless service stations acquired official Coca-Cola coolers, electrically chilled units with sliding lids; standardized coin-operated vending machines that dispensed Coke could be found everywhere; the Piggly Wiggly and A&P grocery store chains sold Coca-Cola in six-pack cartons; two airlines, Eastern and Delta, served free, cold Coke during their flights; and billboard and print advertisements featured food along with the ubiquitous Coke bottle, suggesting a natural partnership with good things to eat.

Along with all the advertising and bottle openers, the company gave away millions of copies of a booklet, When You Entertain: What to Do, and How (c. 1932), by Ida Bailey Allen (1885–1973), a popular cookbook author and hostess on the network radio show, The Radio Home-Makers Club (1928–1936). At several places in her booklet she mentions Coca-Cola by name. For example, Allen suggests Coke as an appropriate sipping drink while eating canapés. Considered an expert on the etiquette of entertaining at home, Allen's recommendations were a coup for the Coca-Cola Company.

Marketing strategies and advertisements employed during the 1930s relentlessly focused more on the product's image than on the product itself. Men, women, and teenagers could be seen enjoying a prominently displayed Coke at work and at play. Movie stars regularly appeared in Coke ads, and the obliging company supplied cases of Coke to major stars and all current Hollywood productions. Leading man Spencer Tracy (1900–1967), in a 1939 movie called *Test Pilot*, asks on screen for "two Coca-Colas, please," and Dizzy Dean (1910–1974), the colorful St. Louis Cardinals pitcher and sportscaster, gulps a Coke in 1934's *Dizzy and Daffy*.

As the Depression dragged on, Coca-Cola came up with a slogan" "Everyone can find a nickel to 'bounce back to normal." In its make-believe world of advertising, a Coke offered a pleasant, inexpensive time-out from an increasingly difficult reality. With its wide availability, Coca-Cola, and soft drinks in general, made the neighborhood soda fountain a popular gathering place. In many ways, during Prohibition, it displaced the corner saloon.

The company also gave the country a classic image of Santa Claus: a jolly fat man, with pink nose and flowing white beard, dressed in red with a shiny black belt and boots, receiving a refreshing reward of Coca-Cola for a hard night's work of toy delivery. Haddon Sundblom (1899–1976), an illustrator with the D'Arcy ad agency, created that icon of Christmas in 1931. Prior to Sundblom's widely distributed paintings, Santa had appeared wearing blue, yellow, green, or red, and usually looked more mischievous than jolly. Coca-Cola's seasonal ads, which first appeared in the 1930s, have run annually ever since. They directly shaped the way Americans think of this happy, biggerthan-life figure attired in a Coca-Cola red suit.

Coca-Cola, a master in the art of product promotion and successful sales, cannot be thought the only soft drink success story. Back in 1893, Coca-Cola was registered as a trademark. Another pharmacist, Caleb Bradham (1867–1966), of New Bern, North Carolina, developed a similar syrup mixture to serve at his drugstore soda fountain. Called Brad's Drink, it contained water, sugar, vanilla, rare oils, pepsin, and cola nuts. In 1898, Brad's Drink became known as Pepsi-Cola, after the pepsin and cola nuts. Registered as a trademark in 1903, the company unveiled its scripted logo in 1906.

Like the management of Coca-Cola, the leadership of Pepsi-Cola developed aggressive marketing strategies and engaged in extensive mass advertising. Despite some financial difficulties at the beginning of the 1930s, the company emerged as a serious competitor for Coca-Cola. Those financial woes included two bankruptcies and continuing legal battles with its rival over accusations of Pepsi being substituted for Coke at soda fountains. In 1934, Pepsi's Baltimore plant began bottling a 12-ounce drink, using beer bottles as the containers. They still charged just a nickel (roughly 75 cents in contemporary money), the same price Coke got for six ounces. For Depression-era consumers, buying twice the drink for the same price made Pepsi a wise choice, and this

ingenious scheme took the struggling soft drink company from the edge of bankruptcy to the welcome problem of trying to meet demand.

From 1936 through 1939, Pepsi used a variety of advertising approaches and, for the first time since the early days of the company, turned a substantial profit. One approach, skywriting, had been developed during World War I as a way for airplanes to communicate with ground troops by trailing smoke and maneuvering to form letters or symbols that floated in the air. It had not, however, been widely used for commercial purposes. Since Coca-Cola had a stranglehold on soft drinks at the New York World's Fair, Pepsi countered in 1939 with a spectacular aerial advertising display in the skies over Chicago. Planes wrote out, in script, "Drink PEPSI-Cola." Each letter measured about a mile in height and width; the name Pepsi-Cola could stretch for many miles in the sky. Pleased with the publicity event, Pepsi continued to use skywriting throughout the 1940s.

Another ad strategy involved cartoon characters. Pepsi and Pete, or the Pepsi-Cola Cops, premiered in 1939. These two humorous figures, modeled after the Mack Sennett (1880–1960) Keystone Kops from the days of silent movies, came into being after an aborted attempt to buy the rights to Popeye, another cartoon hero. Walter Mack (1897–1990), Pepsi-Cola's president from 1939 until 1950, had wanted to change the popular spinach-eating sailor into a recognizable Pepsi-drinking sailor. Undeterred, Mack instructed the advertising department to create a new comic strip and use characters that would appeal to the entire family. As policemen, Pepsi and Pete symbolically guaranteed the protection of the good name and quality of Pepsi-Cola. Featured in the Sunday newspaper cartoon pages, in magazine ads, and on various display materials, by the end of two years Pepsi and Pete ranked among the most identifiable advertising characters in America.

In addition to the 1939 Pepsi and Pete campaign, the company aired its most effective advertising tool on radio. Two songwriters, Alan B. Kent (active 1930s) and Austen H. Croom-Johnson (1910–1964), had been commissioned to write a singing jingle to replace the dry copy previously used for Pepsi radio ads. They came up with a catchy tune that extolled the refreshing qualities of Pepsi-Cola, and continued to stress that consumers got "twelve full ounces" for their nickel, as opposed to the familiar, but smaller, six-ounce bottles marketed by archrival Coca-Cola. Starting in 1939, their ditty aired on radio for 10 years, to the point that everyone knew it. In fact, it even became a jukebox selection, and years later the jingle continues to be recognized by listeners with good memories.

As the two cola giants slugged it out for sales supremacy, other smaller companies worked to develop their own distinctive soft drinks. C. L. Grigg (active 1920s and 1930s) spent more than two years experimenting with formulas for lemon-flavored drinks before finalizing on Bib-Label Lithiated Lemon-Lime Soda. Manufactured by Grigg's Howdy Corporation (the "Howdy" referred to an orange-flavored beverage the company manufactured), this soft drink first appeared for sale in the fall of 1929 in St. Louis, Missouri, just two weeks before the great stock market crash.

Initially available only in St. Louis and successful despite the poor timing, the name soon changed to 7-Up. No one knows why the company chose 7-Up, but theories abound. The most popular says that Grigg renamed the drink after seeing a cattle brand with the number 7 and the letter u in its composition. Others suggest that the name reflects the seven ingredients and carbonation employed in 7-Up's formulation. Still

others claim that Grigg came up with the name playing dice. Whatever the reason—and certainly 7-Up comes more trippingly off the tongue than Big-Label Lithiated Lemon-Lime Soda—the drink proved a success. In 1936, Grigg renamed his bottling operation the Seven-Up Company.

Turning a local or regional product into a nationally known one is no easy feat even in the best of times; Grigg wanted 7-Up to go national in the midst of an economic depression. The company did manage, while Prohibition remained in force, to capitalize on selling 7-Up to speakeasies. The beverage, like ginger ale, became a popular mixer for alcoholic beverages. Following Repeal in 1933, Grigg openly advertised 7-Up as a mixer. Other ads for 7-Up emphasize its refreshing and thirst-quenching qualities, in contrast to the heavy sweet taste of its major cola competitors. By the 1940s, 7-Up had successfully moved to the number three sales position among soft drinks; only Coca-Cola and Pepsi-Cola outranked it.

The Nehi Corporation of Columbus, Georgia, a major soft drink manufacturer in the South, in 1934 introduced into the ongoing competition a new beverage, Royal Crown Cola. Since it carried a heavy debt at the time, the company decided that to stay in business it needed a different, improved cola product. Within six months, market testing had verified for Nehi the potential of its new beverage. The company named the cola after its original Royal Crown ginger ale; like Pepsi-Cola, Nehi bottled the drink in 12-ounce bottles and sold them for a nickel. All over the South, people drank Royal Crown, and quickly shortened the name to RC.

In 1939, Royal Crown Cola became a sponsor for the ongoing radio show Believe It or Not! subtitled See America First with Bob Ripley (1930–1948; various times and formats). An aural version of the popular newspaper feature, Ripley's Believe It or Not! introduced the relatively new cola to a huge audience, and by 1940 Nehi had experienced fast growth and big profits.

Many other American soft drinks that had been around for years also survived the Depression and experienced renewed popularity during the later 1930s. Names like Dr. Pepper, Orange Crush, Canada Dry, Kist, Cheer Up, A&W Root Beer, and Moxie, to mention only a few, continued to entice a public that clearly enjoyed sweet carbonated drinks. Colored labels, applied directly to the bottle, came along in 1934, giving the industry a visual boost. Owens-Illinois Glass Company of Toledo, Ohio, led the way in the production of these fused labels. The decade also witnessed experimentation with steel soda cans. In 1935, the American Can Company and Kreuger Brewing Distribution introduced the metal beer can. It met with immediate success, and so the can companies next considered similar containers for soft drinks. Clicquot Club Ginger Ale in a can first appeared in 1938, but the citric acid present in ginger ale proved too much for the lining to handle; soft drinks in cans would have to wait until the 1940s and improved liners.

The decade ended with two major soft drink manufacturers—Coca-Cola and Pepsi-Cola—leading the field. Rapidly gaining ground, 7-Up proved a feisty competitor, and another, Nehi's Royal Crown Cola, stayed close behind. Despite Repeal, the soft drink industry had come to occupy an important place in American culture.

See also Aviation; Baseball; Comic Strips; Gas Stations; Grocery Stores & Supermarkets; Illustrators; Jukeboxes; Magazines; Prohibition & Repeal; Radio Networks; Toys

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SONGWRITERS & LYRICISTS. The world of commercially popular music encompasses several genres, ranging from hard-charging jazz to the most delicate and romantic ballads. Successful songwriters and lyricists ply their trade by writing for the market, that is, they work on commission, responding to specific wants and needs. Plays and movies require scores; the record industry demands an unending supply of new music; and performing groups—orchestras, bands, combos, vocalists—have distinct requests. The most successful songwriters and lyricists of the 1930s personified Tin Pan Alley; they could work in virtually any format and composed for the theater, the movies, and general popular consumption.

Although thousands of songs get written each year, only a handful ever sees publication, and an even smaller percentage achieves any kind of popular acceptance. Throughout the twentieth century, songwriting could, at best, be called a tough business, with failures far exceeding those rare compositions that became hits. In this regard, the 1930s were no exception to such a generalization.

Despite the obstacles inherent in a songwriting career, countless individuals have chosen to follow its call. The most successful, the Berlins, the Gershwins, the Kerns, the Porters, and so on, achieved fame and the accompanying financial rewards, but they constitute a distinct minority. Most songwriters and lyricists enjoy only occasional success, and many labor in relative anonymity. A brief alphabetical listing follows, identifying some of those people who composed the melodies, words, or both to American popular music of the decade. As a rule, these individuals worked behind the scenes; the public seldom knew their names, but it took pleasure in their music.

Harold Arlen (1905–1986; b. Hyman Arluck). During the 1920s, Harold Arlen made his initial appearance on the American musical scene; by 1929 he had enjoyed his first hit, "Get Happy," with lyrics by Ted Koehler (1894–1973). The collaboration with Koehler would carry over into the early 1930s, producing such standards as "I Gotta Right to Sing the Blues" (*Earl Carroll's Vanities*, 1932) and two from 1933's Cotton Club Parade, "I've Got the World on a String" and the classic "Stormy Weather."

Equally at home with theater songs or movie scores, Arlen found another good pairing with lyricist E. Y. "Yip" Harburg (1896–1981 [see below]). The two joined talents for "It's Only a Paper Moon" (film, *If You Believe in Me*, 1933) and "Last Night When We Were Young" (film, *Metropolitan*, 1936). His greatest renown came—again with Harburg's words—in 1939 with the release of MGM's **The Wizard of Oz**. The score included many favorites, but "Over the Rainbow," especially as sung by **Judy Garland** (1922–1969), entered the pantheon of immortal pop songs.

As proof of its staying power, in 2001, the Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA) chose "Over the Rainbow" as the number one "song of the century" (out of a list of 365 twentieth-century songs). Three years later, the American Film Institute placed it on top of its list, One Hundred Years, One Hundred Songs, a survey of music associated with motion pictures.

Irving Berlin (1888–1889; b. Israel Baline). See his entry elsewhere in this encyclopedia.

Sammy Cahn (1913–1993). A lyricist much admired by his peers, but not a familiar name to most listeners, Sammy Cahn rose to professional prominence in Hollywood during the mid-1930s. His best-known work, however, would not gain public notice until the 1940s. As the craze for swing in all its forms reached a peak in the last years of the decade, Cahn worked on the scores for films like 52nd Street (1937), with music by Walter Bullock (1907–1953) and the title song for Manhattan Merry-Go-Round (1938), music by Saul Chaplin (1912–1997).

Cahn's breakthrough occurred in 1937 when he, along with Chaplin, wrote the English words for a song titled "Bei Mir Bist Du Schoen," a number composed by Sholom Secunda (1893–1974) in 1932 for a Yiddish operetta. For whatever reasons, "Bei Mir Bist Du Schoen" (the title translates as "To Me You Are Beautiful," although Cahn and Chaplin say in their lyric that it means "to me you are grand") achieved great popularity when the Andrews Sisters, a trio of siblings, introduced the English version on a 1937 recording. It sparked their careers, and three 1938 feature films (*Love, Honor, and Behave; Holiday*; and *Swing!*) featured it on their soundtracks. Thanks to this combination, Cahn found himself in demand and had no scarcity of work. Soon thereafter, he teamed up with composer Jule Styne (1905–1994) and the two created many memorable songs during the 1940s.

Hoagy Carmichael (1899–1981; b. Howard Hoagland Carmichael). A composer, pianist, singer, and occasional actor, the Indiana-born Carmichael became a popular figure during the 1930s. His good looks and laconic manner gained him roles as a Hollywood character actor, and he appeared in 14 films. But Hoagy Carmichael is probably best remembered for "Star Dust," a 1927 composition, and one of the most recorded and performed songs of the twentieth century. In 1929, lyricist Mitchell Parish (1900–1993 [see below]) added words to Carmichael's melody and also slowed the tempo. The resulting meditative ballad promptly became an outstanding entry in the American popular song repertory.

Carmichael composed over 600 songs. He wrote the music and lyrics for "Rockin' Chair" (1930); "Georgia on My Mind" (1930), with words by Stuart Gorrell (1901–1963); and "Lazy River" (1931), featuring lyrics by Sidney Arodin (1901–1948). In the early years of the decade, Carmichael began what would be a long-lasting association with lyricist Johnny Mercer (1909–1976 [see below]). "Lazybones" (1933), one of their first collaborative efforts, soon became a standard, and one of their greatest successes, "Skylark," released in 1941, affirmed the affinity they had for one another musically. The two continued, off and on, to work together until the early 1970s.

Carmichael also created other lasting songs; "The Nearness of You" came along in 1938. With lyrics by Ned Washington (1901–1976 [see below]), it had been scheduled for a film never produced. The tune languished for two years, and then resurfaced in 1940, became a hit, and took its rightful place among American standards. In addition,

"I Get Along without You Very Well" and "Hong Kong Blues," with words and music by Carmichael himself, were released in 1938 and 1939, respectively.

Walter Donaldson (1893–1947). During the 1920s, Donaldson established himself as skillful songwriter, with compositions such as "Yes, Sir, That's My Baby" (1925), with lyrics by Gus Kahn (1886–1941), and the best-selling "My Blue Heaven" (1927), lyrics by George Whiting (1892–1968). In 1930, he wrote two big hits for bandleader Guy Lombardo (1902–1977), "Little White Lies" and "You're Driving Me Crazy! (What Did I Do?)." With these successes, Donaldson moved to Hollywood and began composing for the movies. He and Kahn had written a Broadway score for a 1928 musical titled Whoopie!; after moving to California, he adapted Whoopie! for film, and three hit songs—"Makin' Whoopie," "Love Me or Leave Me," and "My Baby Just Cares for Me"—entertained audiences in 1930. A succession of motion picture scores followed, including The Prizefighter and the Lady (1933), and the tune "Dancing in the Moonlight" (lyrics by Gus Kahn). In 1936, Donaldson and lyricist Harold Adamson (1906–1980) earned an Academy Award nomination for Best Song with "Did I Remember?" from the movie Suzy. He continued to write film music on into the 1940s.

Al Dubin (1891–1945). An outstanding lyricist of the era, the Swiss-born Dubin came to Hollywood in the early 1930s. His long association with composer Harry Warren (1893–1981 [see below]) resulted in the joint creation of a remarkable series of standards during the decade, a partnership that actually commenced in the 1920s with some miscellaneous tunes and lasted until the later years of the decade. In all, Dubin and Warren collaborated on over 160 songs, as well as working with many other composers and lyricists.

Their efforts moved into high gear with the score for the musical hit 42nd Street (1933). That pioneering picture featured such enduring songs as the title song, along with "Shuffle Off to Buffalo," and "You're Getting to Be a Habit with Me." Almost immediately thereafter the duo put together the music for Gold Diggers of 1933, the first of four "Gold Digger" pictures. The 1933 edition includes the powerful "Remember My Forgotten Man," a song that showed Dubin could write timely, meaningful lyrics, as well as the usual fluff required in most musicals. That same film can also claim "We're in the Money," a spirited number that helped launch the career of Ginger Rogers (1911–1995), who sings and dances it in the motion picture. Dubin's other work with Warren includes "Boulevard of Broken Dreams" (Moulin Rouge, 1933), "I Only Have Eyes for You" (Dames, 1934), "Lullaby of Broadway" (Gold Diggers of 1935, 1934) "About a Quarter to Nine" (Go into Your Dance, 1935), and "September in the Rain" (Stars over Broadway, 1935).

In 1939, Dubin adapted a melody by composer Victor Herbert (1859–1924) and set lyrics to it. Herbert's music had been called "An American Idyll"; Dubin changed that title to "Indian Summer." The following year, the popular band led by Tommy Dorsey (1905–1956) made a recording of "Indian Summer" that featured vocalist **Frank Sinatra** (1915–1998); it soon ranked as a number one hit and the song has gone on to become a standard for many singers and orchestras.

Vernon Duke (1903–1969; b. Vladimir Dukelsky). Russian-born, Duke pursued both popular music and classical composition, retaining his birth name of Dukelsky until 1955 for his ballets, concertos, and oratorios. At the suggestion of his friend George Gershwin (1898–1937), he began, in the early 1920s, to use "Vernon Duke"

for his more commercially oriented compositions. Gershwin also urged him to continue his explorations in popular music, and many of those compositions have turned out to be his most significant musical accomplishments.

He first achieved both critical and popular success in 1932 with his music for Walk a Little Faster, a Broadway revue. Teamed with lyricist E. Y. "Yip" Harburg (1896–1981 [see below]) for that show, they created the haunting "April in Paris," among other numbers. Harburg and Duke also worked on the score for the Ziegfeld Follies of 1934, contributing "I Like the Likes of You" and "What Is There to Say." That same year, Duke penned both the music and lyrics for "Autumn in New York," another song destined to become an American standard, a perennial favorite of vocalists and jazz artists for decades. It first appeared in a little-noticed revue called Thumbs Up. Duke collaborated with lyricist Ira Gershwin (1896–1983) for "I Can't Get Started," a number featured in the Ziegfeld Follies of 1936. President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945), actress Greta Garbo (1905–1990), the Spanish Civil War, and the 1929 stock market crash all receive mention in this highly topical number. Noted for his harmonic complexities in both his classical and popular compositions, Vernon Duke/ Vladimir Dukelsky maintained dual careers until his death in 1969.

Duke Ellington (1899–1974; b. Edward Kennedy Ellington). See his entry elsewhere in this encyclopedia.

Dorothy Fields (1905-1974). See her entry elsewhere in this encyclopedia.

Rudolf Friml (1879–1972). Early in the twentieth century, the Czechoslovakia-born Friml settled in the United States. With a background in European musical styles, he strove to acquaint American audiences with these unfamiliar forms, especially the operetta. A variation on the traditional opera, the operetta, or "little opera," tends to be light and amusing instead of serious or tragic. Theater lovers were then discovering operettas through the compositions of Victor Herbert (1859–1924), an American composer. Herbert had attained considerable popularity, and so Friml turned out to be the right person at the right time.

In 1912, Friml inherited an incomplete Herbert operetta, *The Firefly*, when out of artistic pique Herbert refused any further association with the production. Friml finished the composition and thereby launched himself on a successful new career. A number of Friml operettas—*High Jinks* (1913), *You're in Love* (1917), *Rose-Marie* (1924), *The Vagabond King* (1925), numerous others—came along to enthusiastic responses. Their success laid the groundwork for the genre's greatest popularity, a phenomenon that occurred during the 1930s through the medium of motion pictures.

Friml's *The Vagabond King* became a movie with the same name in 1930. It stars Jeanette MacDonald (1903–1965), a singer who built a career around musicals, especially operettas. She played the lead in *Rose-Marie*, which went to celluloid in 1936. The film costars Nelson Eddy (1901–1967), the second pairing by the two actors in what turned out to be a long-running series. *The Firefly*, another MacDonald vehicle, enjoyed a slick Hollywood production in 1937, but with Allan Jones (1907–1992) in the male lead. The movie adaptation includes in its score "The Donkey Serenade," a Friml tune that had the assistance of Herbert Stothart (1885–1949). This popular favorite evolved from a song in the original stage version that he called "Chansonette."

George & Ira Gershwin (1898–1937; 1896–1983). See their entry elsewhere in this encyclopedia.

Oscar Hammerstein II (1895–1960). Best known by modern audiences for his longtime (1943–1960) association with composer Richard Rodgers (1902–1979 [see Rodgers & Hart]), lyricist Oscar Hammerstein II had years earlier established a significant reputation on Broadway. Working with composer Jerome Kern (1885–1945), the pair virtually defined the modern stage musical in 1927 with Show Boat. Their collaboration continued sporadically with hits like "I've Told Ev'ry Little Star" and "The Song Is You" (both from Music in the Air, 1932), and "All the Things You Are" (Very Warm for May, 1939). When not working with Kern, Hammerstein teamed with composer Rudolf Friml (1879–1972 [see above] for the operetta Rose-Marie, a show that first appeared on stage in 1924 and then went to film in 1936. Hammerstein's clever words embellish such well-known songs as "The Mounties," Rose Marie," and "Indian Love Call."

Given the popularity of operettas in the 1930s, he also worked with Sigmund Romberg (1887–1951 [see below]) for May Wine, a 1935 Broadway effort, by contributing the words for "Once Around the Clock." He even provided lyrics for the zany Olsen & Johnson comedy revue, Hellzapoppin' (1938). As far as movies went, Hammerstein spent much of the decade overseeing film adaptations of his earlier stage work. Kern's Roberta became a motion picture hit in 1935, as did Showboat in 1936. He set words to music by Johann Strauss II for The Great Waltz (1938), and he worked on a handful of other pictures, but by and large, Hammerstein's career coasted during much of the 1930s; not until he and Richard Rodgers teamed up in 1943 for Oklahoma! would he write the lyrics for which he has become most famous.

E. Y. "Yip" Harburg (1896–1981; b. Isidore Hochberg). A popular lyricist, Harburg crafted the words for 1932's "Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?" Jay Gorney (1906–1990) contributed the music. No other song captures as strongly the despair felt by many during the Depression, and the lyrics, more so than the melody, carry this message. But "Yip" Harburg, a true Tin Pan Alley professional, could fashion lines to fit almost any mood.

After Harburg failed in a business venture, Ira Gershwin (1896–1983), an old friend and mentor, convinced him to try his hand at music. He began writing with Gorney and the two completed several small, short-lived Broadway shows. In 1932, one of the worst Depression years, they shared credit for a revue called *Americana*. That production introduced "Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?" and subsequent **recordings** by **Rudy Vallee** (1901–1986) and **Bing Crosby** (1903–1977) alerted millions to the song; it soon became an anthem for the times. *Americana* also marked a new chapter in Harburg's life. He moved on to Hollywood to sample the endless opportunities offered by the movie industry.

Once settled on the West Coast, Harburg worked with a number of songwriters, but his association with Harold Arlen (see above) and Vernon Duke (see above) merits special mention. "It's Only a Paper Moon" (1933), one of the first Arlen/Harburg songs, appeared in *Take a Chance*, an otherwise lackluster movie. Their "Let's Take a Walk around the Block" appeared in *Life Begins at* 8:40, a 1934 Broadway show. "April in Paris" marks an early (1932) collaboration with Vernon Duke in the musical *Walk a Little Faster*, as does "What Is There to Say!" in the *Ziegfeld Follies of* 1934.

The Singing Kid, a 1938 vehicle for entertainer Al Jolson (1886–1950), brought Arlen and Harburg together again. "Here's Looking at You," among others, came from this

picture, and the hilarious "Lydia, the Tattooed Lady" had a prominent place in A Day at the Circus, a 1939 Marx Brothers comedy. But it was all just a prelude to their greatest accomplishment, the music for the 1939 film of The Wizard of Oz. One of the finest scores to accompany any movie from any era, everything—story, music, and Harburg's lyrics—fit together seamlessly. E. Y. Harburg continued an active career on into the following decades and wrote many a memorable lyric, but nothing surpassed his work in The Wizard of Oz.

Lorenz Hart (1895–1943). See the entry for Rodgers and Hart elsewhere in this encyclopedia.

Jerome Kern (1885–1945). See his entry elsewhere in this encyclopedia.

Jimmy McHugh (1895–1969). Composer McHugh entered the music business as a song plugger, a salesman who goes from office to office, trying to convince music publishers to buy particular tunes written by others. In time, he realized his own talent, left plugging and turned to composition. After the usual misses, McHugh enjoyed his first hit with "When My Sugar Walks Down the Street" (1924). Vocalist and lyricist Gene Austin (1900–1972) provided the words. In the mid-1920s, McHugh began a long association with Dorothy Fields. Their first effort, "I'm a Broken-Hearted Blackbird" (1926) went nowhere, but the two soon found their musical niche. "I Can't Give You Anything But Love" and "I Must Have That Man" came from their score for Lew Leslie's Blackbirds of 1928, a Broadway revue featuring black performers. After that, McHugh and Fields became Broadway regulars, with a string of hits—"Exactly Like You" and "On the Sunny Side of the Street" (1930; The International Revue), "Don't Blame Me" (1933; Clowns in Clover), "I Feel a Song Comin' On" and "I'm in the Mood for Love" (1935; Every Night at Eight)—in both movies and shows.

His reputation in the profession firmly established, McHugh worked with numerous other lyricists in the latter half of the decade. In 1937, he teamed with Harold Adamson, an auspicious union. They promptly created "You're a Sweetheart" in the movie of the same name, and "Where Are You!" in *Top of the Town*. The Adamson/McHugh combination would continue writing on into the 1940s, but the composer also worked with other lyricists in the years to come.

Johnny Mercer (1909–1976). Barely out of his teens when he decided on the music business as his vocation, Johnny Mercer would write the words to over 600 published songs before his death in 1976. Also an accomplished composer, a born entertainer, and by the end of the 1930s a singer of some renown, he rose to modest fame during the decade. Unlike so many of his counterparts, Mercer had no struggling boyhood in New York City; he enjoyed a comfortable upbringing in Savannah, Georgia, but he nonetheless found his way to New York and the bustling music scene. With his ingratiating manner, he soon knew many people in Tin Pan Alley and found employment working on revues for Broadway.

His breakthrough came when he and composer Hoagy Carmichael (see above) wrote "Lazybones" in 1933. An immediate hit, he followed that with a string of songs, including 1934's "If I Had a Million," a piece he did with Matty Malneck (1904–1981) for the movie *Transatlantic Merry-Go-Round*. With credentials on both Broadway and in Hollywood, the young Mercer was on his way. He displayed a flair for vernacular, idiomatic language yet never patronized his audience. Composers were usually delighted to have him as their lyricist because he almost always enhanced their music. Versatile, he wrote

words and music for "I'm an Old Cowhand," a popular song from *Rhythm on the Range* (1936). The picture stars Bing Crosby (1903–1977), and when he recorded it, "I'm an Old Cowhand" found a huge public. Mercer even appears in bit parts in several films from the era, usually singing something he himself composed.

Mercer next penned "Too Marvelous for Words" for Ready, Willing, and Able, a 1937 movie musical starring dancer Ruby Keeler (1909–1993). Richard Whiting (1891–1938 [see below]) provided the music. By the latter half of the decade, he could be found working on radio, singing on records, and appearing occasionally in nightclubs and other public venues. In the midst of all this activity, he teamed up with composer Harry Warren (see below) for "Jeepers, Creepers," a clever tune that Louis Armstrong (1901–1971) sings to a horse in Going Places (1938). The swing classic "And the Angels Sing" came from Mercer and trumpeter Ziggy Elman (1914–1968) in 1939. A hit recording, artists as diverse as Bing Crosby, Count Basie (1904–1984), and Benny Goodman (1909–1986) all had a go at it, and it quickly rose to number one.

With the advent of the 1940s, Mercer's snowballing career showed no letup. He cofounded Capitol Records, a major label, in 1942; continued to put words—and occasionally music—to hit after hit; vocalized in his distinctive, easygoing manner; and generally remained a force in the popular music world.

Mitchell Parish (b. Michael Hyman Pashelinsky). In a popular song, the words do not exist alone, they depend on a melody. As poetry, when read by themselves, the lyrics usually do not stand up particularly well. Instrumentalists, on the other hand, can frequently play just the music of a pop tune and it succeeds admirably. The challenge facing the lyricist is how to wed the words to the song, to make them an inextricable part of the composition. Mitchell Parish rose to this challenge and created a body of work exceptional in its lyrical quality.

The best example of his skills rests with "Star Dust," a melody Hoagy Carmichael (see above) composed in 1927. When first written, "Star Dust" got lost among a plethora of similar medium-tempo songs. Two years later, Parish wrote the words that made it one of the all-time great standards. At the same time, he slowed the tempo to fit his meditative lyrics, giving the composition its dreamy, ethereal quality. In 1933, Carmichael and Parish collaborated for the delightful "One Morning in May," and again in 1939 for "Riverboat Shuffle." Parish's successes with Hoagy Carmichael tunes illustrate his consummate writing abilities, and he put these talents to work by creating narratives to accompany the music of some of the era's finest composers.

In 1931, Parish added words to "Mood Indigo," a lovely ballad composed the previous year by Duke Ellington and released as an instrumental with the title "Dreamy Blues." Initially uncredited for his work with the song, Parish's participation marked one of the few times someone outside the tight circle maintained by Ellington and his musicians had a hand in the musical process. In this case it worked, and "Dreamy Blues" became "Mood Indigo." Parish took on another Ellington melody, "Sophisticated Lady," in 1933. An instrumental classic that Ellington wrote in 1932, "Sophisticated Lady" takes on added depth with the overlay of Parish's lyrics.

A little-known American composer, Frank Perkins (1908–1988), in 1934 wrote "Stars Fell on Alabama." A nice enough melody, but the Mitchell Parish lyrics make it memorable. Thanks to the blending of words and music, "Stars Fell on Alabama" has become a standard, one of those songs that transcends time. Two years later, Parish participated

in the composition of an up-tempo swing song written by clarinetist Benny Goodman and arranger Edgar Sampson (1907–1973). Called "Don't Be that Way," it could be a jazzy instrumental favorite for jitterbugs, or it could be a romantic plea with the addition of Parish's lyrics. Either way, "Don't Be That Way" proved to be a big hit in the early days of the swing era for dancers and listeners alike.

Parish enjoyed a banner year in 1939. He wrote lyrics for "Stairway to the Stars," a 1935 instrumental composed by Matty Malneck and Frank Signorelli (1901–1975). Glenn Miller (1904–1944), one of the most popular bandleaders of the day, had as his theme song "Moonlight Serenade," a melody he composed and to which Parish contributed the words. Finally, he took "Deep Purple," a 1934 song composed by Peter De Rose (1900–1953), and added lyrics that resulted in a popular hit for several bands that year, especially the one led by Larry Clinton (1909–1985). In all, Mitchell Parish played a significant role in American music during the 1930s; the decade would be the poorer without his memorable words to so many songs.

Cole Porter (1893–1964). See his entry elsewhere in this encyclopedia.

Andy Razaf (1895–1973; b. Andreamentania Paul Razafkeriefo). Usually thought of as the lyricist partner of pianist Fats Waller (1904–1943), Andy Razaf's career encompassed considerably more. By the onset of the 1930s, he had created a memorable body of work, and would continue to do so for years afterward. For a time, however, much of his writing revolved around compositions by Waller. One of the few successful black lyricists in the music business during that segregated era, he had already put words to such classics as "Willow Tree" (1928; music by Waller) and "Black and Blue," "Honeysuckle Rose," and "Ain't Misbehavin" (all 1929; all with music by Waller).

In 1930, Razaf teamed with the legendary pianist Eubie Blake (1887–1983) to create "Memories of You" for the Broadway show Lew Leslie's Blackbirds of 1930. The revue also included another standard by them, "You're Lucky to Me." Waller and Razaf continued their winning ways in 1932 with "Keeping Out of Mischief Now," although Waller increasingly turned to singing instead of writing. "A Porter's Love Song to a Chambermaid" (1934) found Razaf providing lyrics for the music of pianist James P. Johnson (1891–1955). Saxophonist Leon "Chu" Berry (1908–1941) wrote a jazz riff as swing grew in popularity that bore the unlikely title "Christopher Columbus." Razaf, comfortable in this element, provided lyrics and it became a minor hit in 1936. That same year, bandleaders Benny Goodman and Chick Webb (1902–1939), along with arranger Edgar Sampson, created an up-tempo delight with "Stompin' at the Savoy" ("Savoy" refers to a popular Harlem ballroom of the 1930s; Webb led the house band). Andy Razaf provided the lyrics. Eventually a number of top-name swing orchestras and vocalists made recordings of this dancers' favorite.

The end of the decade saw Razaf still working in the swing idiom. In 1939, he shared credits with composer Joe Garland (1903–1977) for another up-tempo number, "In the Mood." This particular collaboration produced one of the best-selling songs of 1939–1940, and certainly one of the biggest hits for Glenn Miller and his orchestra. Its popularity has continued unabated into the present.

Richard Rodgers (1902–1979). See the entry for Rodgers and Hart elsewhere in this encyclopedia.

Sigmund Romberg (1887–1951). Hungarian by birth, composer Sigmund Romberg spent some of his youth in Vienna, an exposure that would influence his artistic

development. He came to the United States in 1909, but it took several years in his new home before he met with any musical recognition. At this time, the operetta format had assumed considerable popularity, and Romberg, given his European background, chose to work in this area, as had his fellow émigré, Rudolf Friml (see above). In 1917, Romberg wrote *Maytime*, following it with another show, *Blossom Time*, in 1921. Both enjoyed acclaim, and helped mark the heyday of the operetta in the United States.

The early 1930s found Romberg settled in Hollywood, busily transcribing his stage operettas into movie musicals. *The New Moon*, which he wrote for Broadway in 1928, went to film twice; first in 1931 with singers Lawrence Tibbett (1896–1960) and Grace Moore (1898–1947), and again in 1940 with the popular vocal team of Jeanette MacDonald and Nelson Eddy. It includes the popular "Stout-Hearted Men," with lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein II (see above). Romberg's trail-blazing *Maytime* finally reached the screen in 1937, 20 years after its initial composition. MacDonald and Eddy lead an all-star cast, and it helped reinforce their standing as the most popular interpreters of the operetta format.

Romberg's successful work in movies allowed him to score, along with Hammerstein, an original screenplay, *The Night Is Young* (1935). The picture features "When I Grow Too Old to Dream," and it gave Nelson Eddy, who does not appear in the film, a hit song. Although the operetta faded in popularity as the 1930s waned, Romberg kept busy in Hollywood, and he remained firmly ensconced there in the 1940s, working on countless film scores.

Arthur Schwartz (1900–1984). Instead of a Tin Pan Alley background, composer Arthur Schwartz studied law. He became a practicing attorney in the early 1920s, but indulged a passion for theater and music in his free time. Schwartz finally gave in to his avocation of songwriting and switched careers in 1929. He brought to his music a quiet elegance, something often ignored by other composers during the Jazz Age. Fortunately, he found in lyricist Howard Dietz (1896–1983), a friend and frequent collaborator, a kindred spirit. The two contributed a small but distinguished body of work to American popular music.

In 1930, Schwartz and Dietz could claim their first hit, *The Little Show*, a revue. It ran over 300 performances and introduced "I'll Guess I'll Have to Change My Plan." *The Second Little Show* followed in 1930, and then a succession of other Broadway musicals that featured such standards as "Dancing in the Dark" (1931; *The Band Wagon*), "Alone Together" (1932; *Flying Colors*), "You and the Night and the Music" (1934; *Revenge with Music*), "By Myself" (1938; *Between the Devil*), plus a host of others.

Toward the end of the decade, Schwartz worked with a number of other lyricists and enjoyed success with compositions like "Seal It with a Kiss" (1937; movie, *That Girl from Paris*), with words by Edward Heyman (1907–1981), and the folksy "Tennessee Fish Fry" (1940) that he wrote with Oscar Hammerstein II (see above) for *American Jubilee*. Schwartz's enduring work, however, will be those sophisticated show tunes that he and Howard Dietz turned out in remarkable quantity during the 1930s.

Harry Warren (b. Salvatore Guaragna, 1893–1981). Most discussions of composer Harry Warren mention his long association with lyricist Al Dubin (see above) during the 1930s. Although the two made an outstanding team, creating one memorable song after another, Warren also worked with others, including some of the finest lyricists of

the day. Unlike many of his counterparts who labored on Broadway, Tin Pan Alley, and Hollywood, he devoted most of his career to motion picture music. A prolific songwriter with hundreds of songs to his credit, Warren seldom wandered far from the film capital.

Despite his connections to film scores, Warren started out in New York City, as did so many composers during the early years of the twentieth century. His first successes came in the early 1920s, and in 1930 he wrote "Cheerful Little Earful," with lyrics by the renowned Ira Gershwin and Billy Rose (1899–1966) for a Broadway revue called *Sweet and Low*. From there, Warren headed west to work in movie musicals. Although he and Al Dubin had met in the 1920s, it took the runaway acclaim for 42nd Street to establish their credentials as the hottest team in the business. For the next several years, the two churned out one score after another, ranging from all four of the "Gold Digger" movies—Gold Diggers of 1933 (1933), Gold Diggers of 1935 (1935), Gold Diggers of 1937 (1936), and Gold Diggers in Paris (1938)—to such gems as Moulin Rouge (1934), Dames (1934), Broadway Gondolier (1935), and Stars Over Broadway (1935). "Lullaby of Broadway," from Gold Diggers of 1935, earned Warren his first of three Academy Awards for Best Song.

Midway through the decade, Warren and up-and-coming lyricist Johnny Mercer (see above) discovered some mutual musical interests; a number of good songs resulted. In 1936, "I'm an Old Cowhand" (from *Rhythm on the Range*) cemented their friendship. "Jeepers Creepers" (from 1938's *Going Places*) became a hit, as did "You Must Have Been a Beautiful Baby" (1938; *Hard to Get*). "Hooray for Spinach," another Warren/Mercer collaboration for the 1938 movie *Naughty but Nice*, carries perhaps the oddest title. The pair continued to work together on a number of pictures during the 1940s.

Ned Washington (1901–1976). Yet another talented lyricist, Washington worked with some of the era's best songwriters; he enjoyed an especially rewarding association with composer Victor Young (1900–1956). Together, the two wrote many standards, including "Can't We Talk It Over?" (1932), "A Ghost of a Chance," and "A Hundred Years from Today" (both 1933). He provided words for "I'm Getting Sentimental Over You" (1932), the popular theme song of the Tommy Dorsey Orchestra. George Bassman (1914–1997) wrote the music. Washington likewise took "Smoke Rings," the theme created by Gene Gifford (1908–1970) for the Casa Loma Orchestra, and supplied lyrics in 1933.

Washington often worked uncredited in motion pictures, as did many of his counterparts, a standard practice of the day. Not until years later did every conceivable job in a movie receive onscreen credit. Thus pictures like *Lilies of the Field* (1930), *Straight Is the Way* (1934), *Frankie and Johnnie* (1936), and *Everybody Sing* (1938) had musical contributions from Ned Washington, but audiences had no knowledge of the fact. "The Nearness of You," an American classic that Washington wrote to the music of Hoagy Carmichael (see above), had been scheduled for a 1937 Paramount release, but for whatever reason, the studio chose not to produce it. The tune gathered dust for several years, and then finally got published in 1940 and quickly established itself as a favorite for vocalists.

At the end of the decade, **Walt Disney** (1901–1966) released *Pinocchio*, an animated film. Leigh Harline (1907–1969) composed the music, and Washington wrote the lyrics. "When You Wish upon a Star," one of the hits from the score, won a 1940 Academy

Award for Best Song. In this case, Harline and Washington did not labor in anonymity, but received full credit, a fitting close to a productive decade.

Richard Whiting (1891–1938). Composer Richard Whiting spent most of his brief career in Hollywood. He had the good fortune to work with some of the best lyricists in the business, and in the 1930s wrote the music for melodies like "Beyond the Blue Horizon," a tune that appeared in *Monte Carlo* (1930) with lyrics by Leo Robin (1900–1984), a frequent collaborator. "On the Good Ship Lollipop," the 1934 Shirley Temple (b. 1928) classic from *Bright Eyes*, has lyrics by Sidney Clare (1892–1972). His "Too Marvelous for Words" enjoyed a prominent place in 1937's *Ready*, *Willing*, and *Able* and boasts words by Johnny Mercer (see above).

Whiting also holds the distinction of being the composer for possibly the first popular song to feature the term "rock and roll" in its title. In 1934, he and Sidney Clare shared the labor on "Rock and Roll," a tune destined for a movie musical titled *Transatlantic Merry-Go-Round*. On the soundtrack, the popular Boswell Sisters perform a rousing rendition of "Rock and Roll," but hardly in the way the phrase would later be used. He also composed the unofficial anthem of the film industry, "Hooray for Hollywood" (lyrics by Johnny Mercer) in 1937. It highlights the movie *Hollywood Hotel* (1937).

Vincent Youmans (1898–1946). At the onset of the 1930s, Youmans had already established himself as a successful Broadway composer. He and lyricist Irving Caesar (1895–1996) wrote "Tea for Two" for inclusion in the 1925 Broadway show No, No, Nanette, and it had become a hit. Others followed, such as "More Than You Know," created with Billy Rose and Edward Eliscu (1902–1998), and "Time On My Hands" (1930), which he composed with lyricists Harold Adamson and Mack Gordon (1904–1959).

The advent of sound for movies lured Youmans, like so many others, to Hollywood. He found immediate success with "Sometimes I'm Happy," a tune he and Irving Caesar wrote for *Hit the Deck* in 1930. Three years later he scored the music for *Flying Down to Rio*, the picture that made **Fred Astaire** (1899–1987) **and Ginger Rogers** the hottest song and dance team in Hollywood. Youmans, Eliscu, and Gus Kahn penned "The Carioca" for this peppy musical, and it stole the show.

In 1940, RKO Radio Pictures finally brought *No, No, Nanette* to the screen. The original score survived the transition, including "Tea for Two" and "I Want to Be Happy," another hit from the show that Youmans had penned with Irving Caesar.

This list of lyricists and composers merely scratches the surface. A survey this brief cannot begin to cover all the talented people who contributed to the musical riches of the 1930s. But it does establish the fact that, despite the economic hardships of the decade and the looming threat of war, popular music flourished and left as its legacy a treasure trove of songs that have endured and become part of the nation's cultural heritage.

See also Children's Films; Jitterbug; Race Relations & Stereotyping

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SPECTACLE & COSTUME DRAMA FILMS. For purely mercenary reasons, Hollywood has always loved spectacle and dressing up. Filling the screen with action and actors, thrilling the audience with special effects and death-defying stunts—crowds, costumes, noise, excitement—these have been the basic elements of the big film, those moving pictures that brought, and continue to bring, droves of people into theaters for a couple of hours of escapism.

The Depression had a strong negative effect on the movie industry; distributors saw attendance drop and studios faced tight budgets. Theaters wanted their lost audiences to come back, and big, expensive pictures usually drew crowds. But most studios could not afford a succession of costly productions, and so Hollywood faced a dilemma that had its foundations in financial reality. The early 1930s witnessed a distinct fall-off in the number of new, extravagant films, although the industry did a quick turnaround when economic conditions improved after 1933–1934.

Despite the economic constraints, one of the best **movies** in the "spectacle" genre had its release during these difficult years. *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1930), under the direction of Lewis Milestone (1895–1980), tells the grim story of soldiers in World War I. It stars Lew Ayres (1908–1996) and bases its plot on the best-selling 1929 novel of the same name by German author Erich Maria Remarque (1898–1970). Playwright Maxwell Anderson (1888–1959) did the adaptation, and it remains a searing indictment of the senselessness of war.

Universal Studios, with little money to spare, spent it wisely on the action sequences, as terrifying today as they were in 1930. Soldiers scrambling out of trenches get mowed down by machine guns, or blown up by artillery, and yet they keep going "over the top" into almost certain death or wounding. All Quiet on the Western Front won Best Picture and Best Director in the Academy Awards that year, despite the small-minded complaints of some that it favored the "enemy" by having Ayres depict a young German soldier instead of an American doughboy.

That same year, Vitaphone/First National released *The Dawn Patrol*, with direction by Howard Hawks (1896–1977). Richard Barthelmess (1895–1963) and Douglas Fairbanks Jr. (1909–2000) portray World War I pilots in this aviation epic. Although it features some good aerial sequences, it hardly measures up to the spectacular effects achieved in *All Quiet on the Western Front*. Box office success, however, led to many an imitator during the decade, such as *The Lost Squadron* (1932), *West Point of the Air* (1935), *Devil Dogs of the Air* (1935), and *Test Pilot* (1938). Trying to recapture some of the excitement generated by the original *Dawn Patrol*, Warner Brothers in 1938 remade the picture, this time with direction by Edmund Goulding (1891–1959). Pulling out most, but not all the stops, the studio cast Errol Flynn (1909–1959) and David Niven (1910–1983) as the pilots, employed some of the combat footage from the 1930 original, and yet did little to improve on it. Even with all the airplanes and dogfights, few of these Depression-era films ever really rose to a true spectacle.

Hollywood truly excelled with the ornate costume drama. Since the movies exist primarily as a visual medium, dressing up actors in period dress or the most fanciful outfits



A lobby card for Hell's Angels (1930), a spectacular aviation film. (Courtesy of Photofest)

imaginable has usually served to bring patrons to the box office as much as special effects, wide screens, color, and all the other devices the studios employ to ensure attendance. More examples of the costumer's art went to movie theaters than any other type of expensive, prestige picture.

As an illustration, *The Private Life of Henry VIII*, a 1933 epic, features Charles Laughton (1899–1962) as the colorful monarch. His portrayal won him Best Actor honors, and the lavishly costumed cast gives a vivid feel for the sixteenth-century royal court. That same year, theaters announced *Cavalcade* on their marquees. Winner of the Academy Award for Best Picture and directed by Frank Lloyd (1886–1960), it features a huge cast of mainly British actors. An adaptation of a popular 1931 stage play by Noel Coward (1899–1973), the movie chronicles the lives of two English families from New Year's Eve in 1899 to New Year's Eve in 1932.

Since *Cavalcade* covers then-recent history, it brings an ironic tone to the events, ending with a wish for peace just as Hitler began gathering the reins of power in Germany. Sumptuous in their production values, both *The Private Life of Henry VIII* and *Cavalcade* presented audiences with a welcome dose of escapism. Pictures such as these led to a continuing succession of similar films.

In 1934 came *The Scarlet Empress*, a visually ornate retelling of the life of Catherine the Great or Russia. Perfect for the role of the colorful ruler, Marlene Dietrich

(1901–1992) imbues her character with an eroticism that would not have made it past the increasingly rigorous **Hollywood Production Code** in years to come; how it received wide distribution without criticism remains a mystery. Graced with elaborate sets, shadowy lighting, and bizarre characterizations, *The Scarlet Empress* stands as one-of-a-kind among movie spectacles.

Paramount Pictures and director Cecil B. DeMille (1881–1959) greeted 1934 audiences with *Cleopatra*, an opulent production starring Claudette Colbert (1896–1993). Already done as a silent motion picture four times previously, DeMille decided that instead of Egyptian artifacts he would have his set designers create a world of **Art Deco** grandeur, a device that gave the ancient story contemporary appeal. *Cleopatra* won an Academy Award for Best Cinematography, but Colbert herself steals the show, generally playing the vamp to the hilt and slinking about in outlandish costumes that have little to do with historical authenticity but everything to do with sex appeal.

An equally unusual film came out in 1935. Mutiny on the Bounty, based on the best-selling 1932 novel by Charles Nordhoff (1887–1947) and James Norman Hall (1887–1951) about a real mutiny on the HMS Bounty in the late 1780s, once more features Charles Laughton in a rich role, this time as the cruel Captain Bligh. He directs those cruelties toward the handsome young Fletcher Christian, played by a dashing Clark Gable (1901–1960). Mainly filmed on location on Tahiti by MGM, its \$2+ million price tag (roughly \$30+ million in contemporary dollars) made it the most expensive production for its time, although the studio more than recouped the costs at the box office. Audiences loved its mix of costumes, nautical adventures, and a dramatic story.

Victorian novelist Charles Dickens (1812–1870) achieved cinematic recognition with two big 1935 productions of his popular books: *David Copperfield* (1850) and *A Tale of Two Cities* (1859). Both films boasted large casts (advertisements for *A Tale of Two Cities* claimed a "cast of 49,000") and utilized extensive sets and period costumes. The relative commercial success of both urged Hollywood on to ever more costly endeavors.

Advances in special effects allowed two otherwise forgettable pictures to reach new heights. In 1936, MGM, by this time a leader in star-laden, spectacular productions, released San Francisco. A story of the great 1906 earthquake, it pairs Clark Gable and Spencer Tracy (1900–1967) in a fairly mundane tale of good (Tracy) and bad (Gable—but with a last-minute change of heart). What audiences got for their money, and their patience, occurs in the last 20 minutes of the picture: the earthquake itself. The destruction of the city comes across effectively and thrillingly, a tour de force for studio technicians who labored to create and destroy San Francisco in a matter of minutes. The movie served as the first, but hardly the last, really big-budget disaster film.

Shortly after San Francisco came The Hurricane (1937). Another natural calamity epic, this picture, directed by John Ford (1894–1973), spends most of its time with a humdrum romantic story of thwarted love. Then, like its earthquake counterpart, United Artists unleashed everything with a 20-minute hurricane (typhoon) that mixes miniaturization with full-scale mock-ups. Certainly not one of Ford's great films, but a great spectacle just for the storm sequence.

Anthony Adverse (1933), one of the biggest best sellers of the decade, came to the screen in 1936. Fredric March (1897–1975) plays the titular hero of Hervey Allen's (1889–1949) sprawling tale. Warner Brothers, mounting their biggest-ever production,

claimed the movie required 130 sets and 98 different speaking parts. Filmed in black-and-white instead of Technicolor, and compressed into a running time of just over two hours, the picture nevertheless attempts manfully to capture the scope of the much longer, much more complex novel.

Pearl S. Buck's (1892–1973) *The Good Earth*, published in 1931 and another best seller, likewise showed up in theaters a year later, 1937. Paul Muni (1895–1967) and Luise Rainer (b. 1910) play two farmers, heavily made up to look Chinese. Perhaps incongruous today in an age of international filmmaking, such racial and ethnic disguising was commonplace in an earlier, less sensitive time. British and American actors (i.e., white actors, both male and female) frequently took roles that required them to appear to be of another racial or ethnic group, and makeup artists responded accordingly, often with ludicrous results. Neither of the leads in *The Good Earth* looks particularly "authentic."

The movie itself, however, captures much of Buck's love for the land that makes up China, although most of it was shot in the San Fernando Valley in California, another bit of "make up." MGM spent more on this exotic picture than it did on *Mutiny on the Bounty*, and the studio hired several thousand extras for a tumultuous mob scene. A big hit, it earned Rainer an Academy Award for Best Acting.

An older novel, 1894's *Prisoner of Zenda*, by Anthony Hope (1863–1933), received a film adaptation in 1937. It had been previously filmed in 1914 and 1922 in silent versions, but this rendering boasted sound. Another extravagant production, it features Ronald Colman (1891–1958) in a dual role, that of king and commoner. Filled with flamboyant costumes and equally flamboyant action, *The Prisoner of Zenda* quickly attracted a popular following. The mythical country of Ruritania in which the action occurs, lent its name to a new adjective, "ruritanian," meaning anything small, romantic, and make-believe.

The end of the decade saw several more costume dramas done on a grand scale. In 1939, Drums along the Mohawk, based on Walter D. Edmunds's (1903–1998) best-selling 1936 novel of the same name, drew an appreciative audience, as did that same year's Hunchback of Notre Dame, taken from Victor Hugo's (1802–1885) memorable 1831 story. The latter also gave Charles Laughton yet another meaty role as Quasimodo, the hunchback of the title. Finally, Northwest Passage in 1940 transferred one more popular novel to the screen, in this case a 1937 effort by Kenneth Roberts (1885–1957). With a "cast of thousands," this tale of the French and Indian Wars moves briskly, and in the shadows of World War II, saluted fighting men and the idea that war justifies almost any means.

Within the overall spectacle genre, the so-called swashbuckling movies merit attention. Derived from a sixteenth-century term to identify swordsmen and adventurers, these pictures have always had a modicum of popularity, but that surged in the 1930s, primarily because of the influence of actor Errol Flynn.

Already established as a handsome bit player, Flynn took the starring role in *Captain Blood*, a 1935 action-adventure tale filled with swordplay. Directed by Michael Curtiz (1886–1962), it costars Olivia de Havilland (b. 1916) and Basil Rathbone (1892–1967), two actors who would reappear with him in a number of subsequent films. Based, loosely, on a novel by Rafael Sabatini (1875–1950), *Captain Blood* served as Flynn's first starring role, and both he and the movie enjoyed overnight success. The story of a man

wrongfully accused of treason, it depends on hairbreadth escapes, rousing swordfights, and colorful buccaneers—just the recipe for boundless adventure.

Warner Brothers recognized the appeal of Captain Blood and promptly lined up several similar pictures. In 1936, the studio released The Charge of the Light Brigade, again with the team of Curtiz, Flynn, and de Havilland (Rathbone was unavailable). Taken—with considerable liberties—from Alfred, Lord Tennyson's (1809–1892) stirring 1854 poem, the movie tells a romantic story for most of its length, saving the famous charge until the end. At last the moment arrives, and countless horses and men go sweeping across the California desert—on-location shooting was still the exception at that time. Gorgeously photographed, even in black-and-white, and extremely realistic, it cost the lives of over 200 horses. Their stunning falls, so thrilling to audiences, brought about much-needed legislation to protect animals during filming.

After a two-year wait, Warner Brothers brought out *The Adventures of Robin Hood* in 1938. With Curtiz, Flynn, de Havilland, and Rathbone all together once more, for many fans this remains the best of the many retellings of the Robin Hood legends. A swashbuckler from start to finish, it served as the first Warner Brothers movie to be done in what studio scribes called "glorious Technicolor," and color does make a welcome addition to these action-packed pictures. Sherwood Forest never looked greener.

In 1940 (planning and production actually occurred in 1939), Warner Brothers, Curtiz, and Flynn got together once more with *The Sea Hawk*. This film marked the 11th time the two worked together, a collaboration that dated back to 1935 and *The Case of the Curious Bride*, a picture in which Flynn had a bit part. *The Sea Hawk* again has Flynn playing a pirate, a role that allows for plenty of thrills and physical action, by now the formula for these swashbuckling pictures. Remotely based on a 1915 story by Rafael Sabatini, the source for 1935's *Captain Blood*, the studio reversed itself and filmed *The Sea Hawk* in black-and-white. Perhaps an economy move, given high production costs; it did release some prints in "Sepiatone," a cheap substitute for color.

Paramount Pictures, witnessing the success enjoyed by rival studios, early on made the decision to produce action-packed films of its own. In 1935, the company brought out *The Lives of a Bengal Lancer*, which, despite its supposed locale in India, was in reality filmed in its entirety in California. Deceptions aside, the picture has much in common with films like *Captain Blood*, *Charge of the Light Brigade*, and so on. Directed by Henry Hathaway (1898–1985), it stars Gary Cooper (1901–1961) as one of his majesty's lancers; the role further burnished the actor's image as a good character ready to stand against all odds.

This characterization, along with a swashbuckling plot, brought Cooper back to the screen in 1939's *Beau Geste*, another winner for Paramount and a classic action picture of the era. The title, which means a "fine or noble gesture," also happens to be the name of Cooper's character, a nice touch, since he too possesses gallant, noble qualities. Set in North Africa (southern California, yet again), the fast-moving plot has Foreign Legionnaires stranded at Fort Zinderneuf battling ferocious Arab bandits.

Finally, 1939 also saw RKO Radio Pictures' Gunga Din, yet another exotic swash-buckler, but with Cary Grant (1904–1986) taking on the role of the brave, athletic hero usually played by Errol Flynn or Gary Cooper. Adapted and expanded from Rudyard

Kipling's (1865–1936) famous 1892 poem of that name, "Gunga Din" refers to an Indian water boy, a role played with zest by character actor Sam Jaffe (1891–1984). Shot in California in black-and-white, *Gunga Din*, with its battles and heroics, rounds out the decade's generous selection of rousing, swashbuckling features.

As far as "Spectacle and Costume Drama Films" goes, three of the greatest pictures of the 1930s fit this category perfectly. **Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs** (1937), **The Wizard of Oz**, and **Gone with the Wind** (both 1939) receive discussion under their individual titles. In addition, many **musicals** of the 1930s, in themselves another form of spectacle, are discussed elsewhere.

See also Advertising; Book Clubs; Design; Walt Disney; Fashion; Race Relations & Stereotyping

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STAGE PRODUCTIONS (DRAMA). The theater world, especially New York's Broadway, felt immediate and long-term effects from 1929's stock market crash. *Variety*, the show business weekly, reported 187 openings in 1930 compared to 233 in 1929 (the *New York Times* gave slightly higher figures). These numbers represent a decrease of approximately 20 percent fewer productions following the onset of the Depression. With the exception of a small increase for the 1931–1932 season, the trend established in 1930 continued for the rest of the decade. By the 1939–1940 season, only about 60 new productions opened in New York's theaters; it had been a difficult decade for serious drama.

Legitimate theater raises not just the problem of levels of activity; it also poses the question of how much a role it plays in popular culture. Then, as now, professional stage productions occurred primarily in urban centers such as New York, Boston, Cleveland, Chicago, and San Francisco. Tickets—especially when compared to other popular entertainments—carried a hefty price of several dollars: a \$5 ticket in the early 1930s would cost about \$60 in contemporary dollars. A person could see a double feature at a movie theater for 25 cents (about \$2.50 in current money) or less. Along with the prohibitive admission fee, theater before and throughout the 1930s had the reputation of being an elaborate social event, with glamorous opening nights attended by women in the latest fashionable gowns and escorted by tuxedoed men, hardly a typical event for a representative cross section of the population. Traditional dramatic stage productions received little exposure; they usually played in urban settings, and more often than not experienced poor box office receipts.

Despite these strictures, plays that did make a name for themselves quickly found their way to Hollywood and film adaptations. For example, impresario Florenz Ziegfeld (1867–1932), famed for his Ziegfeld Follies, suffered heavy losses with the market crash. In an attempt to recoup, he closed *Whoopee!* (1928–1929), one of his successful New

York plays, and sold the film rights to the Samuel Goldwyn Company, a major movie studio. Eddie Cantor (1892–1964), the Broadway lead in *Whoopee!*, went to Hollywood and performed the same role on the screen. For this and many other productions, what might have been an art form with a small audience became a part of popular culture through this media crossover.

Although the number of new Broadway shows declined during the Depression and put many theater people out of work, the crisis caused an unusual surge of creativity. The formation of several theater companies during this time offered support and encouragement to actors and writers. The Theatre Guild, begun in 1919 by a small group of people interested in drama, stated that they wanted to improve theater in America by producing better plays. In 1931, the guild formed the Group Theatre with the intent of offering works containing elements of social protest. The economic upheavals occurring then seemed to inspire established playwrights and newcomers alike to write plays that expressed more concern with contemporary events in America than previously.

Winterset (1935), Maxwell Anderson's (1888–1959) prize-winning drama, reflects some of these concerns. Anderson, a member of the Playwrights' Company, based his play on the Sacco-Vanzetti case, a sensitive political issue from the 1920s. Nicola Sacco (1891–1927) and Bartolomio Vanzetti (1888–1927), two Italian immigrants, were executed in 1927 on charges of murder, a hotly contested verdict then and for many years after. Anderson addressed the theme of injustice by presenting this trial and its ramifications in dramatic form.

In a daring move, he wrote the dialogue in blank verse—which as a rule does not do well on the American stage. *Winterset*, however, was an exception. The play won the first New York Drama Critics Circle Award, and in 1936 RKO Radio Pictures released a film adaptation that remained close to the Broadway original. The movie brought Burgess Meredith (1907–1997) from his stage role of Mio to the **movies** and the beginning of a lengthy film career. Not only did Hollywood reach much larger audiences; it also provided far more secure and lucrative employment for actors.

Like Winterset, Robert E. Sherwood's (1896–1955) Idiot's Delight first appeared on Broadway in 1935, a time when a new world war seemed far from people's minds. But World War II already loomed when the play became a movie in 1939. Both the drama and its screen version carry a strong message of pacifism, that war truly serves as an "idiot's delight." By the picture's release, its antifascist stand had taken on new meaning and the film spoke directly to current events. It drew large audiences, offering them the chance to see Clark Gable (1901–1960) play an out-of-character role; he even performs a song-and-dance routine to "Puttin" on the Ritz" (1930; words and music by Irving Berlin [1888–1989]).

Playwright Clifford Odets (1906–1963), who had joined the American Communist Party in 1934, had his first work, Waiting for Lefty, produced by the Group Theatre the following year. The story concerns the revolt of the members of a taxi union against its corrupt officials, and unlike Winterset, concludes with a call to action—to strike in order to resolve the problem. Immediately successful, this production, along with two others staged by the Group Theatre in 1935—Awake and Sing and Till the Day I Die—meant the busy author had an unprecedented three plays running simultaneously, and they established him as a champion of the underdog. After the premiere of Paradise Lost, his fourth drama during 1935, Odets moved to Hollywood to try his hand at

screenwriting; his scripts continued to vividly communicate the experiences of the times.

Despite Odets's flurry of creativity and subsequent residency in Hollywood, many of his social themes frightened off the movie studios and only one of his plays made it to the screen during the decade. In 1937, he wrote Golden Boy, and its Broadway production earned him his greatest commercial success. It came to movie houses in 1939 and stars William Holden (1918–1981) in his film debut. Less propagandistic than his previous writing, both the play and picture focus more on the human condition than they do on politics. A young man, yearning to break free from his meager existence, lives a bleak working-class life and struggles between prize fighting and playing the violin. Boxing, faster and more direct, seems promising, but the main character breaks his hand in the ring and thus loses both opportunities. Hardly a cheerful story, Golden Boy provides one of those rare moments when Hollywood took off its rose-colored glasses.

Another successful playwright, Lillian Hellman (1905–1984), wrote only 12 plays over her lengthy career. Despite her relatively meager output, 3 of Hellman's works received Broadway productions during the 1930s and she emerged as a strong voice in the American theater. From the mid-1930s on, she became involved, as did many of her colleagues, with liberal and leftist activities and organizations, although social issues did not dominate her creative approaches. Her first Broadway success, *The Children's Hour* (1934), tells the story of a spoiled child who attacks her teachers through destructive gossip. Another play, *Days to Come* (1936), deals with a labor strike in a Midwestern town, but it failed to connect with audiences. *The Little Foxes*, staged in 1939 and one of her best-known works, comes from Hellman's memories of the South and chronicles hatred and greed among the members of the Hubbard family. In New York, it starred Tallulah Bankhead (1902–1968). Made into a distinguished movie in 1941, it featured Bette Davis (1908–1989) in the Bankhead role; the film received nine Academy Award nominations, but no Oscars.

Usually thought of as a novelist and not a playwright, John Steinbeck (1902–1968) in 1937 wrote a novella called Of Mice and Men; it examines the lives of working-class and migrant workers in California during the Great Depression. The tale almost immediately went to stage and had a successful run from November 1937 to May 1938. Broderick Crawford (1911–1986) played a dim-witted but physically powerful itinerant farmhand, Lennie, with Wallace Ford (1898–1966) as Lennie's companion, George. Two years later, Of Mice and Men, adapted for film under the direction of Lewis Milestone (1895–1980), with music by Aaron Copeland (1900–1950), received an Academy Award nomination for Best Picture. Lon Chaney Jr. (1906–1973) portrays Lennie and Burgess Meredith plays George.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945), along with First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt (1884–1962), encouraged the inclusion of the arts in New Deal work relief and employment programs. The Federal Theatre Project (FTP; 1935–1939), a part of the Works Progress Administration (WPA; 1935–1943; name changed to Work Projects Administration in 1939), employed an average of 10,000 theatrical artists and workers annually. In addition, these New Deal programs opened theatrical doors previously closed to black Americans. Although minorities had been making small gains in dramatic productions, the FTP gave them a major boost. Black units worked in cities such

as Atlanta, Birmingham, Boston, Durham, Greensboro, Hartford, Oklahoma City, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Seattle, and Tulsa. Those in New York and Chicago experienced the greatest success, especially with adaptations of classical plays such as a voodoo *Macbeth* (1936) and *Swing Mikado* (1938).

The FTP program created a phenomenal variety and number of high-quality productions as well as educational experiences, both in New York City and in 31 states across the country. Perhaps best known for its component called the Living Newspaper, the FTP provided a satirical look at social and political topics in the guise of newspaper copy. Eventually, Congress challenged the thrust of certain FTP productions, calling them subversive propaganda, and in 1939, legislators cut off FTP funding.

Of course, not all drama produced in the 1930s focused on social and political issues. In 1932, author **Erskine Caldwell** (1903–1987) aroused a flurry of controversy when he published *Tobacco Road*. Many critics condemned its gritty realism and open descriptions of sex, but a majority of readers loved it. While the arguments raged, playwright Jack Kirkland (1901–1969) sensed that the book had some dramatic potential, and its lurid reputation would doubtless attract the curious. He gained rights to the book and wrote a stage version of *Tobacco Road* that went to Broadway, opening in December 1933.

Despite cries of outrage at putting such a scandalous work on the legitimate stage, the play's unparalleled box office success placed the nay-sayers in the minority. *Tobacco Road* ran for an unprecedented 3,182 performances, which translates as seven and a half years, closing in May 1941. A record for Broadway at the time, the show held an appeal for Depression-era audiences, perhaps because it depicted, often humorously, a way of life immeasurably harder than anything they might be experiencing.

While Caldwell and Kirkland dealt with the trials of dirt farmers in rural Georgia, playwright Eugene O'Neill (1888–1953) strove for mightier themes. Most of his plots embrace human tragedy, but in 1933, O'Neill, long a successful dramatist, wrote his only comedy, Ah, Wilderness! A nostalgic retelling of his own youth as O'Neill wished it might have been, the play takes place in 1906 around the Fourth of July and brought entertainer George M. Cohan (1878–1942) back to the stage from Hollywood to portray the father. Ah, Wilderness! came out as a movie in 1935 starring Lionel Barrymore (1878–1954) in Cohan's role and Mickey Rooney (b. 1920) as a younger brother. In 1936, O'Neill became the first American playwright to win the Nobel Prize for Literature, an international honor awarded annually for an author's total body of work.

Another prestigious award, the Pulitzer Prize, originated in 1918. Established in the name of Joseph Pulitzer (1847–1911), an outstanding and successful newspaper publisher, it recognizes excellence in several literary areas, including journalism, fiction writing, histories of the United States, and original American plays. The Pulitzer prizes for drama cover the fall–spring season; the following chart lists the winners from 1929–1930 to 1939–1940. It provides a summary of what many considered the cream of the dramatic crop for the decade. Recipients often saw their works adapted for the movies, and five enjoyed this honor during the 1930s. Three additional Pulitzer Prize–winning plays from the 1930s had movie versions made during the 1940s.

Pulitzer Prize Recipients, Drama: 1929–1940

Season	Play	Number of Stage Performances	Playwright	Year Movie Released	Plot
1929–1930	The Green Pastures, a musical drama and one of the most popular Broadway plays of the decade	640 (71 for a 1935 revival; 44 for a 1951 revival)	Marc Connelly (1890–1980). Hall Johnson (1888– 1970), a composer, conductor, and arranger of spirituals, was the play's musical director.	1936. Directed by Marc Connelly. Eddie Anderson (1905– 1977), who played "Rochester" in radio's <i>Jack Benny</i> Show, appears in the movie.	Both the play and movie of this black folk fable had an all-black cast; it presented several Old Testament stories, as well as depictions of God and heaven.
1930–1931	Alison's House, a drama	41	Susan Glaspell (1882–1948), a founding member of the Provincetown Players and Provincetown Playhouse.	Not made into a movie.	The story, which dramatizes the life of American poet Emily Dickinson (1830–1886), has a feminist perspective.
1931–1932	Of Thee I Sing, a musical comedy; the first musical to be awarded a Pulitzer Prize for drama	441 (32 for a 1933 revival; 72 for a 1952 revival)	Book by George Kaufman (1889–1961) & Morrie Ryskind (1895–1985), music by George Gersh- win (1898–1937); Lyrics: Ira Gershwin (1896– 1983).	Not made into a movie during the 1930s or 1940s; adapted for television in 1976.	A satire on politics and government, it poked fun at a political system that appeared to be helping banks, not people.
1932–1933	Both Your Houses, a drama	120	Maxwell Anderson, a founding member of the Playwright's Company. Written during Herbert Hoover's (1874–1964) administration, this play opened two days after Franklin Roosevelt's (1882–1945) inauguration.	Not made into a movie.	This political satire, set in the Depression, blasts the dishonesty of government. It presents the assumption that bribes and compromises serve as the primary way to accomplish anything in the political arena.

1933–1934	Men in White, a drama	351	Sidney S. Kingsley (1906– 1995). This play marked Kingsley's dramatic debut and was the first Broadway hit for the newly formed Group Theatre.	1934. Stars Clark Gable, Myrna Loy (1905–1993), and Jean Hersholt (1886– 1956).	The entire play, which takes place within the walls of a hospital, deals with moral and social issues such as abortion.
1934–1935	The Old Maid, a drama	305	Zoe Akins (1886–1958). The stage play starred Judith Anderson (1898–1992).	1939. Stars Bette Davis (1908–1989) and Miriam Hopkins (1902–1972).	Based on a best-selling 1924 novella by Edith Wharton (1862–1937), the story takes place dur- ing the American Civil War.
1935–1936	Idiot's Delight, an anti- war story with music and comedy	300	Robert E. Sherwood, a founding member of the Playwrights' Company. The play starred the husband-wife team of Alfred Lunt (1892–1977) & Lynn Fontanne (1887–1983).	1939. Stars Norma Shearer (1902–1983) and Clark Gable.	Set in an alpine resort hotel where a group of people talk and rediscover associations, the play describes a fictional beginning of World War II and concludes with bombs bursting offstage.
1936–1937	You Can't Take It with You, a comedy	837 (239 for a 1965–1966 re- vival; 16 for a 1967 revival; 312 for a 1983–1984 revival)	Moss Hart (1904–1961) & George Kaufman (1889– 1961).	1938. Directed by Frank Capra (1897– 1991), it stars Jean Arthur (1900–1991), Lionel Barrymore, and James Stewart (1908–1997).	The story revolves around the unlikely romance of a boy and girl from two families who are poles apart in virtually everything.

Pulitzer Prize Recipients, Drama: 1929-1940 (Continued)

Season	Play	Number of Stage Performances	Playwright	Year Movie Released	Plot
1937–1938	Our Town, a drama	336 (36 for a 1969 revival; 136 for a 1988–1989 revival; 59 for a 2002–2003 revival)	Thornton Wilder (1897–1975).	1940. Screenplay by Wilder; stars William Holden, Martha Scott (1912–2003), and Frank Craven (1875–1945). Also adapted for TV in 1959, 1977, 1989, and 2003.	A classic American story about everyday life in Grover's Cor- ners, New Hamp- shire, from 1901– 1913. People grow up, marry, live, and die.
1938–1939	Abe Lincoln in Illinois, a drama	472 (40 for a 1993–1994 revival)	Robert E. Sherwood.	1940. Stars Raymond Massey (1896–1983) re-creating his stage role as Lincoln (1809–1865); also features Gene Lockhart (1891–1957) and Ruth Gordon (1896–1985).	The story tells of Lincoln's life from his early days as a woodsman until his election to the presidency in 1860, and takes place in New Salem and Springfield, Illinois.
1939–1940	The Time of your Life, a comedy	217 (52 for a 1969 revival; 7 for a 1975 revival)	William Saroyan (1908–1981), who declined to accept the prize.	1948. Stars James Cagney (1899–1986) and William Bendix (1906–1964).	Set in 1939 in Nick's Pacific Street Saloon, Restaurant, & Entertainment Palace, located at the foot of the Embarcadero in San Francisco, where a colorful cast parades through the bar.

In addition to being adapted into movies, much American drama during the 1930s also attracted a diverse audience through radio. Programs included *The First Nighter Program* (1930–1953), carried over the course of its long run by the National Broadcasting System (NBC radio, 1930–1936; 1952–1953) and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS radio, 1937–1949), and *The Mercury Theater on the Air* (1938–1946) on CBS. *The First Nighter* offered Americans across the country the opportunity to be transported to "the little theater off Times Square," where **Orson Welles** (1915–1985) and his newly organized Broadway Mercury Theatre Acting Company provided radio adaptations of original drama.

An experimental radio show called *The Columbia Workshop* aired on CBS radio from 1936 through 1947. It offered established and aspiring playwrights an opportunity to try new ideas and techniques over the air. Soon after the show's inauguration, the network annually received thousands of plays to consider. These broadcasts seldom provided straight readings of Broadway offerings, featuring instead original scripts that better fit the limitations of radio. They gave many Broadway writers and stage actors an opportunity to supplement their incomes. In 1937, *The Columbia Workshop* presented perhaps its most famous production, *The Fall of the City*, by Archibald MacLeish (1892–1982). A timely work, it highlighted the growth of fascism in Europe.

In other parts of the country, regional and local theater groups struggled to survive. Given the economic realities of the day, the majority of such efforts failed. Funding proved all but nonexistent, and the rights to the more popular contemporary plays cost so much that small theatrical troupes could not afford them. Many groups attempted to make do with older plays or with new, original material. Audiences, however, usually stayed away, and so there existed no solid financial basis to support local theater.

The Barter Theatre, founded by Robert Porterfield (1905–1971), a Broadway actor, proved an exception. Also known as Robert Porterfield's Barter Theatre of Abingdon, Virginia, the State Theatre of Virginia, and the World Famous Barter Theatre, this organization's initial performance, John Golden's (1874–1955) Broadway play *After Tomorrow* (written in 1931), opened to a full house at the Town Hall/Opera House in Abingdon on June 10, 1933. The Barter Theatre operated throughout the 1930s, helped greatly by financial and professional support in 1934 from actor Hume Cronyn (1911–2003) and his first wife, Emily Woodruff (active 1930s). Still in business today, the Barter Theatre limits its productions to its Abingdon playhouse. Over the years it has seen the start of many successful theatrical careers.

Overall, traditional theater played a minor role in the popular culture arena. Despite efforts to make drama more attractive to larger audiences, the production of new plays declined along with the number of performances. Sporadic attendance did not help matters. The Theatre Union, organized in 1933, deliberately set prices low—30 cents to \$1.50 (about \$4.50 to \$23.00 in contemporary dollars)—and took the bold step of desegregating seating at a time when blacks usually sat in the balcony. Exposure to drama across the country did increase during the years of the Federal Theatre Project and radio also provided an opportunity for the mass distribution of plays. But Hollywood accomplished the most by adapting many Broadway productions for film. These versions might differ markedly from the stage original, but millions of people could say they "saw the movie of the play."

See also Fashions; The Grapes of Wrath; Life & Fortune; Musicals; Newspapers; Race Relations & Stereotyping; Radio Networks; Teenage & Juvenile Delinquency Films

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STAMP COLLECTING. As a leisure activity, stamp collecting during the 1930s crossed all economic and social lines, from Boy Scouts working on a hobby badge to Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945), the most prominent collector of all. Dating back to the nineteenth century, philately (its official name, which comes circuitously from French and Greek and loosely means "a love of stamps") consists of collecting and studying postage stamps and related items in all their infinite variations.

The United States issued its first postage stamp in 1847, and the federal government gained a monopoly on mailing rights in 1863. In just a short time, people began collecting these symbols of commerce and taxation, an activity that quickly evolved into a popular hobby. Enthusiasts had founded the American Philatelic Society (APS) by 1886, an organization that still thrives today. Membership in APS soared in the 1920s and 1930s, and the society's annual National Stamp Show received considerable publicity and welcomed record crowds. The 1934 event, held at **Rockefeller Center** in New York City, drew 100,000 enthusiasts in nine days.

Estimates placed the number of active collectors for the 1930s in the millions—9 million for 1934 alone—and stamp collecting received support from many areas. Educators in particular encouraged the hobby and employed it as a teaching device; through stamps a teacher could tell the story of the settling of America or instruct students about the countries of the world. Sociologists, psychologists, and religious leaders labeled stamp collecting as a "good" activity because of the knowledge gained from the endeavor along with the productive use of spare time. Articles on the pleasures of stamp collecting and suggestions about how to create a valuable collection appeared in leading popular magazines of the period such as *Scientific American* and *Popular Science*. The National Broadcasting Company (NBC radio) even ran a successful show, *The Ivory Soap Stamp Club of the Air*. Host Tim Healy (active 1930s) told collectors "the story behind the stamp," and the sponsor invited listeners to send in an Ivory soap wrapper in order to receive a free album along with stamps to place in it.

President Roosevelt, an ardent collector since the age of eight, proudly displayed and talked about his collection of over 25,000 specimens; his enthusiasm clearly endorsed philately as a worthwhile activity. During his tenure (1933–1945), Roosevelt personally approved the composition of every stamp issued by the U.S. Postal Service—over 200 issues in all. He rejected some proposals, suggested some ideas of his own, and had a hand in designing a number of commemorative stamps, special stamps honoring a person, place, or event. Three examples include the 1933 Little America issue celebrating Antarctic exploration, the 1934 Mother's Day commemorative, and the 1936 Susan B.

Anthony stamp. Each of the final designs grew from sketches provided by Roosevelt. Some of the public interest in the hobby doubtless grew from his celebrity status and the frequent media coverage of his philatelic pursuits.

Roosevelt's selection of his close friend and political associate James A. Farley (1888–1976) as postmaster general of the United States from 1933 to 1940 had considerable impact on stamp collecting. Although he knew little about stamps when he accepted the position, Farley soon realized that commemorative issues could be both popular with hobbyists and profitable for the federal government. In years past, the U.S. had issued only a few commemoratives annually; Farley authorized an immediate increase: six to nine new commemorative stamps came out each year, along with additional new regular series, stamped envelopes, and air mails. All this activity delighted collectors.

The practice continued throughout the decade, and Farley also ordered the printing of special uncut, ungummed sheets and blocks in various denominations. At first, Farley had these issues, called "Farleys," created for his political cronies, a practice that outraged philatelists. They rightly labeled it favoritism and demanded equal access to any new issues. The tempest grew, gaining the title of "Farley's Follies," and the postmaster general finally acknowledged the protests; soon all new U.S. stamps of any kind had to be made immediately available to the general public, a remarkable show of strength and numbers by the stamp collecting community.

In 1921, some years before Farley's arrival on the scene, the Post Office Department had established a Philatelic Agency to assist collectors. With the flurry of new issues under Farley's leadership, the agency began to realize sizable profits. Stamps bought by collectors ended up in their albums, not on envelopes destined to be mailed, and during the four fiscal periods from June 30, 1935, to June 30, 1938, sales at the agency exceeded \$7.8 million (roughly \$110 million in contemporary dollars), or more than twice the combined total sales during the preceding 12 fiscal years. Financial analyses have suggested that at least 85 percent of the Philatelic Agency's money consisted of straight profits, and that does not include the millions of additional dollars spent by collectors and dealers at conventional post offices.

During the decade, postal authorities honored everything from **fairs and expositions** (the **Century of Progress Exposition**, 1933–1934; the California-Pacific Exposition, 1935; the Golden Gate Exposition, 1939; the **New York World's Fair**, 1939–1940) to holidays (Mother's Day, 1934) to famous people (Admiral Richard E. Byrd, 1933) to the land itself (the National Parks System, 1934) to sports (**baseball**, 1939). The issuance of new stamps received substantial publicity; for example, 2 million copies of the 1933 Century of Progress Exposition stamps were specially flown to Chicago for their first day of sale at the fair's post office. Some of the new issues carried political overtones: the 1933 National Recovery Act (NRA) stamp celebrated a **New Deal** endeavor that the courts would eventually rule against. With the NRA's defeat, the post office in 1935 had to hurriedly destroy its remaining inventory of that particular issue.

Most collectors consider the U.S. stamps of the 1930s particularly handsome; all were meticulously engraved and many rose rapidly in value. Philatelists stockpiled unused, or "mint," copies with the hope of selling them for a sizable profit after a few years' time. So many engaged in this practice, however, that the pot of gold never materialized and stamps from the era turned out to be a glut on the market. The 1930s nevertheless proved to be a bonanza for collectors and dealers, and the sales of albums and related

paraphernalia reflected the ever-increasing numbers of people participating in this popular hobby.

See also Airships; Design; Education; Hobbies; Leisure & Recreation; Radio Networks; Religion

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STREAMLINING. In myriad ways, the 1930s can be called the Streamlined Decade. The primary **design** idiom of the era, Streamlining appeared in cars, **trains**, planes, and ships, and then carried over into more prosaic products, such as appliances, tools, electronics, and household decoration. Streamlining took an engineering concept and made it into a form of aesthetic expressionism.

A lack of ornament stands as the chief characteristic of most modern product design during the 1930s. Lines—both straight and curving, but always uncluttered—dominate. In many ways, the architects and designers of the period continued to be in rebellion against the ornamentation of the Victorian and Edwardian eras, periods that carried applied decoration to excess. They even dismissed many of the motifs found in the **Art Deco** of the 1920s, such as the familiar chevrons and jagged, zigzag lightning bolts, calling them mere indulgences. The Streamline ethic, a smooth surface seemingly devoid of any adornments, could be summed up in the ovoid, or teardrop, shape; that simple, idealized form served as the essence of Streamlining, an image of speed, efficient motion with a minimum of friction, the essence of modernism.

Whereas Art Deco tended to be steeped in classical traditions, the Streamlining movement came close to a clean break with the past. Moderne, Modern, Modernism, Modernistic, Machine Art, functionalist, organic, International—the terms attempting to identify and define the trends that succeeded Art Deco in the 1930s have proliferated and defy easy categorization. Streamlining and Art Deco share an affinity for geometric form, which helps to explain why many people confuse one with the other. So "modern" in the 1920s, Art Deco does not present a radical approach to design as much as it serves to substitute machinelike ornament for classical motifs. Eventually, however, Streamlining replaced the zigzags and chevrons. The geometry of Streamlining generally stands as more abstract and less representational than that found in Art Deco.

Streamlining, with its background in modern mass production methods, brought about the rise of the industrial designer. With sales dwindling in the 1930s because of the depressed economy, manufacturers turned to designers to make their products both more attractive and more salable. Since most firms once considered the role of the designer secondary to the parts played by engineers and other more technically specialized personnel, designers traditionally found themselves consigned to the background in any

promotional efforts. As consumers began to find sleek, Streamlined products attractive, however, names like Norman Bel Geddes (1893–1958), Donald Deskey (1894–1989), Henry Dreyfuss (1904–1972), Paul Frankl (1887–1958), Raymond Loewy (1893–1986), Walter Dorwin Teague (1883–1960), Harold Van Doren (1895–1957), and Russel Wright (1904–1976), industrial designers all, moved to the forefront in corporate advertising and publicity.

In the United States, designers achieved early success with Streamlined trains. In 1934, during the second year of Chicago's Century of Progress Exposition, both the Union Pacific and the Burlington Railroads exhibited sleek new concepts of how a train should look. The Union Pacific's City of Salina and the Burlington's Pioneer Zephyr excited audiences with tubular seats, stainless steel panels, strip lighting, pastel colors, and an absolute lack of extraneous decoration. New York Central's Mercury (1936) and 20th Century Limited (1938) carried these ideas further, as did the Milwaukee Road's Hiawatha (1938). All achieved a design unity never before seen in American industrial products, and they suggested to passengers speed and luxury, the saving of time and energy.

In the field of aircraft, engineers had long recognized that a bulky shape created drag, and drag diminished performance. By the late 1920s, a number of experimental airplanes began to show elements of Streamlining—a smoother, sleeker fuselage, fewer struts and other obtrusions, retractable landing gear—but the greatest advances occurred in the early 1930s in commercial aviation. Streamlining rendered obsolete the veteran Ford Trimotor, with its squarish body and awkward angles, and also the Curtiss Condor, a curious mix of modernity and biplane tradition. In the winter of 1933, the Boeing Company introduced its 247 airliner, arguably the first Streamlined passenger plane. The company manufactured about 75 of these craft, but in July of that year the Douglas Aircraft Corporation displayed its first DC-1. An improvement over Boeing's model, it quickly evolved into the DC-2 in 1934 and made aviation history as the DC-3 late in 1935. The Streamlined Douglas DC-3 would prove to be the most successful airliner of all time, with some 11,000 being built; it would remain in production until 1946.

American automobile manufacturers likewise showed an interest in Streamlining, but approached any design changes gingerly. With the Depression, they were loath to introduce new vehicles with no guarantees of public acceptance. In a daring move, the Chrysler Corporation in 1934 unveiled its Airflow model line. The Airflow's headlights appeared to blend in smoothly with the flow of the fenders and chassis. A roundly sloping hood and a sweptback windshield, along with some chrome detailing, sweeping, unbroken surfaces, and rounded contours completed the emphasis on Streamlined design. Industrial designers had touted, on paper, futuristic automobiles manufactured in teardrop shapes, and these ideas found echoes in the Airflow, a vehicle ahead of its time.

Thanks to an almost unlimited **advertising** budget, wide brand recognition, a far-flung chain of dealerships, and a relatively low sticker price, the new Chrysler line generated considerable interest, but it failed to be a rousing commercial success. Beneath the modernistic sheet metal, unfortunately, resided a rather staid passenger car that had undergone few mechanical changes. After an initial flurry of interest and sales, the public looked elsewhere. Chrysler may have prepared consumers for the direction automotive design would take, but 1934 and ongoing economic conditions hampered any rapid

transition to Streamlining. By the late 1930s, however, most mainstream American automobiles displayed, in varying degrees, Streamlined elements—fenders, chassis, headlight mountings, and so on—that had seemed so revolutionary in 1934.

Some of the hallmarks of Streamlining include horizontal bands, or raised fluting—often called "speed lines"—reproduced in stainless steel or chrome, and usually grouped in threes. The use of curving metal tubing for furniture and railings gained popularity, as did rounded exterior corners on the most modern buildings of the day. With an implied emphasis on speed and apparent airflow, the Streamlined motifs announced a move from the applied stylistics of Art Deco to a truly functional, stripped-down modernity. The 1930s thus witnessed the rise of a machine aesthetic, an acceptance of the machine itself as art and desirable in that way.

But manufacturers knew they were creating products for mass consumption, not works of art for display in a museum, and so they promoted their wares with an eye both to style and ease of production. Most consumer-oriented industries rejected one-of-a-kind crafts and specialized works of art and instead aimed at larger markets. For instance, mass-produced Streamlined salt and pepper shakers, each a perfect teardrop, reproduced in a shiny chrome finish, pay homage to an elite tradition, that of the silversmith working expensively by hand. At the same time, those humble table items acknowledge the popularization of that tradition by their very numbers and resultant low price. The use of such modernistic tableware in a traditional, or period, house (i.e., nonmodern, non-Streamlined, such as Queen Anne, colonial, Georgian, etc.) reinforces how popular culture cuts across all lines of tradition and class.

On November 7, 1929, the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) opened its doors in New York City. Under the astute leadership of Alfred H. Barr Jr. (1902–1981), MoMA emerged as a leader in the promotion and exhibition of modern design, as well as documenting movements in modern art and **sculpture**. By maintaining close relationships with the leading department stores and interior design venues around the country, the museum kept abreast of trends in furniture, decoration, appliances, and other household items. In so doing, it heightened American awareness of industrial design, especially with its 1934 show, Machine Art, that proposed a marriage among aesthetics, technology, and consumption. Designs featuring a Streamlined motif figured prominently in the show. The exhibition proved so popular that a traveling version toured the country for the next 10 years.

Modernism attained fashionability in the 1930s, and Americans eagerly accepted Streamlined designs in appliances, electronics, cameras, automobiles, public **transportation**, and commercial buildings, although they seemed less inclined to accept them in personal housing and government structures. In those areas, they leaned toward tradition, but they nonetheless accepted Streamlining as a middle path between nostalgia (tradition) and the future (modernism). It was industrial and it was neutral.

See also Fred Astaire & Ginger Rogers; Comic Strips; Flash Gordon; Musicals; Science Fiction

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SUPERMAN. At the mention of **comic books**, many people immediately think of *Superman*. The Man of Steel made his debut in the spring of 1938, the joint creation of writer Jerry Siegel (1914–1996) and artist Joe Shuster (1914–1992), in *Action Comics*. Although the comics industry had been moving away from newspaper reprints and more toward original stories featuring action-adventure, no one envisioned the success of *Superman*.

Characters possessing unusual abilities or traits had been a staple of the pulp magazine market for many years, larger-than-life heroes able to oppose even the worst evil doers. *Doc Savage*, the creation of Lester Dent (1904–1959; writing under the pen name Kenneth Robeson), thrilled readers in the 1930s with one pulp novel after another. Savage, "the Man of Bronze," relies on physical prowess and an array of futuristic weapons to get out of one jam after another. More sinister, perhaps, but just as exciting, *The Shadow* stories of Walter B. Gibson (1897–1985; writing as Maxwell Grant) involves the adventures of a mysterious playboy named Lamont Cranston. Instead of amazing athletic abilities, Cranston can "cloud men's minds" and thus make himself invisible to society's enemies, easily penetrating their lairs in order to bring them to justice.

Both the **radio** networks and Hollywood, always alert to trends that might attract audiences, strove to duplicate these pulp successes. *The Shadow* premiered on radio in 1932 and became a staple of the airwaves. An invisible **crime** fighter presented no problems for the aural medium, and the series would continue until 1954. Introduced by the strains of Rimsky-Korsakov's "Flight of the Bumblebee," radio's *Green Hornet* likewise gave listeners a disguised hero who protected the innocent. Motion picture **serials** involving all kinds of heroes—The Green Hornet, The Shadow, **Flash Gordon**, Buck Rogers, Zorro, "Crash" Corrigan—brought droves of youngsters into theaters for Saturday matinees. By the end of the decade, the concept of a superhero, a person able to overcome any and all obstacles, had taken hold, and it only remained for Superman to embody the idea.

So it was that the firm of Detective Comics, better known as DC, gave Superman some space in its first issue of Action Comics (June 1938). Two young men, writer Jerry Siegel and artist Joe Shuster, had been trying to interest publishers in a character they called "Superman" since 1934, sustaining themselves with forgotten strips like Doctor Occult and Slam Bradley. DC, emboldened by the success of action and adventure comic strips, decided to take a chance with this muscular man dressed in a skintight blue outfit complete with a billowing cape. Siegel and Shuster's Superman even graces the cover of the new Action Comics, but anonymously. The drawing shows him single-handedly lifting a smashed automobile overhead, while frightened citizens scatter.

The story included in the comic book reveals Superman's origins on the planet Krypton and his escape to Earth. Readers learn he can leap (flying would come later) "an eighth of a mile," and outrun speeding **trains**. In the course of a few pages, he takes on the identity of the innocuous Clark Kent, stops a lynching, saves an innocent



The cover of a 1939 Superman comic book. (Courtesy of Photofest)

woman from the electric chair, captures the guilty parties, meets Lois Lane, and lands a job as a reporter on the *Daily Planet*.

In 1939, flushed with success, DC launched a comic book devoted exclusively to Superman. Soon they were selling over 1 million copies per issue, a new industry record. In a clever reversal, a daily newspaper strip based on the comic book came out early that same year, and a radio serial, destined to run for over 11 years, followed close behind. Almost immediately, other publishers readied their own superheroes. *The Crimson Avenger* hit newsstands soon after *Superman*, and the Arrow brought his deadly archery skills to the comics within months. A more enduring superhero was The

Batman (the article would be dropped shortly). The first issue of *The Batman* came along in 1939, and he too attracted an enthusiastic following, although he possessed no actual superhuman qualities. With these and other entries, the stage had been set; one superhero after another entered what would soon become a crowded field.

By and large, however, the reign of the superheroes did not commence until the early 1940s and the growth of concerns about World War II. For the late 1930s, *Superman* dominated this new genre of comic book. His public persona of Clark Kent doubtless fit the adolescent daydreams of many readers. Superman could move from the mild-mannered and ineffectual Kent to someone capable of the most incredible deeds. Who wouldn't want such powers? But because Superman evolved so late in the decade, it would be rash to suggest that the Man of Steel in some way serves as a reflector of the 1930s.

See also Automobiles; Movies; Newspapers; Pulp Magazines; Radio Networks; Science Fiction; Youth

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SWIMMING. Americans have long loved going to a beach or pool for a swim, making it one of summer's favorite activities. The 1930s proved no exception for those fortunate enough to live near water. Swimming provided cheap, healthy fun, and millions flocked, any way they could, to public and private facilities. With fewer rules and regulations than almost any other form of recreation, swimming allowed men and women to mingle and play freely, often in abbreviated dress. Throughout the decade, the last remaining taboos about modesty tumbled down as bathing suits for both sexes became briefer and more revealing.

Synchronized swimming, a feature of the 1933–1934 Century of Progress Exposition in Chicago, generated modest interest, but it had to wait until after World War II before it became something that would draw significant crowds. American swimmers developed the butterfly stroke in the 1930s, eventually adding it to international competition. Despite these modest advances, most water sports received scant public attention.

Long-distance swims and competitive diving attracted a few dedicated onlookers, and Hollywood tried to capitalize by making **movies** that included segments with these activities. Comedian Joe E. Brown (1892–1973), always alert for any subject that might provide a laugh, took on distance swimming in 1932's You Said a Mouthful. As usual for his pictures, everything that can go awry does so. The film provides some shots of the Catalina marathon swim, an event where the hardy try to make it from the island to the California mainland. As for diving, the momentary excitement of the jump off a board and the subsequent plunge into the water carried more interest than the repeated strokes of swimmers. In 1934, Regis Toomey (1898–1991) starred in Big Time or Bust, a so-so drama that features several diving sequences. By and large, however, the motion picture industry seldom employed swimming as any context for releases during the 1930s.



Spectators watch swimmers at Columbia Country Club, Washington, D.C. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

Larry "Buster" Crabbe (1908–1983) and Johnny Weissmuller (1904–1984), two busy actors from the period, may not have used swimming as the primary content of their movies, but they nonetheless took advantage of the film medium to display their mastery of the sport. Both Crabbe and Weissmuller had been outstanding Olympic swimmers, and they parlayed their amateur exploits into profitable movie careers. Weismuller had swum in the 1924 and 1928 games, and Crabbe had made his mark in the 1932 events. Young and attractive, they received considerable attention, and Hollywood recognized both with movie contracts.

In 1932 Weissmuller starred in *Tarzan the Ape Man*, becoming, in the process, the definitive Lord of the Jungle for many. Then in 1933, Crabbe made *Tarzan the Fearless*, plus a Tarzan look-alike film titled *King of the Jungle*, in which he played Kaspa the Lion Man. Weissmuller came right back in 1934 with *Tarzan and His Mate*, and his audience appeal led MGM to contract with him for 10 more Tarzan films between then and 1948. For his part, Crabbe shifted to **science fiction**, playing both Buck Rogers and Flash Gordon in several popular **serials**. Although both actors had to frequently plunge into the water and display their aquatic expertise, along with their attractive physiques, especially in the Tarzan films, swimming served as a secondary component in their pictures.

Both Weissmuller and Crabbe donned bathing suits for the 1939–1940 **New York World's Fair**, where they appeared as featured performers in Billy Rose's Aquacade, a water spectacle that consistently drew large crowds and helped further popularize professional swimming. Despite these exceptions, however, swimming remained on the periphery of American sports events throughout the 1930s.

See also Fairs & Expositions; Fashion; Flash Gordon; Leisure & Recreation; Olympic Games

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SWING. For a brief period, roughly 1935 to 1945, swing dominated American popular **music**. An inclusive term, swing incorporates numerous areas of musical expression. Its most direct roots include **jazz** and dance music, but pop songs, standards, country music, light classics, and other influences also enter any definition. Not jazz, at least not jazz in any academic or historical sense, swing exists as an amalgam, a mix, of many styles and formats. In a toe-tapping, finger-snapping sense, swing enjoys a rhythmic emphasis that causes music to possess a propulsive energy; it "swings."

A manifestation of popular culture, swing grew on its own, not because of its links to other music. It represented a cultural event that swept aside virtually everything before it, but by the mid-1940s the craze had run its course. **Radio**, which rose to unprecedented prominence during the 1930s, played a significant role in popularizing swing since it provided the means by which most Americans heard the latest trends in music. What stations chose to program—and what they did not—illustrates how commercial interests, once they decide something can be profitable, have the power to shape public taste.

The two major radio networks, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC radio) and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS radio), early on sensed the widespread appeal of this new musical phenomenon and gave swing-oriented orchestras the spotlight for numerous popular shows. For example, *The Chesterfield Quarter-Hour* (1931–1933), *The Camel Caravan* (1933–1954), *The Old Gold Show* (1934), *Let's Dance* (1934–1935), *Kay Kyser's Kollege of Musical Knowledge* (1937–1949), and *The Fitch Bandwagon* (1938–1948) constitute but a sampling of the many shows that revolved around swing orchestras and popular tunes.

In contrast to contemporary American radio, which relies almost entirely on **recordings**, many of these programs came to audiences in the form of live broadcasts. Stations also employed recordings in their programming, but in the swing era many aggregations traveled directly to the studio to perform. If a band could not conveniently make the trip, stations frequently dispatched crews, along with portable equipment, to clubs or concert halls to capture the live sound of the group in performance. These broadcasts went under the name of "remotes." As a result, many bands relied on radio for exposure, a time when they could play selected numbers from their "book" (a collection of scores a particular group might perform) and allow the unseen audience to sample more than a single song.

Broadcasters found band remotes an inexpensive way to present live music over the air. Wherever orchestras might play—dance halls, pavilions, auditoriums—the station could transmit the shows to its affiliated network (NBC or CBS) for national distribution. In addition, this allowed music to be preserved by making transcriptions, recorded discs or wire recordings, of the proceedings. Swing and the big bands, in fact, served as a primary catalyst for the sagging recording industry, which had fallen on hard times with the Great Depression. If people liked what they heard on their radios, they usually could



The swing era was also a time for dancing; when the band played, everyone took to the floor. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

find the music in their neighborhood record shops. By the end of the 1930s, the record business—in large part thanks to radio exposure—again enjoyed flush times.

Swing benefited everyone connected with the music. Not only did millions of fans purchase recordings by their favorite bands, they also bought tickets to hear them in person, and an impressive number of people took to the many dance floors that proliferated during the decade. Swing could be lush and romantic, but it could also be hard-driving and up-tempo; it emphasized melody, so it could be hummed, whistled, sung, and, for a whole generation of devotees, danced to. Much American popular music, from the 1920s onward, proved attractive for dancing, and that attraction translated, for most people, into the fox trot, a combination of slow and quick steps. But tastes in dancing change over the years, and in addition to the relatively staid fox-trot, the 1930s witnessed the rise of many up-tempo dances that broke with convention.

Following trends that had commenced in the 1920s with dances like the Charleston, traditional ballroom dancing evolved into a more individualistic style, one that involved the partners putting on a performance, or "cutting a rug," as the slang of the day would have it, that is, the couple's dance steps are so good—so "sharp"—that they destroy the rug or carpeting beneath their feet. These new steps eventually could be summed up in one word: jitterbug.

If swing served as the musical manifestation of the era, the jitterbug—fast, rhythmic, individualistic—existed as its physical expression. This step (or steps, since few people jitterbugged exactly alike) brought a new freedom to the dance floor, and fans, especially

those in their teens and early 20s, loved it. Their elders might occasionally bemoan these new, uninhibited dances, but their complaints fell on deaf ears. The jitterbug and all its variants changed American popular dancing, evolving, as did the music, into rhythm 'n' blues and, later, rock 'n' roll.

Much of what constitutes swing grew out of black American musical expression. A number of pioneering black bands, unheard, for the most part, by the larger white audience, began experimenting with new musical formats that grew directly from jazz. Groups like those led by Fletcher Henderson (1898–1952), Andy Kirk (1898–1992), Jimmie Lunceford (1902–1947), William McKinney (1895–1969), Lucky Millinder (1900–1966), Bennie Moten (1894–1935), Noble Sissle (1889–1975), and Chick Webb (1902–1939) labored in relative obscurity, polishing their approaches to what would eventually be called swing. Only a few black bandleaders attracted much widespread public attention, with Duke Ellington (1899–1974) and Cab Calloway (1907–1994) serving as two outstanding exceptions. Their success opened previously closed doors—film, stage, and radio—for other black performers, even if the opening amounted to little more than a crack.

For the most part, the music business remained rigorously segregated. Seldom did black bands enjoy significant air time; the choice shows went to white aggregations; and major record labels continued to push their white stars. As in the larger society, black artists found themselves relegated to second-class citizenship. But swing's appeal transcended race; its audience, young and more socially liberal, represented changing values, not traditional ones. By the end of the decade, an increasing number of black musicians, buttressed by a large and enthusiastic youthful following, finally began receiving their due.

What these bands played involved a synthesis of two strands of American music, popular dance numbers and jazz. Paul Whiteman (1890–1967), a successful white bandleader and the self-styled "King of Jazz," had searched for this synthesis in the 1920s, but seldom achieved it. This wave of mostly black orchestra leaders discovered an approach that found receptive audiences who were tired of the blandness offered by most of the so-called sweet bands then ruling the American popular music roost. The phrasemakers, anxious to differentiate this new music from older styles, called them "swing bands," and they lived up to the name. As more people became aware of these orchestras, interest grew and other musicians came aboard. A quiet shift had, by the mid-1930s, become a stampede. The swing era had arrived.

The odyssey of bandleader **Benny Goodman** (1909–1986) illustrates how swing emerged as the dominant popular music of the 1930s. A white, Chicago-born clarinetist, Goodman had begun his professional career as a teenager in the 1920s, playing with a variety of jazz-oriented groups. He eventually formed his own group and won a spot on NBC's *Let's Dance* in 1934 with the premiere of the show. This radio exposure gained him enough recognition that by 1935 he embarked on a cross-country tour that culminated with a riotously successful concert in Los Angeles. From there, the recording and radio offers poured in, and Goodman emerged as "the King of Swing," a title he held throughout the remainder of the 1930s.

Goodman moved to CBS in 1936, starring on *The Camel Caravan* (also called *Benny Goodman's Swing School*) until 1939. He also switched from RCA Victor's Bluebird label to Columbia for recordings, and a steady stream of best-selling records followed. The climax of all this activity occurred in January 1938, when Goodman and his band, along

with a host of invited musicians, performed at New York's prestigious Carnegie Hall for a jazz concert. More accurately a swing concert, it bestowed a certain legitimacy on this hybrid musical form and assured increased public and commercial support for swing.

Overnight it seemed, orchestras as diverse as those led by brothers Jimmy and Tommy Dorsey (1904–1957; 1905–1956), Charlie Barnet (1913–1991), Count Basie (1904–1984), Larry Clinton (1909–1985), Glen Gray (1906–1963), Earl Hines (1903–1983), Harry James (1916–1983), Kay Kyser (1906–1985), Glenn Miller (1904–1944), Artie Shaw (1910–2004), along with dozens of others, sprang up. By 1940, over 200 dance bands of one kind and another were crisscrossing the land, playing concerts, dances, and making recordings. Many enjoyed stints on radio and some even found themselves cast in movies that usually served as vehicles for presenting more swing. The overwhelming majority of leaders and sidemen tended to be white, although a few black bands—Basie, Calloway, Ellington, and Hines stand out—managed to achieve a modicum of commercial success. At the same time, a handful of white leaders dared to integrate their ranks in the later 1930s. Led by popular stars like Benny Goodman and Charlie Barnet, the inclusion of black musicians caused no backlash among audiences, although truly mixed bands would not be the rule until well after World War II.

Other events also changed the face of the music business. The overwhelming success of swing in the latter half of the decade meant that much new popular music originated with the bands themselves, not with old-fashioned songwriters and lyricists as in the past. As the sheer number of orchestras grew and competition stiffened, arrangers, those individuals who took the compositions of others and organized (i.e., arranged) them in a distinctive manner, achieved a new importance. They had the responsibility of creating music to fit the qualities, the "sound," of a particular orchestra or group. As their importance grew, arrangers moved into actual composition, often contributing charts (arrangements scored for the band as a whole) that consisted of original work, rather than arrangements of the work of others. Thus arrangers like Gene Gifford (1908–1970), Jerry Gray (1915–1976), Jimmy Mundy (1907–1983), Sy Oliver (1910–1988), Don Redman (1900–1964), and Edgar Sampson (1907–1973), hardly household names, helped mightily to define the sound of swing throughout the decade, and frequently emerged as important as the songwriters themselves.

When Hollywood realized that swing had all the trappings of a new national craze, the studios wasted no time in capitalizing on it. Bands big and small, black and white, band leaders known and unknown, along with vocalists and singing groups, were snatched up and thrust into movies. Most of the musical roles consist of bit parts or extended cameos; Hollywood's regular roster of nonmusical stars took the leads, only allowing the musicians to perform their latest hits and contribute occasional bits of dialogue. But their mere presence signified a growing awareness of swing and those who played it.

The quality of the films mattered little in the haste to have a swing number or two in the course of the story. That attitude resulted in several flops (*The Big Broadcast of 1937* [1936]), some mediocrities (*Second Chorus* [1940]), and a small group of pictures that accurately captured the flavor of this new phenomenon (*Hollywood Hotel* [1937]). These movies also gave a visual presence to a number of black artists, such as Duke Ellington and Cab Calloway, previously invisible to their audiences and heard only on radio and recordings.

By 1938, swing could be found just about anywhere. That summer in New York, a Swing Festival on Randall's Island drew 24,000 people. The mammoth event featured

25 bands and lasted some six hours. That same year, bandleader Tommy Dorsey cut "Boogie Woogie," a big-band instrumental version of a piano composition previously written and recorded by Clarence "Pinetop" Smith (1904–1929) in 1928 as "Pinetop's Boogie Woogie." Up to that time, most white listeners viewed boogie-woogie, an instrumental approach to rhythm that stresses a repeated bass figure, as a kind of low-class black music and paid it little heed. Although collectors had sought Smith's record over the years, it made little impression on the mass audience. Dorsey's version quickly changed all that, selling a million copies and making boogie-woogie a part of the expanding world of swing and a prominent part of white popular culture. Within the next couple of years, bands and pianists of every description performed boogie-woogie tunes to enthusiastic applause, and white groups scored most of the hits. At the height of the swing phenomenon, a new musical fad had been born.

This appropriation of an essentially black musical format by white performers had occurred before in American culture. Ragtime and New Orleans jazz (renamed Dixieland) had witnessed the same thing. For example, Count Basie's theme, the up-tempo "One O'Clock Jump" (1937; music by William "Count" Basie), had first been recorded by his band in 1937, but a majority of record buyers ignored it. Benny Goodman cut the tune in 1938, and his version enjoyed modest success. Then Harry James and his band released yet another interpretation of "One O'Clock Jump" later in 1938; the number promptly climbed the charts, took on hit status, and proved so successful that the trumpeter four years later garnered a second big seller with "Two O'Clock Jump" (1942; music by Harry James, Count Basie, and Benny Goodman), a not-too-subtle variation on the original.

Big bands and small groups, instrumentalists and vocalists, originals and variations—it mattered little to swing enthusiasts. Record sales kept pace with all the live performances, reaching \$26 million (roughly \$373 million in contemporary dollars) in 1938. Singles sold at the rate of 700,000 discs a month, their highest rate ever. In 1939, Columbia Records, a perennial third against leaders Decca and RCA Victor, introduced a new, laminated disc that advertised much better sound quality and longer life than the shellac records of the competition. It retailed for 50 cents (roughly \$7.00 in contemporary dollars), a few pennies above the usual price of 39 cents (or about \$5.50), but no one seemed to mind. By that time, eager buyers were snatching up 140 million recordings a year. Jukeboxes, once relegated to bars and cheesy dance halls, became ubiquitous, and deeply influenced record sales. Anything that received wide jukebox play could be expected to sell well in record stores.

Two national magazines closely monitored swing, chronicling both its meteoric rise and eventual fall. Chicago-based *Down Beat*, which had been founded in 1934, and New York–based *Metronome*, founded in 1932, an outgrowth of two previous publications of the same name that dated back to the 1880s, quickly established large circulations and their readership showed no hesitancy about voicing opinions. Other magazines, among them *Jazz Hot*, *Swing*, and *Tempo*, also had their followers, but they seldom rivaled the influence enjoyed by *Down Beat* and *Metronome*. The journals remained fiercely competitive, but they quickly took to task anyone who voiced opposition to jazz or swing. Trade publications like *Variety* and *Billboard* also covered swing, but more objectively, tracking record sales, song rankings, and business matters connected with the music industry.

In 1936, Down Beat inaugurated an annual readers' poll; Metronome followed suit a short time later. Hardly scientific, these polls served primarily as popularity contests

instead of indicators of true merit, but they nonetheless provided information about readers' tastes at a given time. Cries of dishonesty and racism sometimes accompanied these votes, since the magazines included the ballots within their pages and zealous fans could send in multiple copies by buying extra issues. No accurate statistics exist on the racial breakdown of the two periodicals' readership, but some people felt white musicians received favoritism at the expense of their black counterparts. A few black publications ran polls of their own, and then critics reversed the charge. Despite the scattered complaints, readers eagerly anticipated the yearly polls, which doubtless had an effect on resultant jukebox play and record sales.

As the decade closed, countless bands and musicians could be found in the swing ranks. Good or mediocre, they catered to an insatiable public. Virtually every community boasted at least a few dance bands or combos that provided nightly or weekend music. Department stores and specialty shops reveled in skyrocketing record sales, and everyone talked about his or her favorites. A heady time, the swing era gave Americans a mutually shared music unlike anything before or since.

See also Musicals; Race Relations & Stereotyping; Your Hit Parade; Youth

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TARZAN. In 1912, author Edgar Rice Burroughs (1875–1950) created a story about a man raised in the jungle by apes, a man free of the restraints of civilization. That character, of course, turned out to be Tarzan, the most famous adventure-fantasy hero of modern times. *Tarzan of the Apes* first appeared in a pulp magazine called *All-Story*; the tale's immediate success prompted a full-length book version in 1914. Over the years, Burroughs wrote 25 more novels about this lord of the jungle, the last appearing in 1964; since then, other writers have carried on the saga.

The 1930s alone witnessed the publication of nine different Tarzan stories by the prolific Burroughs: Tarzan at the Earth's Core (1930), Tarzan the Invincible (1931), Tarzan the Triumphant (1932), Tarzan and the City of Gold (1932), Tarzan and the Lion Man (1934), Tarzan and the Leopard Man (1935), Tarzan's Quest (1936), Tarzan the Magnificent (1936), and Tarzan and the Forbidden City (1938). These novels, along with the many other titles in the series, represent examples of mass-market fiction. From the onset, Tarzan struck a nerve with the public, and Burroughs, like all popular artists, responded to his public's perceived wants and needs. Many libraries and "respectable" book stores expressed a reluctance to carry such "trashy" fiction, but eager readers bought the titles by the millions, making Burroughs one of the biggest-selling writers of the twentieth century.

The success of the Tarzan saga did not go unnoticed by the growing movie industry. Three silent films about the ape man appeared in 1918; the best-known, *Tarzan of the Apes*, starred a muscular actor named Elmo Lincoln (1889–1952) and established many of the traditions found in subsequent Tarzan motion pictures. With the advent of sound, Hollywood released the most famous of them all, *Tarzan*, the Ape Man (1932). This classic film features Johnny Weissmuller (1904–1984), a former Olympic **swimming** champion turned actor. Weissmuller developed the famous "Tarzan yell," a call he uttered before plunging into a jungle pool or swinging on a handy vine. It immediately became a permanent part of the character, almost an icon in its own right.

Tarzan, the Ape Man did spectacularly at the box office, prompting MGM to rush into production more features about Burroughs's hero. Weissmuller completed three additional Tarzan movies during the decade, Tarzan and His Mate (1934), Tarzan Escapes (1936), and Tarzan Finds a Son! (1939). In all four of these outings, Maureen O'Sullivan (1904–1984) costars as Jane, Tarzan's civilized mate. She proved a valuable addition, lending an element of femininity to Weissmuller's more primitive persona.



The definitive Tarzan and Jane, Johnny Weissmuller (1904–1984) and Maureen O'Sullivan (1911–1998). (Courtesy of Photofest)

In the meantime, Larry "Buster" Crabbe (1907–1983), an actor who would strike gold playing Flash Gordon, an adventure hero from the **comic strips**, donned a loin cloth for *Tarzan the Fearless* (1933), a feature made by a small studio, Principal Productions. The same group employed Herman Brix (b. 1909; later known as Bruce Bennett) as the ape man for two additional features, *The New Adventures of Tarzan* (1935) and *Tarzan and the Green Goddess* (1938). Principal Productions also released *Tarzan's Revenge* with Glenn Morris (1912–1974) in 1938. In all, eight different *Tarzan* movies played theaters during the 1930s, and every one found receptive audiences. Cinematic Tarzans did not disappear with the end of the decade; a steady stream of features continued to come out, so that

today over 40 Tarzan pictures have been made, with no indication that moviegoers have seen the last of the ape man.

Burroughs had always envisioned Tarzan not just on the screen but on the comic pages as well, and the first such strip finally appeared at the beginning of 1929. An advertising illustrator named Harold C. Foster (1892–1982) agreed to try the cartoonist's trade, albeit reluctantly. He excelled at draftsmanship and completed about 10 weeks' worth of dailies, all to high praise. Despite the compliments, Foster returned to his more lucrative advertising accounts, and Rex Maxon (1892–1973) took over as the lead artist on *Tarzan*. Although Maxon worked competently, his drawing did not match the caliber of Foster's. United Features Syndicate added a Sunday page in 1931, and Maxon found himself overwhelmed with both duties. Foster, now suffering the financial effects of the Depression, came back to do Sundays only. In those days, a Sunday strip could occupy a full page, and Foster's work blossomed. He became so admired in the industry that in 1937 King Features, the biggest of the syndicates, lured him away with the promise he could both write and draw a strip of his own. That strip turned out to be *Prince Valiant*, probably the most realistically drawn adventure series of the decade.

With Foster's departure, the *Tarzan* Sunday page then became the property of Burne Hogarth (1911–1996), another talented cartoonist. He dropped some of Foster's realism, replacing it with a flowing, sensual style that emphasized muscles and movement over detail. People liked this new look and Hogarth continued with the series until the 1940s. Maxon, meanwhile, labored on the dailies throughout the decade and, like Hogarth, stayed on board until 1947. A succession of artists drew the strip for the remainder of the century.

Early **comic books**, which consisted of reprints of existing newspaper strips, began using recycled *Tarzan* material in the early 1930s with black-and-white collections. A full-color anthology of the Sunday panels, *Tip-Top Comics*, hit newsstands in 1936. As the sale of comic books burgeoned, *Tarzan* also appeared in several new collections.

In addition to comic strips and comic books, the *Tarzan* imprint could also be found on such items as **Big Little Books**, clothing, **toys**, **jigsaw puzzles**, and even some foods. Starting in 1932, a serialized **radio** version of *Tarzan of the Apes* entertained listeners three times a week; when it ended in 1934, stations commenced broadcasting additional **serials** about the ape man, programming that would carry into 1936.

Clearly, the 1930s was the heyday for Tarzan in all its many formats. Edgar Rice Burroughs had incorporated himself in 1923 to save on taxes and see that users honored his copyrights. As his ventures expanded, the writer exerted strict control over all manifestations of Tarzan and created Burroughs-Tarzan Enterprises in 1934 to protect his holdings. The idea of dropping out of civilization and living in a jungle paradise, even as fantasy, must have held a certain appeal in the turbulent 1930s. In addition, the pure escapism of all the various books, movies, radio serials, and comics provided a momentary respite from reality. Whatever the reasoning, the entire *Tarzan* franchise thrived, far beyond anyone's initial expectations.

See also Best Sellers; Flash Gordon; Food; Illustrators; New York World's Fair; Newspapers; Olympic Games; Pulp Magazines

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TEENAGE & JUVENILE DELINQUENCY FILMS. The owners of movie theaters reported that significant numbers of teenagers came to their establishments during the Depression years. The local movie house functioned as a meeting place away from home, a hangout, a place to go to and kill some empty hours. With opportunities for employment almost nil, teens had unheard-of leisure time. A double feature, short subjects, and a couple of cartoons could take care of another dull afternoon or evening, plus a darkened auditorium proved ideal for some impromptu courtship. The Hollywood studios, always alert to audience trends, often played to this audience after discovering that teenagers and the subject of the adolescent years could be a marketable commodity, and so a new kind of film came into its own.

Movies with young actors have always been popular—many of the silent stars in the early days of the industry fell into the 16 to 21 age bracket. The sound era continued this tradition, capitalizing on the fact of a performer's youth and the generational concerns associated with adolescence. In the second half of the decade, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM) began to release the Andy Hardy movies, certainly one of the most popular film series of all time, running from 1937 to 1946.

The Hardy saga began with A Family Affair (1937), a lighthearted look at small-town America starring Mickey Rooney (b. 1920) as Andy Hardy, the typical American teen, and Lionel Barrymore (1878–1954) as his father, the wise Judge Hardy. This first title proved so unexpectedly successful that the studio quickly followed with You're Only Young Once (also 1937), a short titled Andy Hardy's Dilemma: A Lesson in Mathematics ... and Other Things (1938), along with three full-length features in 1938: Judge Hardy's Children, Love Finds Andy Hardy, and Out West with the Hardys. The pace did not slacken in 1939, and another three tales graced American screens: The Hardys Ride High, Andy Hardy Gets Spring Fever, and Judge Hardy and Son. Seven more Andy Hardy adventures came out between 1940 and 1946, and it all ended in 1958 with the release of Andy Hardy Comes Home.

In 1937's You're Only Young Once, veteran actor Lewis Stone (1879–1953) replaced Barrymore, a role he would repeat for the next 14 Andy Hardy stories. The series made Stone one of Hollywood's most beloved Hollywood character players, a fountain of sage advice, a father always there for his naive son. Spring Byington (1886–1971) initially played Hardy's mother, but Fay Holden (1893–1973) took over the role with the second feature and kept it thereafter. In an unusual gesture, the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences in 1942 awarded a special Academy Award to MGM for the series and how it "furthered the American way of life."

Dated for today's audiences, the Hardy films portray a nation that probably never was, but one that people longed for just the same. The series relentlessly reinforces a small-town mythic America and ignores any unsettling contemporary events. Audiences flocked to these simplistic homilies; they might sugarcoat both past and present, but people did not seem to tire of them.

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. But Rooney served to fill only part of the picture; if he epitomized the adolescent boy, then **Judy Garland** (1922–1969), another stock player from the MGM studios, emerged as the model teenage girl. The two made just three films together prior to 1940, *Thoroughbreds Don't Cry* (1937), *Love Finds Andy Hardy* (1938), and *Babes in Arms* (1939), but the chemistry was such that they would be teamed up numerous times in subsequent years. *Babes in Arms*, only loosely based on the Broadway musical of the same name by **Richard Rodgers** (1902–1979) **and Lorenz Hart** (1895–1943), was a big hit, and its success made Rooney the top male box-office star for 1939, something he would repeat in 1940 and 1941.

For her part, Judy Garland went on to portray Dorothy in the smash *Wizard of Oz* (1939), a role that allowed her to exude a healthy innocence that doubtlessly reassured the parents of teenage daughters across the land. Actually, the role of Dorothy called for someone younger than Garland, by then a 17-year-old who looked it. MGM had previously offered the part to *Shirley Temple* (b. 1928), who fit the age requirements, but her studio, 20th Century Fox, would not allow it. Thus Garland got her star turn and made the most of it.

With attendance at movies starring adolescent actors soaring, Hollywood quickly brought new releases to the screen with new, fresh young faces in the leads. Performers such as the Pollyanna-like Deanna Durbin (b. 1921; Three Smart Girls, 1936; One Hundred Men and a Girl, 1937; That Certain Age, 1938; It's a Date, 1939; Three Smart Girls Grow Up, 1939; and others) soon had top billing in one feature after another. Such was Durbin's regard in Hollywood, the Motion Picture Academy of Arts and Sciences gave her a special Academy Award, along with Mickey Rooney, for their "personification of youth" in 1938.

But teenagers did not attract attention only in movies. In 1930, the Stratemeyer Syndicate, a publishing phenomenon created by Edward Stratemeyer (1862–1930), a pioneer in the production and promotion of series fiction for adolescents, released a novel called *The Secret of the Old Clock*. A young woman named Nancy Drew serves as the main character, and the book became a classic for adolescent girls around the country. That title would turn out to be but the first in one of the longest-lasting, best-selling series in American literature. Mildred Wirt Benson (1905–2002) anonymously penned most of the early stories, writing under the pseudonym of Carolyn Keene, the same name that all successive Nancy Drew ghost authors would employ.

Hollywood attempted to adapt the enormously successful tales for film, although it took almost a decade for them to make the transition. In four pictures in two years, 1938–1939, director William Clemens (1905–1980) chronicled the adventures of the teenage detective. Bonita Granville (1923–1988), a veteran of over a dozen **children's films**, portrayed the fictional Nancy Drew in all four, starting with *Nancy Drew—Detective* (1938) and concluding with *Nancy Drew and the Hidden Staircase* (1939). Her spunky character solves crimes, appears independent of adult authority, can do much as she pleases, and depicts a modern, self-reliant young woman. With that combination, she appealed to countless girls who would have liked to emulate her if they could. And, with teenage films riding high at the time, the Nancy Drew stories proved a success.

By the end of the decade, the major studios had stables of promising players who acted out the trials and tribulations of teenage love and romance in one forgettable film after another that nonetheless demonstrated the strength and profitability of the youth market. Along with the good teenagers, however, Hollywood also occasionally portrayed a "bad" variety, ranging from misunderstood young people who occasionally ran afoul of society's mores to reprehensible no-goods—losers—lacking in any conscience.

In order to describe a young person gone wrong, the twentieth century invented the term "juvenile delinquent." In earlier times, the age of a lawbreaker mattered little; a crime begot punishment. Reform schools for wayward youth came into being during the nineteenth century, but their existence hardly served as an acknowledgment of juvenile delinquency. In the 1920s, a handful of movies came out that depicted "roaring youth"—smoking, drinking, dancing—but most crime pictures focused on adults, not teenagers. Our Dancing Daughters (1928) helped pave the way to stardom for Joan Crawford (1904–1977), and it depicted flappers in all their glory, but it focuses on youthful high jinks, not on criminal activities

With the onset of the 1930s, however, several up-and-coming actors built careers depicting lives of crime. James Cagney (1899–1986) stunned audiences with his performance in *Public Enemy* (1931), in which he portrays an amoral gangster. Not a teenager in 1931, he nonetheless brought a youthful vitality to his role, and much of the picture shows him as a younger character. Cagney personified many of the fears people felt about the lawlessness then gaining headlines. With his cock-of-the-walk air, he made the ideal Depression antihero, somebody who thumbs his nose at all authority. Since the period marked the heyday of **gangster films**, Cagney would reprise his role many times (*Blonde Crazy* [1931], *Hard to Handle* [1933], *The Mayor of Hell* [1933], others), always the wiseacre, always scheming.

More often than not, the bad eggs either died, often violently, or were sent off to prison or reform school. Some of those who got into trouble found redemption with an understanding adult male or the love of a good teenage girl—a "good woman" would be too sexually threatening in those strict **Hollywood Production Code** days. *Wild Boys of the Road* (1933) serves as an example of the evolving genre of films about young men in trouble. It stars Frankie Darro (1917–1976), an actor, forgotten today, who made his name in this kind of picture. Using the worst conditions spawned by the Depression, it tells of homeless gangs living in utter poverty. The movie raises the question, if things don't get better, what will happen?

What happened, in the movie industry, at least, was a succession of pictures that purport to show juvenile delinquency as a new national concern. Virtually all these films take place in slums, the inner city, and they equate crime with poverty. The "good" young people, the Mickey Rooneys and Judy Garlands, live in more affluent surroundings. Seldom do the scripts employ the words "teenager" or "teen"; those terms did not come into common parlance until after World War II.

For many people, one picture in particular gives the best dramatization of the questions about environment and juvenile delinquency: *Dead End* (1937). Both a box office and critical success, the movie adapts playwright Sidney Kingsley's (1906–1995) theatrical hit, a play that ran for 700 Broadway performances between 1935 and 1937. The film version stars Humphrey Bogart (1899–1957) as an adult gangster who has returned to his old slum neighborhood; it costars Joel McCrea (1905–1990) as Bogart's good brother who wants positive change. The plot argues for the primacy of environment in shaping

the lives of young people. As an added bonus, *Dead End* marks the cinematic debut of the so-called Dead End Kids, a group of six young actors, Leo Gorcey (1917–1969), Huntz Hall (1919–1999), Billy Halop (1920–1976), Bobby Jordan (1923–1965), Bernard Punsly (1923–2004), and Gabriel Dell (1919–1988), who had appeared in the stage version. They portray every shade of youthful hoodlum.

With success under their belts, the Dead End Kids left Broadway behind, changed studios, and became stars in their own right, cranking out a series of features—Angels with Dirty Faces (1938; it costars James Cagney and Humphrey Bogart), Crime School (1938; Bogart returns to this feature), Hell's Kitchen (1939; it costars a young actor named Ronald Reagan [1911–2004]), Angels Wash Their Faces (1939; Reagan makes an encore appearance), They Made Me a Criminal (1939), and The Dead End Kids on Dress Parade (1939). The group then moved over to Monogram Studios in 1939 and became the East Side Kids. Later on, they would become the Bowery Boys, but the slapstick and wisecracks changed little. Their pictures depicted crime and despair at first, but quickly degenerated into physical comedy, with the implicit message that audiences should not take them seriously.

The late 1930s mark the heyday of the juvenile delinquency film. The chronological list below suggests some of the many other titles coming out of Hollywood during this period:

Boys Town (1938)
Reformatory (1938)
Rebellious Daughters (1938)
Delinquent Parents (1938)
Little Tough Guy (1938)
This Day and Age (1938)
Juvenile Court (1938)
Girls on Probation (1939)
You Can't Get Away with Murder (1939)
Boy's Reformatory (1939)

The threat of war and the lessening of the worst aspects of the Depression turned people's attention away from this genre of picture. The "good" teen who would soon be marching off to war, coupled with increasing prosperity, made the gritty realism of many such pictures less relevant, although the theme of juvenile delinquency has resurfaced periodically on movie screens, especially during the 1950s. Cinematically, the 1930s mark the discovery of the American teenager as a profitable category of film. The Hollywood studios rushed into production countless movies that displayed "that awkward age" and in the process helped define teenage behavior for audiences around the country. For good or for ill, this influx of pictures influenced both young and old.

See also Best Sellers; Federal Bureau of Investigation; Leisure & Recreation; Musicals; Social Consciousness Films; Stage Productions

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TELEVISION. Scientists and engineers had long dreamed of transmitting electronic pictures directly into residences or businesses years before concept became reality. What had been the province of **science fiction** writers shifted as wireless communication evolved into **radio**. By the late 1920s, with radio receivers already in many homes, people knew that in a matter of time images would be added to sound.

Although crude pictures had been transmitted over telegraph lines in the nineteenth century, it took twentieth-century inventors and technicians, laboring in laboratories large and small, to refine those first steps and eliminate the need for connecting wires. In the United States, Philo Farnsworth (1906–1971) and Vladimir Zworykin (1889–1982), working independently of one another, developed much of the technology that made modern television possible. In England, John Logie Baird (1888–1946), a Scottish electrical engineer, transmitted the first discernable moving image in 1925; the following year, crowds in a London department store saw similar images in a display that Baird had put together. Not to be outdone, American engineers sent wireless pictures from Washington, D.C., to New York City in 1927, and the General Electric Company devised a home television receiver with a 3-inch screen in 1928. The company's radio station, WGY in Schenectady, New York, agreed to transmit television signals and commenced doing so in the spring of 1928. The only recipients of these pioneering broadcasts consisted of General Electric engineers who had company receivers on loan, but the stage had been set.

In 1929, the Bell Telephone Company gave a demonstration of color television—still images, but color nonetheless. The stock market crash in October put many developments on hold, but some research continued. Throughout the 1930s, engineers strove mightily to make television a reality for American consumers. Everyone knew the technical problems associated with the medium would eventually be ironed out; it just became a question of when.

David Sarnoff (1891–1971), the general manager of the Radio Corporation of America (RCA), and his team of scientists led the move to get television into American homes—and to do so profitably for the firm. He had distinguished himself with RCA by establishing the first radio network, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC radio), and he helped popularize the word "television"—the ability to meld sound and image and transmit the result over great distances.

The continuing popularity and profitability of radio dissuaded sustained efforts at any commercial exploitation of television during the Depression era. Despite the obstacles, in 1930 NBC gained permission to operate W2XBS (the predecessor of today's WNBC) in New York City; the following year found the rival Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS radio) operating W2XAB (today's WCBS), also out of New York. The two rivals used movie theaters as venues and hired popular radio and vaudeville personalities as hosts to promote their new technologies, presaging the entertainment function that television would eventually fill so well.

In the summer of 1936, employing space atop the Empire State Building, with a handful of bulky receiving sets and an invitation-only group of about 200 people as

witnesses, NBC television went on the air. A pretty limited affair—David Sarnoff appeared on screen, as did some radio personalities, along with a few models and other entertainers—but those in attendance sensed the importance of this event.

In 1937, NBC equipped a truck with a mobile television transmitter; it cruised the streets of New York and broadcast signals of things the crew found interesting. The following year saw the live television performance of *Susan and Gold*, an ongoing Broadway play. Although only a few thousand receivers existed, with virtually all of them concentrated in metropolitan New York, these events presaged things to come.

Allen B. DuMont (1901–1965), another radio pioneer, developed an interest in television in the late 1920s. A supporter of the concept of home television reception, as opposed to theatrical presentation, he demonstrated his ideas in 1930 by broadcasting images to specially equipped New York offices and hotel rooms. His efforts drew little attention, but they prompted him to create a small manufacturing firm with the express aim of providing television sets to the consumer market. His company's Model 180, the Clifton, went on sale in 1938, making it the first commercially available television set. It featured a huge—for its time—14-inch screen and its release compelled RCA to bring out sets of its own in order to compete. Had World War II not intervened, DuMont might have become more of a force in this new market; as it was, he created the DuMont Television Network at the war's end and battled the established networks for a decade before throwing in the towel.

The leading name in television at the end of the 1930s, however, remained NBC. The network telecast shows from the stage of Radio City Music Hall, and mobile units covered several sporting events in the New York area, including the first-ever televised baseball game. At a May 1939 contest between Columbia University and Princeton, announcer Bill Stern (1907–1971) gave the play-by-play. They televised the annual Macy's Thanksgiving Parade for the first time in 1939.

NBC made its biggest public splash at the **New York World's Fair**, which opened in April 1939. There the network introduced television to a mass audience. Using the RCA Pavilion, one of the exposition's most popular exhibits, NBC featured continuous telecasting of proceedings at the fair that played on banks of receivers with 5-inch, 9-inch, and 12-inch screens. People flocked to see these early sets, and RCA promoted their sale. Prices ranged from \$199.50 (roughly \$2,800 in contemporary dollars) for a basic receiver to \$600 (about \$8,400 today) for a deluxe model. During the 1939–1940 run of the fair, historians estimate that consumers bought slightly over 120 of RCA's model TRK 660 receiver.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) attended the dedication ceremony of the RCA Pavilion. Naturally, television crews included him in their telecasts, the first head of state ever seen on the new medium. Shortly thereafter, the king and queen of England also appeared at the fair, both in person and on screen. Wherever a visitor turned, he or she probably encountered television. In addition to RCA and NBC, Ford, Westinghouse, and General Electric also sponsored displays of working receivers. Allan DuMont, also in attendance, used the smaller Crosley Appliance building to show off his sets. The future of television seemed clear: it would emerge as a new entertainment medium. Only the outbreak of World War II prevented its immediate, widespread adoption.

See also Radio Networks; Rockefeller Center; Soap Operas; Western Films

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TEMPLE, SHIRLEY. The most famous child star in movie history and one of the youngest people ever to grace the cover of *Time* magazine (April 27, 1936), Shirley Temple (b. 1928) set records throughout her early years. When only three, she appeared in "Baby Burlesks," low-budget short movies that featured children parodying adults. By age five she had advanced to legitimate acting and attained fame with a featured role in *Stand Up and Cheer* (1934). In quick succession, she starred in *Little Miss Marker* (1934), *Now and Forever* (1934), and *Bright Eyes* (1934), in which she sang "On the Good Ship Lollipop," featuring music by Richard A. Whiting (1891–1938) and lyrics by Sidney Clare (1892–1972). The tune has since then been associated with her.

Between 1934 and 1939, Temple took top billing in 13 films, with four of her most memorable roles occurring in 1935—The Little Colonel, Our Little Girl, Curly Top, and The Littlest Rebel. In The Little Colonel, a civil war drama with music, she broke racial barriers by appearing with Bill "Bojangles" Robinson (1878–1949), a famous black entertainer. Temple proved herself an accomplished dancer and a spunky one as well. When the studio would allow it, she preferred to do her own stunts. Immensely talented, she quickly became the most popular movie star of the era. In 1938, Shirley Temple, nicknamed both "Dimples" and "Curly Head," reigned as the biggest box office draw for the year. Her fan mail averaged 60,000 letters a month.

As a popular, busy performer, she met and worked with famous Hollywood celebrities. She costarred with Carole Lombard (1908–1942) and Gary Cooper (1901–1961) in *Now and Forever*, Cesar Romero (1907–1994) in *Wee Willie Winkie* (1937), and Randolph Scott (1898–1987) in *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm* (1938). She claimed **Amelia Earhart** (1897–1937) and **Eleanor Roosevelt** (1884–1962) as her heroines, and the first lady even visited her on a film set. As did all visitors, she departed sporting a Shirley Temple police badge.

Along with her film career, Temple also served as the inspiration for a wide range of mass-produced records, books, watches, playthings, and clothes. Shirley Temple dolls, a particularly popular item, had sales of 1.5 million miniature Shirleys in 1933 alone. The dolls came in many sizes, costumes, and prices; collectors even considered the boxes holding them valuable artifacts. Her income from endorsing these items soon exceeded anything that 20th Century Fox paid her.

This remarkable child influenced contemporary **fashion**, film, and beverage preferences. In 1935, the Sears, Roebuck and Company catalog presented a complete Shirley Temple wardrobe of hats, dresses, snow suits, and hair bows for children. The most elaborate little girl's hairstyle in the 1930s came from an image of Shirley Temple. Her ringlets served as the norm not only for her dolls but also for any little girl's dress-up style as well. Both children and adults, when eating out, might order a Shirley Temple, a sweet,



Shirley Temple (b. 1928) with entertainer Eddie Cantor (1892–1964) at a March of Dimes fund-raiser. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

nonalcoholic drink invented in 1936 by the bartender at Hollywood's Chasen's Restaurant (1936–1995), a favorite ribs and chili bar of the stars.

It has been reported that photographers took more pictures of Shirley Temple than they did of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. He publicly praised her infectious optimism, a persona perfect for the Depression years, and one that she sustained in her films. On screen, filled with a mix of self-reliance and innocence, she guides adults through a threatening world while at the same time relying on their love and wisdom. She usually plays an orphan, but sometimes an heiress; either way, she always comes across as honest and fair in all her dealings and offers both hope and entertainment to the audience. Her character radiates wholesomeness and—most importantly—shows how to right a world gone askew. Shirley Temple's angelic looks and good humor uplifted millions, young and old, throughout the 1930s.

See also Children's Films; Magazines; Musicals; Photography; Race Relations & Stereotyping; Soft Drinks; Toys

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TENNIS. Like horse racing and golf, tennis suffered from a problem of perception. Although estimates have some 3 or 4 million Americans playing the game during the 1930s, many nonparticipants saw it as an activity for a wealthy, leisured class. Most urban areas nonetheless provided courts at parks and school grounds, and the **New Deal**, working through agencies like the Works Progress Administration (WPA, 1935–1943; name changed to Work Projects Administration in 1939), assisted in the construction of new facilities.

Not only did the activity want for large numbers of participants, it also lacked much of a following as a spectator sport. Helen Wills Moody (1905–1998), a favorite with those few fans devoted to the game, dominated women's tennis, particularly during the 1930s. Nicknamed "Little Miss Poker Face" for her nonemotional court style, she retired from tournament play in 1938. "Big" Bill Tilden (1893–1953), the leading male player of the later 1920s, gave up his amateur standing in 1931 and turned professional, a move that took him out of the public eye. In those days, as far as the public and tennis officialdom were concerned, amateurs dominated the sport. All the major tournaments barred profes-



Tennis club. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

sional players, making them virtually invisible. Given its aristocratic background, many people felt tennis carried a gentlemanly mantle with it; from dress to court behavior, they expected a certain level of decorum. Playing for pay detracted from that aura and therefore should be avoided.

Moody's retirement dampened interest in women's tennis, and Tilden's departure from the amateur ranks relegated the game to the back pages of the sports sections of newspapers. Not until 1938 did men's tennis enjoy any real revival. That marked the year amateur Don Budge (1915-2000) achieved the grand slam of tennis by winning the Australian, French, Wimbledon, and U.S. Open tournaments. As the first player ever to do it, the sports media rewarded him with a torrent of publicity. Ever so briefly, tennis reappeared on the front pages. But Budge turned pro shortly thereafter, and, like Tilden before him, disappeared from public view. It would be many years before tennis—professional or amateur, women's or men's-again attracted a large following.

Even the **movies** ignored the game. Cameramen found tennis difficult to film effectively, and so the list of titles is disappointingly small. *Love*, *Honor*, *and Behave* (1938) has a tennis player, portrayed by actor Wayne Morris (1914–1959), as the lead, but the game itself gets lost in the romantic aspects of the story. Beyond that, most references to tennis involve people carrying rackets and sipping drinks, usually at some posh country club, a reinforcement of the perception of wealth that surrounded the game.

See also Fashion

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TERRY AND THE PIRATES. A popular adventure comic strip, *Terry and the Pirates* attracted a wide audience with its youthful hero and fast-paced stories. Conceived, drawn, and written by Milton Caniff (1907–1988), the series began in the fall of 1934; despite a crowded field, it quickly set itself apart from the competition. After a change of artists in 1946, the strip would run until 1973.

Caniff entered the world of **comic strips**, as did many of his colleagues, first by drawing panel cartoons and then graduating to series work. He could count the now-forgotten *Puffy the Pig* and *The Gay Thirties*, both drawn in the period 1932–1934, as part of that apprenticeship. In the summer of 1933, while working for the Associated Press, he created *Dickie Dare*, the prototype for the later *Terry*. Awkward in its drawing and pedestrian in its plotting, *Dickie Dare* first told the story of a boy, about 12 or 13 years old, dreamily enjoying adventures out of storybooks he had read. Seeing that such an approach went nowhere, Caniff introduced "Dynamite" Dan Flynn, a handsome, 30-ish male who gets Dickie into and out of dangerous situations. He still had not arrived at his desired formula, but the revised version held potential for greater success.

As Caniff struggled with *Dickie Dare*, his work caught the eye of Captain James Medill Patterson (1879–1946), owner of the News-Tribune Syndicate, and a man who helped many comic strips achieve success. He urged the cartoonist to leave the Associated Press and create a new series for the News-Tribune group. Caniff submitted a proposal for *Tommy Tucker*, essentially an extension of *Dickie Dare*; Patterson responded by suggesting a new title—*Terry and the Pirates*— and a more exotic locale, the Far East.

Those changes in place, *Terry and the Pirates* debuted in October 1934. At first, the drawings themselves still looked like frames from *Dickie Dare*, but Caniff evolved into a far more sophisticated illustrator. He shared studio space with another cartoonist, Noel Sickles (1910–1982). At that time, Sickles drew an **aviation** strip called *Scorchy Smith* that he had taken over late in 1933. The two artists jointly experimented with aesthetic approaches to the cartoon medium. From simple line drawings, they moved toward the freer use of brushed-in ink areas, blocks of black that gave their work a distinctive chiaroscuro effect. This use of shadow added to suspense and heightened story lines, and within a short time *Terry* began to separate itself from most other action-adventure series of the era.

Terry Lee, who had started his cartoon life looking remarkably like Dickie Dare, takes on his own traits, and by the end of the decade has grown into a young man capable of independent action. Initially he has Jack Ryan, who stands in for and resembles Dan Flynn, as an adult sidekick, but Ryan's role diminishes as Terry's increases. For comic relief, George Webster "Connie" Confucius plays a stereotypical Chinese, dressing oddly, speaking in strange aphorisms, and butchering the language. In the mid-1930s, however, such demeaning characterizations of racial minorities, especially Asians, appeared in many comic strips and no one voiced complaints. The old image of "the Yellow Peril" had not died out, and variants abounded, from the good detective Charlie Chan to the villainous Fu Manchu.

Terry and the Pirates broke new ground for newspaper comics in a variety of ways. Milton Caniff discovered he had a gift for rapid-fire, snappy dialogue, which allowed him to place wisecracks and one-liners throughout the speech balloons. No matter how desperate the situation, someone will utter a flippant remark at the height of the tension. Terry never ceases being an action strip, but one with a humorous edge, as a rule. Caniff also found he had a flair for drawing beautiful, sensuous women, and never more so than in his seductive Dragon Lady. This reappearing character plays a femme fatale, and she plays it to the hilt. Readers might never be sure whose side this temptress takes, but they know she will lead most of the male characters to no good. Even innocent Terry occasionally falls into her clutches, but she usually takes sympathy on him, even going so far as to teach him to dance in one episode. With her presence, sex entered the usually sexless comics.

Other media soon became aware of this innovative strip. The late afternoon serials on radio already had Jack Armstrong, the All-American Boy (1933–1951), featuring the adventures of a precocious high school teen and his pals. The National Broadcasting Company (NBC radio) network brought Terry and the Pirates to the airwaves in his own afternoon show; it would survive, off and on, until 1948. But the adult dialogue and plot lines of the strip never transferred successfully over to radio, and Terry Lee seemed more an imitation of Jack Armstrong. A subpar movie serial came off the Hollywood back lots in 1940. Made on the cheap, it shared little more than its title with the comic strip. The innumerable Big Little Books also borrowed episodes, but these usually consisted of newspaper reprints, so little violence occurred to any of the basic concepts.

As the 1930s progressed, the Far Eastern locale that Captain Patterson had presciently suggested became the focus of considerable attention. In 1931, Japan had invaded Manchuria (later Manchukuo), a move that led to the Second Sino-Japanese War and Japanese military operations against China. By late in the decade, full-scale warfare engulfed the region, events not unnoticed in Terry and the Pirates. American neutrality and a natural reticence in the "funny pages" did not allow for overt political commentary. Lest he be accused of warmongering, Caniff compromised and showed China at war, but called the Japanese "the invaders," although it is doubtful the ruse fooled many people. The "pirates," usually bandits, evil warlords, or rogue military units, of the title disappear, and Terry and the Pirates moves resolutely into the impending shadows of World War II. Almost alone among American comic strips of the later 1930s, it talks openly about war and loyalties and responsibilities. When the United State finally enters the Second World War, Terry Lee promptly joins the U.S. Army Air Force and stands poised to fight—no nameless enemies anymore, no "invaders," but the Axis powers—and Terry and the Pirates emerged as one of the most earnest and patriotic of all comic strips.

See also The Gumps; Illustrators; Movies; Newspapers; Race Relations & Stereotyping; Youth

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TOYS. From 1930 until 1933, sales for the toy industry fell, a reflection of reduced consumer spending. Shoppers continued to acquire low- and medium-price playthings, causing overall revenues to decline since customers purchased fewer expensive ones. In time, production slowed and some manufacturers went out of business. Industry leaders urged strategic changes in marketing and suggested discontinuing the traditional November and December seasonal approach to sales. Instead, they pushed for year-round promotion. Some companies heeded the recommendation and it helped.

While a number of firms struggled, a few thrived. The venerable Holgate Toy Company, which traces its history back to 1789, along with the Playskool Manufacturing Company, established in 1928, and Fisher-Price, which incorporated in 1930, successfully researched and developed wooden educational toys for preschool children throughout the decade. Holgate, led by toy designer Jarvis Rockwell (active 1920s–1950s), brother of famed illustrator **Norman Rockwell** (1894–1978), manufactured the successful Bingo Bed (1934). It offered children a small bench, or "bed," along with eight pegs and a small hammer. The company profited from the Rocky Color Cone, six colorful rings stacked on a rocking cone, and Playskool produced a hammer and peg table set, a basic toy for very young children that taught hand-eye coordination.

Fisher-Price, on the other hand, started with wooden pull toys—two ducks and a black and white dog. Granny Doodle (1931) waddled, bobbed her head, opened and closed her bill, and quacked. A 1932 adaptation, Granny Doodle & Family, employed the same features but added two baby ducks. Dr. Doodle (1931), yet another duck, quacked as he strutted along, neck rising and falling, bill opening and closing. Each of these toys had an original retail price of \$1 (roughly \$14.75 in contemporary dollars). The company's toy dog, Snoopy Sniffer, introduced in 1938, exceeded sales expectations and the company had difficulty keeping up with orders. Fisher-Price established a child research center in the 1930s and eventually created over 5,000 different toys for children up to five years of age.

Despite the educational value found in some toys, many people voiced concern about their safety. In the early 1930s, toy manufacturers formed a Safety Standards Committee that created the industry's first voluntary guidelines. This committee cooperated with the National Safety Council, an alliance that led to the formation of a national accident reporting service and a clearinghouse for toy injuries.

As manufacturers became more aware of safety, they took advantage of the business downturn caused by the Depression. Lumber, steel, and textile mills struggling to stay in business during the crisis eagerly accepted new customers. As a result, American toy companies stopped using auto scrap or inferior wood for their products and switched to

top-grade components, a move that improved the overall quality and safety of American-made toys.

The changes in standards and construction materials could not, however, stop a flood of shoddy, foreign-made toys from entering the American market. Celluloid, a cheap, highly flammable substance once used in the making of motion picture film and shirt collars, and easily molded into any shape, served as the basis for baby rattles, Ping-Pong balls, and innumerable other toys throughout the 1930s. Japan became the world's leading exporter of inexpensive celluloid items, and Japanese companies mass-produced thousands of replicas of American comic strip characters, sports heroes, and movie stars.

Miniature tin and lead soldiers also enjoyed great popularity for boys at this time. In 1934, the Barclay Manufacturing Company emerged as the largest manufacturer of toy soldiers, producing nearly 500,000 soldiers, vehicles, airplanes, and other related items every week. Available at five-and-dime stores, these toy soldiers sold for a penny apiece (about 15 cents in contemporary money), making them easily affordable by most children. Despite the company's success during the 1930s, Barclay went out of business in 1971, a victim of the restrictions placed on the lead found in toys and other products.

While boys played with soldiers, girls entertained themselves with dolls. The doll industry struggled during the Depression years, but popular culture connections kept some companies solvent. In 1932, Effanbee Doll Company introduced the Patsy Doll Club as a marketing strategy. The club invited dolls, not their owners, to join and at its peak boasted 270,000 "members." Effanbee's Dy-Dee Baby and Ideal's Betsy Wetsy of 1934, facsimiles of real babies, required a mother's care for feeding and diapering. The Ideal Novelty and Toy Company in 1934 sold 1.5 million dolls fashioned after the popular child star **Shirley Temple** (b. 1928), and by 1935 Shirley Temple replicas of one kind or another accounted for almost one-third of all doll sales. In 1939, the Ideal Company added another item to its catalog based on a popular youthful movie star, its first **Judy Garland** (1922–1969) model.

The movies provided toymakers many other big sellers. Walt Disney (1901–1966) Studio characters, especially Mickey Mouse, served as models for stuffed dolls and other playthings; over 15 different Mickey Mouse toys came out in 1931 alone. By 1935, Mickey, along with Minnie, Donald Duck, Pluto, Goofy, the Three Little Pigs, and the Big Bad Wolf, made up the bulk of Disney's toy sales. The box office success of 1937's Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs added eight more characters to the toy world. In 1938, Macy's Department Store in New York City offered an in-store staged marionette production of the popular movie for children—five performances every day over a period of weeks.

Paper dolls, a mass-produced item in the United States since the early 1800s, afforded girls considerable pleasure. They appeared in *Jack and Jill Magazine*, a periodical published especially for children, and *Good Housekeeping* featured a series titled "Polly and Peter Perkin." Some see the 1930s as the beginning of a golden age of paper dolls with celebrities and movie stars serving as models. Fun for children, paper dolls conveyed the latest fashions and served as valuable teaching aids.

During the darkest days of the Depression, not all families could buy toys and many children, often with the help of their parents, constructed homemade toys from plans printed in **magazines** or **newspapers**. Some families created their own designs. Empty tin cans, baling wire, orange crates, rope, wooden spools, rubber bands, discarded tires,

odd screws and nails, and countless other found objects allowed an imaginative child to build just about anything. Rubber-band guns, paper airplanes, whirligigs from jar lids, comb-and-paper kazoos, grass-blade violins, cigar-box banjos, and tin-can telephones rivaled many commercial toys.

Popular radio shows presented another source for inexpensive toys. Many programs, such as *Tom Mix*, *Little Orphan Annie*, *The Lone Ranger*, and *Jack Armstrong*, *the All-American Boy*, offered premiums like decoder rings, badges, and assorted trinkets that either came in a sponsor's box of cereal or were mailed upon receipt of proofs of purchase. Ventriloquist Edgar Bergen (1903–1978), along with Charlie McCarthy, his popular dummy, first appeared on National Broadcasting Company (NBC radio) affiliate stations in 1937. Soon thereafter, Charlie McCarthy, the real "star" of the act, became available in a myriad of promotional products. Wooden dolls, of course, led the lineup, but tin windup figures, radio sets (a reminder to listen to the show), costumes cut like Charlie's outfits, and playing cards bearing his picture also enjoyed considerable popularity. Finally, in an effort at crossover marketing, a child's book titled *Charlie McCarthy Meets Snow White* appeared on the market shortly after the movie's release.

Characters from newspaper **comic strips** like *Popeye* and *Buck Rogers* likewise inspired the creation of several toys. Popeye himself could be found as a doll, and in windup form he appeared as Popeye in a Rowboat, Popeye Express, Popeye Puncher, and Popeye the Pilot. The Buck Rogers Chemical Laboratory came out in 1937. The stalwart spaceman's likeness emblazoned a number of windup models that included a rocket ship, and he spawned a line of futuristic space pistols in 1934 from the Daisy Air Rifle Company. Daisy also manufactured BB guns that resembled Old West carbines found in another comic strip, Fred Harmon's (1902–1982) widely syndicated *Red Ryder*. **Flash Gordon**, **Blondie**, and **Dick Tracy** likewise made it to the toy world, as did **Superman**, the hero of many **comic books** in the late 1930s.

Some of the toys requested by children reflected grownup life and mimicked housekeeping tasks and adult jobs. Examples included miniature kitchen stoves, tea sets, tiny kitchen utensils, vacuum cleaners, and washing machines, miniature equipment and machines representing trades from baking to building. Children could undertake construction projects such as erecting their own skyscrapers or add-a-room doll houses. Garage and farm sets did well, and toy trains and automobiles broke playroom speed records.

Wooden wagons, available long before the 1930s, continued as a popular item. Radio Steel and Manufacturing Company, founded in 1923 and previously known as the Liberty Coaster Company, in 1930 daily produced more than 1,500 red steel wagons called Radio Flyers. The company constructed a 45-foot-tall display of Coaster Boy astride his Radio Flyer for Chicago's 1933–1934 Century of Progress Exposition. The model announced the wagon's popularity to all who passed by. Inside, a showroom featured the latest Radio Flyer products and visitors could buy a miniature wagon for 25 cents (about \$3.75 in contemporary dollars). In the mid-1930s, Radio Steel expanded its line by introducing the Streak-o-Lite, a sleek coaster wagon with control dials and working headlights inspired by the Zephyr Streamlined locomotive. A few years later, the company introduced the Zep, a wagon with the flowing lines and fenders of a Chrysler Airflow, the nation's first Streamlined car.

Toy electric trains and track layouts had been introduced by the Lionel Manufacturing Company in 1900. The business boomed in the 1920s, but factory orders bottomed

out by 1930 and the company flirted with bankruptcy. Expensive by any standard, many of their trains cost the same as a three-piece bedroom set or a used Model T automobile and thus did not sell. In an attempt to save the business, Lionel introduced a line of less costly electric train sets under the brand name of Winner Toy Corporation from 1930 to 1932. The starting price for a set was \$3.25, including a transformer (about \$43.00 in contemporary dollars).

Still struggling, Lionel's business rebounded when in 1934 it manufactured an authentic scale model of Union Pacific's The City of Salina, one of the early Streamliners. A second railroad-oriented item, a Mickey and Minnie Mouse windup hand car, proved even more successful and Lionel had difficulty meeting demand. In 1935, they expanded their products to include a large array of switches and transformers to operate bridges and cranes, load and unload freight cars, and uncouple units. Passenger coaches, complete with interior illumination, included Pullman cars with made-up berths, diners with auxiliary kitchens, club cars, and day coaches. Their freight trains, equally realistic, featured tank cars, flat cars loaded with lumber cut to scale, and coal, refrigerator, and cattle cars. In 1935, model trains boasted whistles, a final touch that completed the realistic effect.

Lionel introduced another highly successful toy during the mid-1930s, an electric airplane connected to a tower. In response to the heightened interest in **aviation**, it revolved around the tower and could perform maneuvers. The company also continued to produce its traditional locomotives and the decade ended with Lionel Corporation again on solid financial ground.

Lionel did not stand alone when it came to manufacturing electric trains. American Flyer, formed in 1907, introduced its first electric train in 1914, but struggled during and after the Depression. A. C. Gilbert, founded in 1909 and known as a manufacturer of supplies for magicians, as well as Erector Sets and toy microscopes, bought American Flyer in 1938 and competed directly with Lionel.

The yo-yo entered the American marketplace in 1929 when it went into mass-production under the guidance of Donald F. Duncan, Sr. (1899–1971). Together with Pedro Flores (active 1920s–1930s), another entrepreneur, they promoted the toy by sending out hundreds of "yo-yo men," usually Filipino nationals, who traveled the country demonstrating yo-yo tricks. Duncan even managed to make a deal with the Hearst chain of newspapers for free **advertising**. In exchange, he organized competitions in which the entrants were required to bring a certain number of new newspaper subscriptions as their entry fee. These ploys generated strong sales; celebrities could be seen with yo-yos, and several popular songs, some of them a bit risqué, celebrated the simple but clever toy.

See also Design; Education; Fashion; Illustrators; Streamlining

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TRAILERS. As automobiles grew in popularity during the early years of the twentieth century, a handful of imaginative travelers improvised various kinds of trailers to pull behind their cars. These home-built rooms on wheels provided an inexpensive means to adventure on the open road. Spending the evening beside a pasture, a stream, or myriad other places, the "tin can tourists," as people dubbed them, had the freedom to go almost anywhere the highway led. Trailer owners did not have to rely on the location of hotels, motels, or auto camps, nor did they have the expenses associated with such lodging. Enough individuals showed an interest in this form of travel that newspapers and magazines gave them considerable publicity.

With media coverage and the growing popularity of touring, some automobile manufacturers took notice and began producing both pulled and self-propelled house cars equipped for sleeping and dining. These creations unfortunately carried a price tag that made them affordable only to the wealthy. In the early 1920s, for example, Glenn Curtiss (1878–1930), an aviation pioneer and founder of Curtiss Aeroplane and Motor Company, manufactured luxury trailers, or "motor bungalows." Curtiss renamed his motor bungalow the Aerocar Land Yacht in 1928, and it was indeed an elegant and expensive yacht. Its interior reflected the styling of a private Pullman train car, including servants' quarters and two bathrooms. Other custom-built trailers frequently resembled buses and sometimes had actually been constructed from converted buses.

In 1928, Arthur Sherman (active 1920s and 1930s), a New England scientist, inventor, and handyman, designed a simple, inexpensive camping trailer for his family. Constructed on wheels, his $9\times6\times5$ -foot box, no taller than the family Buick, attached to the car for easy pulling and could be quickly set up for shelter each evening. Friends and neighbors expressed interest and soon Sherman had developed a small business building, assembling, and selling Sherman Covered Wagons to middle-class America.

Encouraged by his success, Sherman displayed his camper on wheels at the 1930 Detroit Auto Show and began an **advertising** campaign in *National Geographic* and *Field and Stream* magazines. *Scientific American* gave it national publicity in its February 1931 issue. By 1932, the company had sold 80 units, a figure that grew to 189 in 1933. With continued demand, Sherman by 1936 employed 1,100 people assembling "covered wagons" at the rate of 1,000 a month.

Sherman was not alone. Another early manufacturer, R. T. Baumberger's (active 1920s and 1930s) Columbia Trailer Company, built affordable trailers shaped like Pullman cars and painted in gypsy wagon color schemes. Baumberger in 1933 organized the first caravan tour for Americans with trailers. Industry competitors—Vagabonds, Indians, Kozy Coaches, Silver Domes, Split-Coaches, Aladdins, and a host of others—entered the business, and 1936 saw at least 700 commercial builders assembling units of one kind or another.

A distinct improvement over Sherman's original box, the new models averaged 17 feet in length and boasted amenities like complete kitchenettes, chemical toilets, self-contained water supplies, and increased storage. Most important, people could afford them. In response to the growing popularity of trailers, Montgomery Ward, a large retail and mail-order firm, announced in 1935 its intention to add a furnished house trailer to its catalog. In addition, Karl Hale Dixon (active 1920s and 1930s) published *Trailer Travel* magazine, a journal that provided enthusiasts information on camping locations.

That same year, Wally Byam (1896–1962), a California printer, closed his shop and turned to designing and building trailers. His plan incorporated aircraft construction

methods that gave his creations an aerodynamic look. Byam described his vehicles as "cruising down the road like a stream of air" and named his business the Airstream Trailer Company. In 1936, shortly after Pan American Airlines had introduced its famous **China Clippers**, Byam's Clipper trailer made its debut. Manufactured from aluminum instead of the plywood and Masonite used in the original Airstreams, this expensive model qualified as the king of comfort. Features included sleeping space for four, an enclosed galley, electric lights, insulation, a ventilation system, air conditioning that used dry ice, and a dropped floor that allowed adults to stand upright. Although the Clipper carried an expensive price tag of \$1,200 (roughly \$17,500 in contemporary dollars), the company could not build them fast enough to meet demand. The Airstream Clipper would prove to be one of the most popular and enduring trailers of all time. Wally Byam had created an American icon.

Trailer popularity spread across the nation. At the 1936 National Automobile Show at New York City's Grand Central Palace Exhibition Hall, the fourth-floor trailer display attracted everyone. Visitors willingly stood in long lines to see them; many placed orders on the spot. Dealers at the show estimated a potential market for 200,000 to 300,000 trailers that year. Demand far exceeded production, and the major manufacturers, even working at capacity, produced just over 40,000. The Sherman Covered Wagon Company, for example, filled only one out of every five orders received.

Celebrities such as Wallace Beery (1885–1949), Gypsy Rose Lee (1911–1970), Buster Keaton (1895–1966), Ray Milland (1905–1986), Ginger Rogers (1911–1995), and W. C. Fields (1879–1946) let it be known that they owned trailers. Cowboy star Tom Mix (1880–1940) took delivery on an early Airstream. Trailers even became a part of politics when the Democrats equipped 50 snow-white Hayes trailers with loudspeakers and huge boxes of Roosevelt-Garner campaign buttons for the 1936 presidential race. Pulled by brand-new family sedans, the Roosevelt caravan campaigned across the country and, incidentally, showed the "trailer way" of traveling.

Fortune, Harper's, the Nation, and Time published articles on the trailer phenomenon. In 1937, Life Magazine ran three full pages of photojournalism about the Sherman Covered Wagon Company's travel trailers. A long-running episode that deals with trailer travel appeared in the popular Ella Cinders, a nationally syndicated newspaper comic strip drawn by Charlie Plumb (1900–1982) and written by Bill Conselman (1896–1940). Also, several soap operas then on radio had their heroines living the trailer life.

Trailers attracted a variety of Americans. More affluent citizens living in cold climates started taking their vacation units to warmer states to escape the severe winter weather. In the early years of the Depression, some economically oppressed Americans made them their homes, a practice that carried on after the worst days of the crash had passed. In 1936, Roger Ward Babson (1875–1967), a financial adviser who had predicted the market collapse of 1929, estimated that 300,000 to 500,000 people lived on wheels and predicted that within two decades one out of every two Americans would reside in a trailer.

Babson's prophecy turned out to be inaccurate, but thousands of families did move to trailer camps across the country. Florida's 17,000 sites, each accommodating about 100 trailers, led the nation, followed by California, with 6,000 camps, and Michigan, with 4,500. Every state in the union had facilities to accommodate the nomads who had found such living cheaper than residing in a conventional home.

The onset of an economic recession in 1937 forecast a gloomy future for many businesses, one that became a reality for the trailer industry. Also, editorial pages across the country moved from curiosity and praise to antitrailer journalism. They voiced concern about the absence of roots, about "gasoline gypsies" who appeared to lack a work ethic and threatened the traditional American home, and about impacts on the country's tax structure and property values. Some cities passed laws banning trailers completely or relegated them to ugly and noisy industrial areas.

The rapid growth of the trailer industry had saturated the market, and in late 1938 the trailer bubble burst. Even the successful and well-established Sherman Covered Wagons declared bankruptcy and reorganized; many other companies simply locked their doors. By the early 1940s the trailer manufacturers that had held on found themselves once again in a growth industry. Sales increased when American defense workers and military personnel utilized trailers as temporary housing. This use continued throughout World War II. At the close of the war, the industry moved into another expansionary period as trailers again gained popularity for both travel and permanent living.

See also Fred Astaire & Ginger Rogers; Comic Strips; Design; Gas Stations; Movies; Photography; Franklin Delano Roosevelt; Trains

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TRAINS. Following World War I, American railroads commenced a long, painful decline that would only be exacerbated during the Depression years. Before then, U.S. trains had boasted an unprecedented level of operating efficiency and carrying capacity, a vast transportation system that much of the world could envy. In 1920, domestic train travel hit a peak of 1.2 billion annual riders that accounted for 47 billion passenger miles. For the remainder of the decade, however, those heady figures fluctuated, usually downward. With the onset of the 1930s and the Great Depression, the totals had already fallen to 700 million annual train patrons and 27 billion passenger miles, or roughly half the ridership of just 10 years earlier. Except for a brief resurgence with the introduction of Streamlined trains around mid-decade, the slide continued, and 1939 recorded 454 million passengers riding 23 billion miles. To make matters worse, the number of operating American railroads also declined, from 775 in 1930 to 600 in 1939. As the decade drew to a close, much of the nation saw the glimmers of a modest economic recovery, but the railroads faced an uncertain future.

Almost from its beginnings, in addition to its freight business, the railroad industry had emphasized passenger service in two areas: intercity travel and vacation travel. The formula worked well until the 1920s, when significant increases in the number of registered **automobiles** had a profound negative effect on railroading. The use of trains for intercity transportation had dropped 18 percent by 1929 and usage continued to drop during the Depression. Americans preferred the privacy, flexibility, and perceived economy of their cars.

Early on, the railroads promoted train travel for "happy vacations" and provided service to many of the nation's parks. For example, Yellowstone Park, isolated from any major highways at the time, welcomed 45,000 rail visitors in 1915; only 7,500 tourists braved the journey by car. By 1930, with an improved road system, 195,000 people drove to Yellowstone, while a paltry 27,000 took the train. This pattern repeated itself across the land; despite the heavily advertised comfort and glamour of train travel, its use for vacations decreased. In addition to the competition from the automobile, developments in the airline industry, such as the **Douglas DC-3**, and the creation of comfortable long-distance bus services like Greyhound and Trailways, created new alternatives for tourists and commuters alike, and they came at the expense of rail travel.

At first, much of the railroad industry failed to recognize or respond to the loss of passengers caused by automobiles, **buses**, and airplanes. A few rail lines did grasp the extent of the competition and spent large amounts of money to create and maintain a few luxury trains in hopes of attracting more passengers. They cut fares and increased creature comforts for coach travelers, such as providing air conditioning in the all-parlor trains, improving lighting, and equipping lounge cars with radios. As a further inducement, advertisements and timetables often employed attractive paintings or photographs of a line's newest trains, showing happy patrons in a pleasant setting. These marketing efforts intended to connect potential passengers with specific companies and their services, but by 1935 more people rode buses than trains. The pretty ads did little to staunch the loss of customers to other modes of transportation.

Another ploy tried by the railroads involved Streamlined trains. The **design** concept known as **Streamlining**, an outgrowth of **Art Deco**, swept the country in the mid-1930s, especially in the area of industrial design. Everything, from pencil sharpeners to sky-scrapers, exhibited elements of Streamlining, and the great steam engines and diesels that powered trains were no exception. Mechanical devices took on futuristic aerodynamic traits that suggested speed and efficiency. The Union Pacific Railroad encased its M-10,000, also known as Little Zip and later renamed the City of Salina, in a sleek covering, and the resultant Streamliner became an attraction at the 1933–1934 **Century of Progress Exposition** in Chicago.

The Burlington Railroad in like manner put a Streamlined casing over its Zephyr, and the train set out from Denver in May 1934 to go to Chicago and the fair in a record-breaking fashion. The train cut the traditional running time between Colorado and Illinois almost in half—from 25³/₄ hours to slightly over 13 hours—and at times it reached a top speed of 104 miles per hour. Once the Zephyr arrived at the fair, Burlington put the engine on display for the remainder of the exposition. After the Century of Progress closed in the autumn of 1934, the locomotive went into service between Lincoln, Nebraska, and Kansas City, Missouri. To differentiate it from subsequent Zephyrs, Burlington renamed its record-breaking train the Pioneer Zephyr.

Because passenger numbers for these trains briefly increased, other railroads soon ordered their own Streamliners. People liked the look, and the trains did live up to their image of speed. Others included the New York Central's Commodore Vanderbilt (1934), the Gulf, Mobile, and Northern's Rebel (1934), the Milwaukee Road's Hiawatha (1935), the New York, New Haven and Hartford's Comet (1935), the Santa Fe Railroad's Super Chief (1936), and the New York Central's Mercury (1936). The Seaboard Railway inaugurated the Silver Meteor, which in 1939 trimmed 8 hours off the

33-hour run from New York City to Florida, a state rapidly becoming a tourist destination.

At the 1939–1940 **New York World's Fair**, Streamlined trains again proved a major attraction, just as they had at Chicago's extravaganza a few years earlier. Twenty-seven eastern railroads, in an attempt to prove their role in "building the world of tomorrow," collaborated by erecting the fair's largest freestanding structure, the Railroad Building. Divided into three sections—Railroads in Building, Railroads at Work, and Railroads on Parade, the last a one-hour pageant celebrating rail history—it housed the popular display of the Pennsylvania Railroad's huge engine called S1 6100, a long, elegant Streamliner created by the renowned designer Raymond Loewy (1893–1986). Placed on a specially constructed treadmill, engineers fired up the S1 6100's engine and allowed it to run at a continuous—but stationary—speed of 65 miles per hour. For many, this display signaled a bright future, and Streamlining promised to take the country there. After the fair closed in 1940, the S1 6100 entered service, but its enormous size and rigid frame limited its operation to relatively straight sections of track, since its length prevented it from negotiating curves. After just a few years, the Pennsylvania Railroad had to cut up the S1 6100 for scrap, a sad ending after such an optimistic introduction.

Since the earliest days of railroading, trains have exerted a romantic hold on the American imagination. Certainly the Zephyrs and their counterparts from the 1930s attempted to capitalize on this fantasy of speed, comfort, and escape. But the railroads were not the only ones to employ imagery and symbolism. The motion picture industry, dealing as it does with the visual aspects of life, from its inception has made effective use of trains, with cinematographers creating exciting shots of turning wheels, tracks stretching out to the horizon, or smoke pouring from a stack as a train races across the countryside. During the 1930s, movies like Rome Express (1932), Streamline Express (1936), Last Train from Madrid (1937), and The Lady Vanishes (1938) promoted the concept of trains as a glamorous and often exotic way to travel. In the hit 1934 film Twentieth Century, the plot unfolds during a railroad trip. Carole Lombard (1908–1942) and John Barrymore (1882–1942), two big stars of the era, bring sophistication to their roles, and the sets allow the audience to move with the characters throughout the train, from modern compartments to a sleek cocktail lounge.

Warner Brothers' classic Depression musical **42nd Street** (1933) also features images of train travel. With a great score by songsmiths Harry Warren (1893–1981) and Al Dubin (1891–1945), virtually the entire cast sings "Shuffle Off to Buffalo" in a scene showing a cutaway sleeper car. The original Burlington Zephyr had a significant role in 1934's Silver Streak, a story where a train must race against time in order to save lives. Sweet Music (1935) stars the popular crooner **Rudy Vallee** (1901–1986), along with a futuristic train with shiny curves and bullet shapes that suggests it is ready to break any and all speed records.

Finally, *Union Pacific* (1939), a big-budget Western directed by Cecil B. DeMille (1881–1959), has it all: building the transcontinental railroad, cowboys and Indians, the U.S. Cavalry, a love story, and a spectacular train wreck. A box office hit, *Union Pacific* delighted audiences with its sprawling, romanticized picture of railroad history and captured the continuing fascination Americans have for trains.

American **music**, particularly the blues, has long featured the aural imagery of trains, the relentless rhythm, the clickety-clack of the rails, and the lonesome whistle in the

middle of the night, transferring these sounds to instrumental pictures. The lyrics that accompany this music also summon up images: hoboes riding the rails, endless lines of freight cars crossing the land, and trains separating—or perhaps uniting—lovers. With so many people unemployed in the 1930s, "hobo jungles" sprang up outside many cities, populated by destitute individuals who had hopped a train in search of work. Many songs, like "Freight Train Blues (c. 1935), "Hobo Bill's Last Ride" (c. 1930), and "Blow Your Whistle, Freight Train" (c. 1933) celebrated this life. Cheerier railroad songs included the up-tempo "Orange Blossom Special" (c. 1935) and "Honky Tonk Train Blues" (1924, but popularized in the 1930s). Even Streamlining received musical mention with "Special Streamline" (c. 1934). Dozens of rail-related songs came out in the 1930s, suggesting a continuing attachment for trains and the symbolism connected with them.

Several well-known performers of the era dipped into the railroading song bag for their inspiration. Jimmie Rodgers (1897–1933), who usually sported a railroader's cap in his public appearances, was called "the Singing Brakeman." He cut numerous records that dealt with life on and around the rails, such as "Train Whistle Blues" (1930) and "Southern Cannonball" (1933). Woody Guthrie (1912–1967) led a rather nomadic life himself and could sing of his experiences. Two numbers from the late 1930s typify his work, "Railroad Blues" and "Walking down That Railroad Line."

In the print genre, **pulp magazines** early on discovered the lore and the lure of trains. Adventure and intrigue color their tales as trains carry their characters to dangerous or exotic locales. *Railroad Man's Magazine*, founded in 1906, offered stories about railroad heroes. In 1932, the **magazine**'s name changed to *Railroad Stories*, but the stories retained their unique focus; it continued in publication until the 1950s.

The 1930s ended with the railroad industry still struggling against the combined forces of the Great Depression, the popularity of the automobile, and the increased use of buses and airplanes. Sleek, Streamlined trains did little to increase overall ridership, and the onset of World War II only postponed the day of reckoning for the once-mighty rail carriers.

See also Advertising; Aviation; Magazines; Musicals; Radio; Songwriters & Lyricists; Spectacle & Costume Drama Films

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TRANSPORTATION. During the 1930s, the basic structure of the public transportation system in the United States underwent profound changes. Although a handful of large cities boasted subway systems, most urban areas relied on surface streetcars and trolleys. Both of these carriers depend on tracks that have been placed atop city

streets in elaborate patterns that interconnect and form routes for the streetcars and trolleys to follow. They employ a third rail or an overhead wire or cable connected to the carrier by a trolley pole for power, and had served as the primary means of mass transit in most communities. These systems proved efficient, safe, and clean, especially when compared with animals as the source of power and mobility. But streetcars and trolleys lost favor when alternative means of transportation became available, especially the increasingly affordable and dependable automobile.

In hopes of reclaiming a declining ridership, the streetcar and trolley industries in 1929 formed the Electric Railway Presidents Conference Committee, charging this prestigious group to **design** a truly modern trolley. The committee came back with the PCC, the President's Conference Car. It featured a smooth ride, quick acceleration, comfortable seats, and, in keeping with the times, a modern Streamlined body. The PCC trolleys enjoyed some limited success, and a few large cities continue their use even in the twenty-first century. The PCC, however, never emerged as a significant threat to other modes of transportation.

Mack Truck and J. G. Brill, along with several other truck and bus manufacturers, attempted to capture both the bus and trolley markets by producing a trolley bus, a wheeled carrier that featured a trolley pole and thus was not limited to preexisting track routes, but continued to be dependent on the routes created by power lines. By 1933, however, most streetcar and trolley companies had ceased operation, and cities and towns busily removed the tracks and electric wires that had once crisscrossed their locations and powered their fleets of vehicles.

The primary threat facing streetcars and trolleys remained the automobile. Many American families bought their first car in the 1920s. Passenger car registration jumped from 8 million vehicles in 1920 to 23 million by 1930, and it continued climbing, reaching 26 million in 1939. By the end of the decade, almost 90 percent of all **travel** (in miles) within the continental United States took place in **automobiles**, leaving the remainder to be divided among **trains**, streetcars, trolleys, **buses**, airplanes, and ships. The private automobile reigned supreme, and it has never relinquished that position.

The high rate of car ownership negatively affected the use of public transportation. The bus and railroad industries engaged in heavy advertising hoping to convince the American public that they offered unequalled economy, efficiency, and safety. In the early 1930s, the Burlington Railroad, the Union Pacific, the Great Northern, the New York Central, and the Pennsylvania Railroad all set up subsidiary bus lines or acquired stock in the existing Greyhound system. This unlikely alliance helped drive the final nail into the streetcar/trolley coffin, but neither buses nor railroads could make much headway against the popularity of the automobile. A new player also entered the field with the arrival of regularly scheduled commercial airlines. In its early days air travel had no noticeable impact on auto travel, but sleek airplanes did compete with railroad and bus lines in the ongoing battle for passengers.

Most cities of any size boasted at least a couple of taxi companies. The use of plush Packards, roomy Checkers, a De Soto with a sunroof, or a Hudson Terraplane, all with leather upholstery, provided a luxurious means to get around locally. During the 1920s and 1930s, the entry of new entrepreneurs into this all-cash business led to an oversupply of taxis. Too many cabs meant traffic congestion, fare-cutting wars, and reduced drivers' wages. The onset of the Great Depression hit the taxi business hard and many

firms went under. Survivors such as the Yellow Cab Company, founded in 1915 by John Hertz (1879–1961), benefited when cities established limits on the number of taxicabs on their streets, since the familiar Yellow Cabs were usually part of existing fleets, not some upstarts trying to make a quick profit.

Movies like Taxi (1932) and The Big City (1937; also called Skyscraper Wilderness) etched an indelible portrait of the wisecracking, seen-it-all cabbie as part of the American urban scene. Taxi, in a bit of perfect casting, stars James Cagney (1899–1986) and his screen persona—the tough, swaggering wise guy—a role he took on with ease. The Big City uses another popular actor ready to trade verbal jabs with anyone, Spencer Tracy (1900–1967). And millions of fans listened on radio to the comedy adventures of Amos 'n' Andy, many of which revolve around the Fresh-Air Taxicab Company. In reality, with fares running around 20 cents a mile in the 1930s (about \$2.80 a mile in contemporary money), cabs provided a relatively expensive way to travel, and only the fairly well-to-do could afford them. Hollywood made their drivers working-class heroes who usually served a wealthy clientele.

With more automobiles being used for commuting, errands, and leisure travel, taxis becoming a part of the fabric of city life, buses taking on Streamlined styling, and modern passenger planes flying higher and faster, the country faced new transportation challenges. The list included more and better roads, bridges and tunnels, and airports—and of course the money to build them. Earlier, the federal government had given its first tentative support toward constructing a national highway system with the passage of the Federal Aid Road Act in 1916. This bill matched federal money with state resources for building through streets and major highways. Some states imposed car registration fees and taxes on gasoline as a means of raising funds for building and maintaining such projects.

Two of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's (1882–1945) New Deal programs specifically addressed these needs and made major contributions toward building an up-to-date transportation system. The Public Works Administration (PWA; 1933–1939) and the Works Progress Administration (WPA, 1935–1943; name changed to Work Projects Administration in 1939) spent large sums of federal money on transportation projects while offering much-needed jobs for unemployed workers.

The PWA provided funds and supervision for federal agencies and local governments to construct roads, dams, airports, bridges, subways, tunnels, and harbors. The greatest amount of PWA monies allotted for transportation projects—over \$750 million—went for primary highways and roads; administrators broadened the definitions in 1934 to include work on urban segments of primary roads and in 1936 added secondary feeder roads.

The WPA tackled similar needs. Money from this department built 651,087 miles of highways, roads, and streets, including Chicago's 1937 Lake Shore Drive (originally called Leif Erickson Drive). These funds also covered work on 124,031 bridges and 853 airports, the most notable effort being New York's 1939 LaGuardia Field.

Realizing the growing traffic congestion in the urbanized areas of the East Coast, especially around New York City and its environs, several large-scale projects attempted to alleviate some of the more obvious problems. Led by Robert Moses (1888–1981), plans like the West Side Highway (1927–1931), the Triborough Bridge (1930–1936), the Belt Parkway (Circumferential Parkway; 1934), the Henry Hudson Bridge (1936–1938), and the Whitestone Expressway (1939) moved from the drawing board to fruition. Outside

the city, the Westchester County Parks Commission in 1924 recommended construction of a north-south parkway, a scenic route for automobiles traveling between New York City and New England. One of the first such highways, officials named it the Hutchinson River Parkway. A short, 2-mile stretch had been completed by December 1927, with 11 more miles in the fall of 1928. The parkway finally reached the New York–Connecticut state line in 1937.

On the Connecticut side of things, groundbreaking occurred in 1934 for the limited access Merritt Parkway. Starting at the state line where the Hutchinson River Parkway ended, the new road went just west of New Haven. The first 17.5 miles opened in June 1938, and builders completed the full 38 miles in 1940. One of the nation's first highways that attempted to control vehicle access, the Merritt also featured an early clover-leaf intersection. The many bridges that cross the parkway have been recognized for their architecturally significant **Art Deco** and Streamlined detailing. In 1939, to meet rising costs, the state levied a 10-cent toll (about \$1.50 in contemporary money) to travel the Merritt. The public strenuously objected to the construction of toll houses along the route, but to no avail.

These early parkways eased the increasing traffic flow north and east of New York City. On the south side of the city, workers carved out the Holland Tunnel. Opening late in 1927, it carried traffic under the Hudson River and into New Jersey and proved so successful that in 1930 the New York Port Authority announced plans for a second such tunnel. Workmen finished the Lincoln Tunnel in December 1937, and it recorded 1.8 million vehicles during its first year of operation.

Construction designed to accommodate increasingly heavy traffic occurred in other parts of the country as well. As early as 1910, engineers in Pennsylvania discussed ways to convert abandoned railroad tracks through the Allegheny Mountains so they could be used as the foundations for highways. The Pennsylvania Turnpike Commission, established in 1937, displayed at the 1939–1940 **New York World's Fair** a model of a proposed superhighway that would cross the state. The model became reality when a section of the Pennsylvania Turnpike opened to traffic in 1940; World War II temporarily delayed further expansion.

California witnessed the building of the Arroyo Seco Parkway, occasionally called the Pasadena Freeway, the first limited-access, high-speed divided road in the West. Constructed in three major stages from 1938 to 1953, it connected suburban Pasadena with metropolitan Los Angeles. Cars traveled the first segment, supported by the WPA, in 1939. Farther north, San Francisco served as the site for two important bridge-building projects. In 1933, ground-breaking took place for the San Francisco—Oakland Bay Bridge, and it opened to traffic a short three years later. At about the same time, ahead of schedule and under budget, the Golden Gate Bridge welcomed vehicles in 1937. These two great suspension bridges relieved congestion for commuters entering and exiting San Francisco.

Before the construction of the San Francisco—Oakland Bay Bridge, 35 million commuters annually crossed the bay by ferry. Until the end of the decade, bridge authorities and ferry boat owners waged a strident competition against one another to lure the public to use either the new bridge or the traditional ferry boats. In the age of the automobile, it proved a futile contest for the ferry owners; despite the public's nostalgia for an older way of life, by 1940 most of the ferries had gone out of business.

With significant federal and state assistance, the building and improvement of many components of the American transportation system assisted the country in its quest to come out of the Great Depression slump. During the 1930s, highway and parkway construction boomed, and automobiles soared in popularity. Buses and trains competed for passengers, and the air line industry emerged both as a new competitor and as a viable part of this network.

See also Aviation; Douglas DC-3; Gas Stations; Leisure & Recreation; Streamlining

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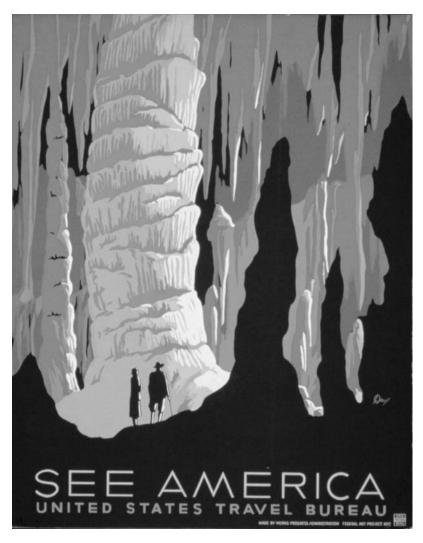
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TRAVEL. Inextricably linked to transportation, the means of getting somewhere have always been almost as important as the destination. For many Americans, travel during the 1930s had little to do with being "on the road" for fun. Countless citizens roamed the nation's rails and highways out of desperation; the worst days of the Great Depression saw about a million unemployed individuals drifting from town to town, always with the faint hope that the next stop might promise some work. Most of these transients knocked at back doors to ask for food, slept in abandoned buildings, or camped out, often alongside railroad tracks. They got from one community to the next by jumping onto a moving rail car or hitching rides with sympathetic drivers. Derisively called hoboes (the origins of this word remain unknown), these twentieth-century nomads bore mute testimony to the havoc brought into individual lives by the economic collapse.

Thrust into aimless wandering in search of work, hoboes came from towns and cities across the land, and many had held blue- or white-collar jobs. The Dust Bowl that plagued Midwestern farmers in the late 1920s and early 1930s put a different group on the road. John Steinbeck's (1902–1968) classic novel, **The Grapes of Wrath** (1939), chronicles the exodus of Oklahoma farmers from their devastated land. As these desperate families head for the promised land of California, their "travel" consists of using jalopies and wagons piled high with meager possessions. People had turned to the highway as a last resort; they camped along the way out of necessity, and hoped for a chance to begin anew.

Not everyone, however, faced such dire conditions. Despite the Depression, for many wealthy and middle-class families, summer meant travel of a completely different kind, often with mother and the children spending several weeks at a mountain or beachside resort. Father continued to work—not everyone was unemployed—and joined the family for the weekend. For others, travel might suggest short automobile or trolley excursions. Since the tracks often extended a considerable distance beyond the city limits in those



A poster urges Americans to travel to scenic destinations within the country. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

days, families without cars could go by streetcar or trolley to a countryside spot for a Sunday afternoon picnic or to a cabin at a nearby lake for the weekend.

The mountains and the seashore also beckoned, as did national monuments and historic sites. Families stayed in **auto camps** or **motels** along the way, or they undertook a train trip to a national park, or even a tour to Canada or Europe. A report from the Natural Resources Board in 1934 states that more than half the volume over U.S. highways during 1933, and 60 percent of the total use of American **automobiles**, involved recreational traffic.

Beginning in the 1920s, a gradual change in business attitudes also boosted such travel. Because of pressure from unions, along with efficiency and productivity studies promoting the idea, companies began providing employees with paid vacations, urging them to spend this time traveling. The idea caught on; in 1920, about 40 percent of white collar



A roadside stop for travelers in Ohio. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

workers received at least one week of paid vacation, and that figure doubled to 80 percent by 1930. A small number of companies also introduced paid vacations to hourly employees, a practice that would grow during the decade.

With the onset of the Depression, half the employers offering vacation plans dropped them. But many quickly reinstated the practice when they realized the benefits in terms of employee morale and productivity, and a substantial number of companies added such plans for the first time. As a result, the percentage of employees with paid vacations in the mid-1930s exceeded the figures for pre-Depression days. By the close of the decade, 95 percent of salaried employees and almost 37 percent of hourly workers received vacations of one kind or another.

Throughout the 1930s, popular magazines such as Ladies' Home Journal, Popular Science Monthly, and Good Housekeeping published articles discussing the value of travel when taking a vacation, even during economically depressed times. Newspapers also ran articles and editorials supporting family vacations. Topics ranged from the cost of roadside cabins, the popularity of camping and hiking, and the increased number of natural and historic sites to visit thanks to New Deal projects.

Responding to the growing popularity of vacations, the federal government, especially the National Park Service and New Deal programs, played an important role in the development and promotion of tourism. The Park Service, from its establishment in 1916, has urged citizens to "See America First." Twenty parks constituted the National Park Service system before 1930, with five additional parks—Carlsbad Caverns (1930), Isle Royale (1931), Everglades (1934), Big Bend (1935) and Olympic (1938)—joining the ranks during the Depression years.

National park directors secured private donations to support the upkeep and growth of the parks and to educate Americans about the value of visiting them. These successful campaigns included extensive newspaper and magazine coverage. For example, in 1930 newspaper articles across the country encouraged travel, whether by car, train, or bus, with headlines such as "Tourist Industry Great Aid to Business." National and state parks, national forests, and historic and military sites received high recommendations. They claimed to offer a combination of the best fun and relaxation for the family and a display of patriotism during an economic crisis.

Park officials worked with many groups—women's clubs, photographers, moviemakers, community and regional travel promotion associations, and automobile clubs—in an effort to increase the number of park visitors. During the 1920s, Park Service Director Stephen Mather (1867–1930) built a strong relationship with the railroad industry, inducing it to expand its **advertising** for tourism. From this came the "happy vacation travel" concept for **trains** that journeyed to the isolated national parks in the West. Colorful posters and brochures emphasized the spectacular scenery and the romance of steam locomotives as incentives. These efforts, bright and cheerful as they were, did not, however, overcome the growing popularity of the automobile. Despite the aura of romance and adventure, train travel decreased significantly during the 1930s.

The New Deal brought new energy and opportunities for the Park Service to broaden its appeal to a larger cross section of Americans. In 1934, an intensive publicity campaign under the slogan, "1934—A National Parks Year," encouraged travel to a national park. That year, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA, 1933–1935), through its Federal Surplus Relief Corporation, allocated \$5 million (roughly \$75 million in contemporary dollars) to the Service to acquire submarginal lands for conversion to recreational areas. The following chart shows the success of that campaign, a success that continued throughout the decade.

Visitors to National Parks, Monuments, & Historical Sites

Year	Number of Visitors to National Parks (in millions)	Number of Visitors to National Monuments (in millions)	Number of Visitors to Historical & Military Sites (in millions)
1929	2.7	.491	n/a
1930	2.7	.472	n/a
1931	3.1	.392	n/a
1932	2.9	.406	n/a
1933	2.8	.523	.91
1934	3.5	1.3	1.4
1935	4	1.3	2.3
1936	5.7	1.7	4.5
1937	6.7	2	6
1938	6.6	2.4	6.7
1939	6.8	2.6	5.4
1940	7.4	2.8	6

Source: Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970.

Getting to and from the national parks—as well as any other destination—demanded adequate transportation facilities. During the 1930s, a surge in road building resulted not just in new highways to relieve traffic congestion, but also in a number of new roads designed for noncommercial, recreational use. This effort proved a boon for travelers.

These scenic highways had their origin in county and municipal undertakings such as the Westchester County Parkway in New York, built between 1913 and 1930. At the federal level, Congress authorized its first parkway project in 1913 with the 4-mile Rock Creek and Potomac Parkway in the District of Columbia. Congress ordered the construction of the Mount Vernon Memorial Highway in 1928 and renamed it, on the bicentennial of his birth, the George Washington (1732–1799) Memorial Parkway. This road, designed for leisure and recreation, connects historic sites while passing through scenic areas. It became a part of the National Park System in 1933. Outside the District of Columbia, Congress moved to create the Colonial Parkway in Virginia and construction began in 1931. It would link the historic towns of Williamsburg, Yorktown, and Jamestown.

The federal government also built the Skyline Drive and the Blue Ridge Parkway, two winding mountaintop roads that run for 469 miles through Virginia and North Carolina. The work began in 1933 at the depth of the Depression. Construction crews also tackled the Natchez Trace Parkway in 1937, a 444-mile road that runs from Natchez, Mississippi, to Nashville, Tennessee, and includes a bit of northwest Alabama. These massive projects, called "public works" during New Deal days, extended beyond the Depression era. Completion of the Blue Ridge Parkway did not occur until 1987, and the Natchez Trace Parkway remained under construction until 2005. Both parkways today serve as parts of the National Park system.

Much of the building of these two parkways fell under the auspices of the **Civilian Conservation Corps** (CCC; 1933–1942). This New Deal work program, aimed at putting unemployed **youth** to work, improved millions of acres of federal and state lands, constructed roads and parks, as well as countless campgrounds, picnic shelters, fireplaces, swimming pools, and restrooms.

Another Works Progress Administration (WPA, 1935–1943; renamed Work Projects Administration in 1939) program, the **Federal Writers' Project** (FWP; 1935–1943), commissioned jobless writers across the country to develop the *American Guide Series*. This project, which commenced in 1935, produced in-depth guidebooks for each of the 48 contiguous states and gave the nation a fresh, in-depth view of the country. Nestled among the contents of each guide were suggested automobile tours, along with places to see and things to do.

In 1937, the government organized the U.S. Travel Bureau. It shut down soon after the country's entry into World War II in 1941, but during its brief life this agency issued numerous newsletters, bulletins, research reports, and promotional aids to travel agencies, transportation companies, trade associations, and tour operators. Travel-related groups, such as the American Automobile Association (AAA), United Motor Courts, and International Motor Court Association, as well as private entrepreneurs like Duncan Hines (1880–1959) and Emmons Walker and Ray A. Walker (both active 1920s and 1930s), also published guides to sights, dining, and lodging.

A few of the hardier travelers of the day did not need recommendations about where to spend the night. They proudly pulled their own "cabins"—trailers—behind their

cars. A number of media chronicled the trailer phenomenon. Articles could be found in widely read magazines such as *Harper's*, *Life*, *Popular Mechanics*, the **Saturday Evening Post**, and *Time*.

Americans and their automobile vacations created interesting variations in the expenditure of vacation dollars. Businesses as varied as garages; **gas stations**; roadside stands; diners; **restaurants**; overnight camps; **hotels**; amusement parks; beach, lake, and mountain resorts; **ice cream** and soft drink companies; souvenir manufacturers and vendors; and guidebook publishers and sellers benefited from vacationing Americans (see chart below).

Statistics Related to Vacation Travels during the 1930s

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Year	Motor Vehicle Miles of Travel for the Nation (in billions)	Dollars Spent on Gas, Oil, & Other Vacation Car Operating Expenses (in millions)	Number of Lodging Establishments Other Than Hotels	Expenditures for Hotels, Restaurants, Vacation Clothing, & Travel Supplies (in millions)	Railroad Coach & Pullman Fares (in millions)	Hotel Occupancy Rates as Percent of Hotel Capacity
1927	n/a	n/a	5,000	n/a	n/a	n/a
1929	198	\$1,102	n/a	\$872	\$201	70
1930	206	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1931	216	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1932	201	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1933	201	\$1,040	n/a	\$444	\$80	51
1934	216	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	56
1935	229	\$1,331	15,000-20,000	n/a	n/a	n/a
1936	252	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	66
1937	270	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1938	271	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1939	285	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1940	302	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

Source: Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970.

A drop in money spent on railroad coach and Pullman fares from 1929 to 1933 (column 6) and the corresponding increase in motor vehicle miles of travel (column 2) clearly show a change in preference from rail to road travel. Column 3 suggests that the number of dollars spent on vacation travel related to the family car, such as gas and oil, varied little from 1929 to 1933, the year of greatest national unemployment (24 percent). The expenditures for hotels, restaurants, and clothing (column 5) and train fares (column 6) between 1929 and 1933 declined significantly. This information, along with the increase in the number of lodging establishments other than hotels (column 4) and the fall in hotel occupancy rates (column 7), suggests increased use of auto camps and, later, motor courts and motels. By 1935 the amount of vacation dollars spent had markedly increased.

Buses and trains struggled to retain current riders and secure additional vacation travelers. Greyhound and Trailways, the two dominant bus companies by the end of the decade, offered local, intercity, interstate, and transcontinental services, and urged everyone to "leave the driving to us." Greyhound, like the railroad industry, targeted families on vacation and marketed their 1936 Super Coach for family travel. Their glossy ads promoting Streamlined buses that offered comfort and convenience for vacationers did not succeed; the majority of bus passengers continued to be commercial travelers such as salesmen.

A select few did not confine their travel to the United States. Ocean liners operated by French and British companies moved back and forth between New York and Europe, carrying mostly American tourists. This mode of travel, limited as it was, received a great deal of play in the press and movies. Advertisements placed in general circulation magazines and newspapers, along with posters and billboards, guaranteed that millions would see and read about luxurious ocean travel, although few had the resources to enjoy it.

The motion picture industry did the best job of promoting ocean travel and reached the largest audience. England's *Queen Mary*, commissioned in 1936, presented a sleek symbol of the machine age, an image Hollywood fostered in many films. *Transatlantic* (1931), *Reaching for the Moon* (1931), *Transatlantic Merry-Go-Round* (1934), *Chained* (1934), and *The Princess Came Across* (1936) all feature ocean liners that display the latest in **Art Deco** stylishness. *Dodsworth* (1936), based on Sinclair Lewis's (1885–1951) 1929 novel of the same name, won an Academy Award for Set Decoration. Part of the story takes place on a splendid, modernistic liner. But the epitome of all the pictures associated with ocean liners has to be *The Big Broadcast of 1938* (1938). The movie boasts plenty of stars—W. C. Fields (1880–1946), Bob Hope (1903–2003), Dorothy Lamour (1914–1996), Martha Raye (1916–1994)—but it also features a Streamlined ship created by noted designer Norman Bel Geddes (1893–1958).

Either in the movies or in advertisements, the ocean liner, imagined or real, signaled glamour and luxury, efficiency and convenience. Although most of the movie audiences would never set foot on such a vessel, Streamlined or otherwise, the repetition of images created a popular acceptance of ocean travel that carried over into the mundane objects of everyday life. For example, a 1936 Coca-Cola bottling plant constructed in Los Angeles mimics the shape of a large, sleek ocean liner.

Ocean travel to Europe or South America may have been the privilege of the few, but Americans of modest economic means went cruising in considerably smaller craft along the shores of the United States during the latter years of the decade. The *New York Times* in 1937 proclaimed "the Winter Vacation Spreads" and described how winter vacations no longer belonged just to the wealthy but could be afforded by a cross section of Americans who could cruise to destinations that included Virginia and Florida.

After 1934, the economic picture brightened and more and more Americans began traveling. The paid vacation became a firmly entrenched benefit, and the amount of vacation time a company offered emerged as a hot topic in labor relations discussions. Car ownership grew, as did automotive tourism. The New Deal, through its many projects, set park and recreational development ahead by at least a decade and provided new travel and vacation opportunities for everyone.

See also Aviation; Design; Woody Guthrie; Photography; Soft Drinks; Streamlining

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VALLEE, RUDY. A native of New England, Rudy Vallee (1901–1986) started out in life as Hubert Prior Vallee and acquired the nickname Rudy in high school. He entered the University of Maine in 1921, but transferred to Yale University the following year; there he formed a dance band, the Yale Collegians. This group played local clubs and gave him a grounding in live performing. Because of his strong interest in **music**, he dropped out of Yale and went to London to play with English dance orchestras. He also cut his first **recordings** while abroad, although few people in the United States ever heard them.

Vallee returned to American shores in 1925; he finally earned a degree from Yale and then enjoyed some limited regional success as a bandleader. In early 1928, he fronted a group called the Connecticut Yankees and landed a contract to play the Heigh-Ho Club, a popular nightspot in New York City. This engagement marked the beginning of Vallee's rise to national prominence.

Although he considered himself a saxophonist, Vallee began doing a few vocals with the Yankees. He had a thin, nasal voice that did not project well and began performing his vocal numbers through a large megaphone. In the days before electric amplification and quality microphones, the device allowed his reedy voice to be heard above background noise at the night club.

The novelty of the megaphone almost immediately became a standard prop, not just for Vallee but for other vocalists also. When reliable amplification became a reality, allowing even the weakest voices to be heard without distortion, Vallee retained the gimmick, although he no longer needed it. He eventually wired his megaphone for sound so audiences would hear him just as he sounded on similarly amplified recordings. A case of technology influencing artistic performance, Vallee exemplified a new, modern generation of performers who came to employ an array of electronic devices to carry their songs, instead of relying on sheer lung power.

Because he could sing softly into a microphone, fans and critics alike dubbed him a "crooner," a term that came to mean a soft-voiced vocalist, almost always male, who "crooned," intimately, to his listeners. Despite his admittedly weak voice, Vallee found an audience, especially with women. On recordings and over the radio, he sounded close and personal, as if he were singing directly to the listener. This approach also made some people uneasy; they viewed Vallee and his counterparts as effeminate, as "sissies" who

did not project traditional masculinity into their music. But his legions of fans felt otherwise; they loved the image of a man musically revealing his deepest feelings in a romantic relationship.

Later in 1928, based on the success of his Heigh-Ho performances, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC radio) offered Vallee a contract for his own show. The result, considered by many to be the first great radio variety program, almost immediately became a network hit, and it set a standard for much subsequent programming. Called *The Fleischmann Yeast Hour*, the show lasted until 1936, when it changed sponsors and became *The Royal Gelatin Hour*. It continued on NBC in one form or another until 1950. As he did in his night club performances, Vallee opened his radio broadcasts with "Heigh ho, everybody," a not-so-veiled reference to the nightclub where his climb to fame began.

Acting as the genial host of *The Fleischmann Yeast Hour*, Vallee frequently appeared as a star in his own right. He usually included fellow musicians as his guests, although the show broke some new ground by allowing dramatic excerpts to be read by stage and film actors. These passages tended to be written for radio and not the theater or motion pictures, suggesting the growing importance given the medium and its unique characteristics. The success of his series heightened Vallee's popularity in other areas, especially recordings.

Throughout his radio days, Vallee enjoyed a continuing string of recorded hits. Numbers like "I'm Just a Vagabond Lover" (1929; theme song, words and music by Leon Zimmerman [active 1920s] and Rudy Vallee), "My Time Is Your Time" (1929; music by Leo Dance [active 1930s], lyrics by Eric Little [active 1930s]), "A Little Kiss Each Morning (A Little Kiss Each Night)" (1929; words and music by Harry Woods [1896–1970]), "I Guess I'll Have to Change My Plan" (the Blue Pajama Song)" (1929; music by Arthur Schwartz [1900–1984], lyrics by Howard Dietz [1896–1983]), "Maine Stein Song" (1930; original music by E. A. Fensted [active early 1900s] in 1901, words by Lincoln Colcord [active early 1900s]), "You're Driving Me Crazy! (What Did I Do?)" (1930; words and music by Walter Donaldson [1893–1947]), "Let's Put Out the Lights" (1932; words and music by Herman Hupfield [1894–1951]), "Just an Echo in the Valley" (1932; words and music by Harry Woods, James Campbell [active 1930s], and Reg Connelly [1896–1963]), and "Everything I Have Is Yours" (1933; music by Burton Lane [1912–1997], lyrics by Harold Adamson [1906–1980]) kept him in the musical spotlight throughout the first years of the decade.

Success on radio and in recordings naturally led Vallee to Hollywood and movies. Studios at first cast him in short musical films, such as *Rudy Vallee and His Connecticut Yankees* (1929; debut picture), *Radio Rhythm* (1929), and *Campus Sweethearts* (1929). As his fame and popularity grew, however, he finally landed a role in a full-length feature, *The Vagabond Lover* (1929). Publicity agents had tacked the "vagabond lover" name on Vallee, and it briefly worked. His breathy, crooning style of singing sounded intimate and amorous on recordings and radio broadcasts, so the attempt to cast him as a romantic lead seemed logical. Visually, however, he lacked the rugged good looks and demeanor of most male stars, plus he showed more of an aptitude for light comedy than he did for emoting with starlets. In time, his screen persona changed from the strong leading man to the amiable sidekick who could also sing.

More films followed *The Vagabond Lover*, several of them shorts, and all of them **musicals**. In 1939, Vallee made his final screen appearance for the decade in *Second Fiddle*,

a vehicle to showcase the ice-skating talents of the then-popular Sonja Henie (1912–1969). An appropriate title since Vallee plays second fiddle to Tyrone Power (1913–1958), both actors get billed after Henie and her skates. This picture's release marked the decline of Rudy Vallee as a movie star of the first rank, and although he would act in many films during the 1940s and 1950s, his roles became increasingly comedic.

Despite his failure to emerge as a force in Hollywood, Vallee's singing style set the pattern for other important vocalists of the 1930s. Fans always linked the tunes "I'm Just a Vagabond Lover," "Maine Stein Song" (with his alma mater's "Whiffenpoof Song" [traditional] on the flip side), and "My Time Is Your Time" to him. Vallee reigned as one of the top male stars in show business unchallenged until **Bing Crosby** (1903–1977) and to a lesser extent **Russ Columbo** (1908–1934) gained fame as crooners.

He favored simple songs that listeners could remember, often skipping the verse and going straight to the chorus—the melodic portion that people usually associate with a particular song. Among the first performers to feature singing as part of the band's package of dance music, Vallee put his primary emphasis on the lyrics, and his vocal solos frequently replaced what traditionally had been instrumental ones. In this way, the band took second stage to the singer, a shift in roles. For the first half of the 1930s, this approach to vocalizing dominated; only with the rise of **swing** and the importance placed on instrumentalists would the pendulum swing back toward the orchestra.

Radio turned out to be Vallee's medium: he got to do some singing, lead the Connecticut Yankees, and clown with celebrities of the day. In time, he came to be recognized more as a popular entertainer than merely a vocalist. His indelible contribution to crooning influenced much of the popular music of the 1930s, and most of the leading vocalists of the era owe a debt to him.

See also Ice Skating & Hockey; Radio Networks; Songwriters & Lyricists

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WELLES, ORSON. A child prodigy, the Wisconsin-born Orson Welles (1915–1985) endured a difficult childhood. After being in a number of school plays, at the age of 16 he performed on stage in Dublin, Ireland. That experience launched a remarkable career. By 1934, and still a teenager, he had returned to the United States and begun work as a director and actor in commercial radio, as well as continuing to appear on stage. He also experimented with film, an aspect of his interests that would blossom in the 1940s. Regardless of medium—stage, radio, or motion pictures—during these early years Welles worked with many colleagues who would later join him in the development of his renowned repertory company, the Mercury Theatre.

In 1934, the young Welles met producer John Houseman (1902–1988); the two quickly discovered an artistic rapport and proceeded to work together on various endeavors. The following year, Houseman cast Welles in a production of poet and playwright Archibald MacLeish's (1892–1982) *Panic*. From there, they moved to the growing Federal Theater Project (FTP; 1935–1939), a government-sponsored effort to lend support to actors, producers, and other stage workers left unemployed by the Great Depression. A branch of the FTP, the Negro Theater Project, utilized their talents to stage a successful version of *Macbeth* with Haiti instead of Scotland as its locale. They next produced *Dr. Faustus*, which also received good notices.

Welles and Houseman collaborated on their most famous FTP effort, bringing the musical *The Cradle Will Rock*, by composer Marc Blitzstein (1905–1964), to the stage in June 1937. The story of getting *The Cradle Will Rock* before an audience remains something of a legend in the annals of American theater. A controversial play because of its prolabor, anticapitalist stance, Welles served as director while Houseman produced it. The musical's leftist leanings riled conservative members of Congress, and they tried to censor it.

Government agents blocked the show's New York theater on opening night, causing the cast and crew to search for a new venue. They found the small Venice Theatre, which stood empty at the time, so everyone paraded through Manhattan's streets to restage the show. At the last moment, the musician's union, in a squabble about pay, forbade its members to perform. But Broadway says "the show must go on," and so Blitzstein himself played a piano on the Venice stage while the actors, scattered about the theater, spoke their lines as a single spot searched them out. With all the resultant



Orson Welles (1915–1985), whose radio version of *The War of the Worlds* made history in 1938. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

publicity, *The Cradle Will Rock* eventually moved to the larger Windsor Theatre in early 1938, where it ran for 108 performances.

The curious success of *The Cradle Will Rock* helped establish the reputations of both Orson Welles and John Houseman. The furor, however, effectively removed them from further participation in the Federal Theatre Project, so Welles proposed they form their own performance group. From this came the Mercury Theatre, a serendipitous gathering of actors such as Ray Collins (1889–1965), Joseph Cotton (1905–1994), Martin Gabel (1912–1986), Agnes Moorhead (1900–1974), and Everett Sloane (1909–1965), among many others.

Already a presence in radio, Welles had been featured in *The March of Time* series and in September 1937 had taken the lead role of Lamont Cranston on *The Shadow*, a series carried by the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS radio). His distinctive voice—"Who knows what evil lurks…?"—made him one of the most identifiable Shadows ever, and he retained the role of the invisible dispenser of justice for the next two seasons. *The Shadow* required little work on his part, since he almost never rehearsed but instead read

his lines straight from the script while on the air. More importantly, the show also provided a steady income that allowed Welles to pursue other interests.

Those "other interests" meant the Mercury Theatre. He and Houseman mounted a production of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* soon after organizing the group. A critical success, several more plays followed, and in the summer of 1938, *The Mercury Theater on the Air* premiered on CBS. A weekly hourlong show, it kept the repertory company busy. The mix of volatile artistic personalities led to many arguments, concessions, and revisions, but somehow they put on a new production every seven days. With no sponsors—CBS carried it more for prestige than for money—the entourage felt free to experiment. They performed classic novels; did old chestnuts in modern settings; tinkered with sound effects; and generally stretched the limits of contemporary radio. Through it all, Houseman wrote most of the scripts and Welles directed and acted.

In the autumn of 1938, Welles and the Mercury Players decided on their boldest move yet: they would adapt *The War of the Worlds*, the 1898 science fiction classic by British novelist H. G. Wells (1866–1946), for radio. And instead of employing the late nineteenth century as their setting, they would use the present—Halloween 1938, to be exact. In what can arguably be called the most famous radio broadcast in history, listeners got both a trick and a treat. Despite repeated statements throughout the presentation that what people were hearing was a dramatization, many in the audience became convinced it was the real thing, an invasion from Mars. Presented as an innocuous music interlude, but one suddenly interrupted by a realistic sounding newscast, it all seemed authentic; Welles had cleverly camouflaged his warnings. For the inattentive, Martian invaders indeed roamed the swamps of New Jersey. *The War of the Worlds* gave

a perfect demonstration of radio's imaginative impact, along with creating the potential for mass hysteria through polished production methods.

Because of the furor the broadcast evoked, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) ruled against future productions that might frighten or dupe the public. The commission's move acknowledged the power of radio as a mass medium and demonstrated the need for rules so that power would not be abused. In the meantime, the production gave Welles a notoriety he relished, using it to further other projects that occupied his restless mind. In the meantime, the Campbell Soup Company agreed to sponsor the suddenly famous *Mercury Theater on the Air*. In December, the title changed to *The Campbell Playhouse*, and the Mercury Players found themselves relegated to supporting roles when the sponsor began to bring in guest stars for the leads. Welles left the show in 1940 to follow other pursuits, and the Mercury Theatre effectively came to an end, along with Welles' longtime partnership with John Houseman.

As the decade drew to a close, the boy genius of radio, or perhaps the enfant terrible, had become nationally famous. He had made his mark in broadcasting and theater, and all that remained was his earlier interest in **movies**. Fortunately, RKO Radio Pictures, an increasingly important Hollywood studio, offered Welles a contract in 1939. It stipulated that he direct three feature films and granted him considerable artistic license. By 1941, he had honored the first third of his contract with *Citizen Kane*, a film many say ranks as the greatest American motion picture of all time. The future held much more for Welles, and although he never again reached the heights he attained in the 1930s and early 1940s, a long and distinguished career lay ahead.

See also Musicals; New Deal; Pulp Magazines; Race Relations & Stereotyping; Radio Networks; Serials; Stage Productions

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WESTERN FILMS. The Western remains one of the most durable film genres. Since the beginnings of movie making, the stories of cowboys, Indians, ranchers, outlaws, and wagon trains have been Hollywood staples. The 1930s proved no exception, although the decade never saw any Westerns achieve the success and influence of, say, a *Gone with the Wind* (1939) or *It Happened One Night* (1934). Some have called the 1930s the golden age of the B Western, the B designating a movie that is in the second rank. It may be competently made but usually stars lesser-known performers, skimps on production costs, and generally lacks the overall quality of an A, or first-run, feature. In an age of double features, B pictures filled the lower half of the bill.

Despite the relative success of the B Westerns, expensively mounted dramas about cowboys have long attracted Hollywood's attention. In 1931, RKO Radio Pictures released *Cimarron*, a sprawling tale of the days of the Oklahoma land rush that features Richard Dix (1893–1949) and Irene Dunne (1898–1990). An early big-budget Western, it garnered Best Picture, a rare feat for this genre of movie. The land rush scenes,

expertly choreographed by director Wesley Ruggles (1889–1972), remain thrilling to this day.

In 1931, unable to afford anything approaching Cimarron in the midst of the Depression, filmmakers came back in 1936 with The Plainsman, another "big" movie, and one directed by the master of that sort of thing, Cecil B. DeMille (1881–1959). Paramount Pictures may have thought the presence of Gary Cooper (1901–1961) as Wild Bill Hickok and Jean Arthur (1900–1991) as Calamity Jane, along with lots of gunplay between cowboys 'n' Indians, would guarantee box office riches, but they were wrong. More DeMille hokum than frontier history, this lavish black-and-white epic struggles for almost two hours, but its often-silly story fails to instill much awe.

Since Paramount Pictures missed the boat with *The Plainsman*, that same year they tried new film technology to assure the success of *Trail of the Lonesome Pine*. Billed as the first "all-outdoor, all-Technicolor" movie, it boasts rich color throughout its 102-minute running time. A tale of feuding families and the coming of the railroad, it stars Fred MacMurray (1908–1991) and Henry Fonda (1905–1982). Not the greatest movie of its day, but the lush Technicolor helped assure the slow demise of black-and-white, although the bulk of B Westerns continued to use that cheaper format for a number of years.

As the decade wound down, a spate of lavishly produced Westerns came to the screen, exemplifying Hollywood's prosperity on the eve of World War II. *Union Pacific* and *Dodge City*, both released in 1939, signaled renewed interest in the Western as a film type and a willingness to spend large sums to mount them. The first, directed by Cecil B. DeMille, features Joel McCrea (1905–1990) and Barbara Stanwyck (1907–1990) in a tale that climaxes with a stupendous train wreck, one of the biggest in movie history. The second, directed by Michael Curtiz (1886–1962), features Errol Flynn (1909–1959) and Olivia de Havilland (b. 1916) as a romantically linked couple. Action fans, however, had little interest in romance; they wanted fists and guns, and *Dodge City* grants their wishes with a rough-and-tumble barroom fight unlike anything filmed before. If DeMille had the grandest train wreck, Curtiz rivaled him with the biggest, wildest, longest brawl. The big-budget Western had come of age.

Expensive, star-filled Westerns were the exception. Given the lower costs but reasonable profitability of B movies, studios cranked out hundreds of them between 1930 and 1940; only a handful ever achieved any lasting fame. Actors like Buck Jones (1889–1942; Ridin' for Justice [1932], Border Brigands [1935], many others), Ken Maynard (1895–1973; Two-Gun Man [1931], Six-Shootin' Sheriff [1938], others), and Tom Mix (1880–1940; The Rider of Death Valley [1932], The Miracle Rider [1935], others) successfully made the transition from silents to sound. Relative newcomers like Charles Starrett (1903–1986; Code of the Range [1936], One-Man Justice [1937], others), George O'Brien (1899–1985; Hollywood Cowboy [1937], Arizona Legion [1939], others), and John Wayne (1907–1979; Arizona [1931], 'Neath the Arizona Skies [1934], many others) emerged as new Western stars in the sound era. Out of this grouping of B actors, few managed to achieve wider stardom, although John Wayne successfully moved to A pictures.

One film in particular advanced Wayne's career, director John Ford's (1894–1973) classic *Stagecoach*, a 1939 picture. Ford, already established as a reliable and innovative director, took Wayne and the cast and crew to Monument Valley on the Arizona-Utah border. There the director achieved a perfect blend of character and action. Ably assisted by the peerless work of Yakima Canutt (1896–1986), one of the great stunt men in



Behind the scenes of Stagecoach, a 1939 Western. (Courtesy of Photofest)

Hollywood history, he told a timeless story, how a mixed group of individuals could find redemption on the desert, in a stagecoach, pursued by Indians on much of the journey. Ford would go on to new heights in the years to come, and Wayne accompanied him on this journey as his own career soared.

Unlike John Wayne, William Boyd (1895–1972) labored in endless B features. A matinee idol in the 1920s, he had virtually disappeared from the movies by 1935, appearing mainly in a group of inferior action pictures as Bill Boyd. In 1935, however, his flagging career as a movie actor suddenly blossomed with the first of a long series of cheaply made Westerns in which he starred as Hop-Along Cassidy. By 1937, the hyphen had been dropped, and "Hopalong" became his character's recognized name. With one after another Hopalong Cassidy tales playing on screens everywhere, the series became a favorite of Western fans. Between 1935 and 1940, Boyd made 31 Hopalong movies, or some 5 new titles a year. He would appear in 35 additional films during the 1940s, and then he successfully transferred this large movie library over to the new medium of television, beginning in 1946. There, he would garner even more fame as a TV pioneer.

Dressed all in black, his prematurely gray hair carefully coiffed, and accompanied always by his white horse, Topper, Boyd presents a striking image. "Hoppy" always plays the good guy, one reluctant to draw his six-shooter but eager to see justice done. The Hopalong Cassidy stories follow an unchanging format, a device that allowed

Paramount Studios frequently to reuse footage from earlier films. Although they might never win any awards, these movies represent one of the most successful Western series in motion picture history. They also demonstrate how formularized the Western myths had become by the 1930s, and how audiences had expectations that these conventions would be followed, even if it invited repetition in plot and action.

A spin-off in the stylized Western genre involved the **singing cowboys**, a category that includes such favorites as Gene Autry (1907–1998) and Roy Rogers (1911–1998). Not until the 1940s, would the major studios fully rediscover the Western as a significant and profitable component of movie genres.

See also Musicals; Race Relations & Stereotyping; Trains

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WINCHELL, WALTER. One of the leading newspaper columnists and radio personalities of the 1930s, Walter Winchell (1897–1972) was born in New York City and would spend most of his life there. He became a vaudevillian while still in his teens, a vocation that led to a continuing interest in show business and its people. Winchell collected gossip about his fellow entertainers and as a young man wrote an informal newsletter concerning their activities, especially their private lives. This avocation led to newspaper work during the 1920s, first with the tabloid *New York Graphic* in 1924, and then an association with the *New York Mirror* that began in 1929 and endured until 1963.

While ensconced at the *Mirror*, Winchell perfected the arts of celebrity-watching and gossipmongering. His success led to a new kind of journalism, the gossip column, and no one could challenge his authority in that area. Over 2,000 newspapers carried his daily column, *On Broadway*, during his heyday, a period that covered, roughly, from the 1930s on into the 1950s. Undone by his own sense of self-importance and out of step with changing times, Winchell died a forgotten man, a sad figure who once could make or break show business careers.

As he solidified his power, Winchell in 1930 branched out into radio, a medium just coming into it own. He had a 15-minute show on the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS radio) network called Saks on Broadway, a brief, innuendo-filled summary of who was seen with whom and when and where. Audiences responded favorably to the exposé format, and the National Broadcasting Company (NBC radio) network contracted him to do The Jergens Journal, a similar show that reached millions. He soon began introducing his broadcasts with the staccato tap-tap-tap of a telegraph key and then intoning, "Good evening, Mr. and Mrs. America, from border to border and coast to coast, and all the ships at sea. Let's go to press!" Those opening words (the borders and coasts later came out) quickly became a part of radio history, familiar to people everywhere. The Jergens Journal in time became one of the nation's top-rated programs, and remained on the air, with different sponsors after 1948, until 1957.

Hollywood, impressed by the colorful columnist, in 1932 made two fictional **movies** about a similar journalist, calling one Blessed Event and the other Okay, America! Lee Tracy (1898–1968) impersonates Winchell in Blessed Event, and Lew Ayres (1908-1996) has the honors in Okay, America! Four years later, MGM produced Broadway Melody of 1936, the second of four Broadway Melodies released from 1929 to 1940. In this picture, radio comedian Jack Benny (1894–1974) plays yet another Winchell-like columnist always hungry for a story. Over the course of the decade, six additional movies used Winchell as himself. Although all will doubtless be remembered as second-rank B features—they bear such titles as I Know Everybody's Racket (1933), Hollywood Gad-About (1934), and Love and Hisses (1937)—the fact that producers agreed to do them at all confirms the notoriety Winchell had achieved by the early 1930s.

Although collecting and publicizing gossip constitutes a gray area of journalism, Winchell nonetheless made his mark in American **newspapers** and broadcasting. His Winchellisms, breezy but distinctive expressions that caught the public's attention, abounded. If a couple "middle-aisled," that signified a wedding; "renovate," on the other hand, meant someone dissolved his



Columnist Walter Winchell (1897–1972). (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

or her marriage in Reno, Nevada, a place where divorces could be easily obtained. "Infanticipate" suggested someone was pregnant. Many other phrases likewise entertained his huge audience, contributing further to his popularity.

Winchell saw himself not just as an investigative reporter, but also a champion for the underdog. He therefore strongly defended President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) and the New Deal. As World War II drew near, he ardently opposed the Axis powers and fascism (or "ratzis," as he termed them), and any hints of Nazism within the United States drew his considerable wrath. Through his career of chronicling the doings and misdoings of the famous, Walter Winchell himself became a newsworthy personality, a celebrity journalist.

See also Radio Networks

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WIZARD OF OZ, THE. A movie that has enthralled millions since its premiere in 1939, The Wizard of Oz continues to invite audiences of all ages to follow the Yellow Brick Road. A combination of the real and the fantastic, this lavish Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer production made a major star of Judy Garland (1922–1969), and the memorable



The Tin Man, the Scarecrow, Dorothy, and the Cowardly Lion on the Yellow Brick Road in *The Wizard of Oz.* (Courtesy of Photofest)

score, composed by Harold Arlen (1905–1986, music), E. Y. Harburg (1896–1981, lyrics), and Herbert Stothart (1885–1949, scoring), took two Academy Awards.

The film opens in a drab sepia, but not for long. A fearsome tornado sweeps across the Midwestern countryside, picks up Dorothy, along with her faithful dog, Toto, and gently deposits them in a different locale. In one of the great moments in movie history, Dorothy opens the doors to her new surroundings and the screen goes from sepia to lush, saturated Technicolor. With that, the story moves down the fabled Yellow Brick Road, from reality to fantasy, from Kansas to Oz, undergirded by a firm foundation in myth, especially that of returning home to family and security. But the success of *The Wizard of Oz* depends not on ingenious color processing and special effects, nor on plot, stars, and music; it works because all these elements mesh perfectly. Director Victor Fleming (1889–1949) would never again achieve the sustained level of imagination he briefly enjoyed on that film, although he would, in the months following, share in the overall direction of *Gone with the Wind*, another MGM blockbuster that would entertain audiences for generations to come.

Loosely based on the Oz stories by L. Frank Baum (1856–1919), especially *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* (1900), it might have struck a chord with some members of a 1939

audience since nine silent films had also attempted the tale. Faithful to the original plots, MGM's production contains some elements of the prairie populism that often crops up in Baum's writing. He had failed in several business ventures and exhibited a bitter side in his prose, but aside from a few glimpses of honorable poverty (Uncle Henry and Auntie Em's farm, for instance), the movie avoids anything topical. True, it presents the "real" world of Kansas in sepia and the "dream" world of Oz in vivid colors, one stark and the other fantastical.

Those visual shifts, however, do not necessarily carry with them subtle references about the Dust Bowl 1930s or failed agrarianism; they function as special effects that separate the real from the unreal. The one exception might involve the delightful sets designed by Edwin B. Willis (1893–1963). For the Oz portions of the story, he created an inspired blend of **Art Deco** and **Streamlining**; the towers of the gleaming Emerald City evoke an optimistic view of the future, far more so than the aesthetic mixes attempted earlier in films like *Just Imagine* (1930) and the many Warner Brothers **musicals** of the decade. In fact, the **New York World's Fair** (1939–1940) was up and running at the same time as the movie, and the similarities between the fair's World of Tomorrow and Oz's Emerald City appear to be more than coincidence. In its own Hollywood way, *The Wizard of Oz* reflects many of the forward-looking **design** concepts of the later 1930s.

As the story unfolds, Dorothy and Toto meet a zany trio of bumbling associates, good vaudevillians all: a cowardly lion (Bert Lahr, 1895–1967), a bumbling scarecrow (Ray Bolger, 1904–1987), and a rusting tin man (Jack Haley, 1898–1979). This unlikely group then encounters a wicked witch (Margaret Hamilton, 1902–1985), the wizard himself (Frank Morgan, 1890–1949), and assorted Munchkins and other creatures. But Dorothy, throughout the movie, remains levelheaded. She knows better than to blindly accept all the bizarre events occurring around her; she knows that dreams cannot last forever. And the dream does end, as does the Yellow Brick Road. The film reverts to its opening sepia, and Dorothy and Toto return to Kansas and family and good heartland sensibility.

See also Children's Films; Movies; Musicals; Songwriters & Lyricists; Spectacle & Costume Drama Films; Teenage & Juvenile Delinquency Films

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WOOD, GRANT. Born on a farm near Anamosa, Iowa, artist Grant Wood (1891–1942) achieved most of his fame on the basis of one painting, *American Gothic*. Done in 1930, this portrait of a stern couple (father and daughter? husband and wife?) has come down to the present as arguably the best-known painting ever executed by an American artist. Generations of viewers have responded to the two enigmatic portraits, along with endless parodies, and *American Gothic* has become larger than itself, evolving into an American icon.

Despite the fame—some would say notoriety—of American Gothic, Wood deserves attention for his entire output, not just one picture. He acquired his primary education in the United States, studying art, crafts, and design at several institutions. In 1920, he

made the first of three trips to Europe, earning money by teaching in Cedar Rapids during the school year. By the mid-1920s, Wood had begun to exhibit and pick up commissions. Although he at times showed a humorous side, sometimes presenting himself as a naive rural painter in overalls who had happened to turn out a memorable portrait, his artistic influences came from a variety of sources. In addition to serious academic study of the Old Masters, he also derived inspiration from **advertising** art, catalogs, Currier and Ives lithographs, old photographs, and magazine illustrations. Together, these influences gave Wood a distinctive, identifiable style, one formed in realism, but imaginative and stylized in its own right.

By the mid-1930s, Wood had become part of the established artistic community. He directed programs in the federally funded Public Works of Art Project (PWAP; 1933–1934), a precursor to the better-known Federal Art Project (FAP; 1935–1943). He undertook several assignments involving public murals, including 1937's *Breaking the Prairie* at Iowa State University in Ames. Active until the end, Grant Wood died in February 1942.

Wood's approach to his subjects made his fame. Many in his audience initially saw him as a satirist of American values, a kind of Midwestern H. L. Mencken (1880–1956) in oils. For example, *Daughters of Revolution* (1932), a portrait similar in a number of ways to *American Gothic*, presents three stern, self-satisfied women looking directly at the viewer. Presumably members of an Iowa branch of the Daughters of the American Revolution, this trio will brook no misbehavior in thought or deed. As if for reinforcement, in the background is a copy of Emanuel Leutze's (1816–1868) *Washington Crossing the Delaware*, a painting done in 1851 and a much prouder retelling of American history than anything these latter-day protectors might utter.

Grant Wood himself also looked to American myth for his inspiration. Thus in 1931's Midnight Ride of Paul Revere and 1939's Parson Weems' Fable, he takes two well-known stories and interprets them anew. A tiny Paul Revere (1735–1818) gallops through the Massachusetts night to deliver his warning, but the effect suggests children manipulating little toy figures, not larger-than-life deeds. In the other work, a bemused Parson Weems (1756–1825) pulls aside a curtain to show viewers a miniature, bewigged George Washington (1732–1799), just a boy, hatchet in hand, but bearing the iconic face painted in the famous Gilbert Stuart (1755–1828) portraits, the same one that appears on dollar bills. This little Washington may be telling his irked father he "cannot tell a lie," but the event looks so staged, so artificial, that it questions the whole mythology about the first president.

As if to show his versatility, another side of Grant Wood goes beyond the sardonic mockery he sometimes exhibited. Many of his paintings depict Iowa in full bloom, a land of trimmed trees and geometric fields. In paintings like Stone City, Iowa (1930), Young Corn (1931), Arbor Day (1932), and Spring Turning (1936), among numerous others, he positions himself squarely as a Regionalist artist, capturing on canvas the seasons, the land, and the people of the American Midwest. Good, hardworking farmers live here, and he clearly shows them, partners with the fertile land, as in Dinner for Threshers (1934) or In the Spring (1939). His love for this side of the Midwest becomes evident, and the small minds and prejudices of Daughters of Revolution can be forgotten.

A splendid technician, and a man of greater depth than a cursory glance at his paintings might reveal, Grant Wood presented both a Regionalist love for locale and American themes and a satirical, questioning side that challenged the small thinking and smug certainties found in the Midwest of the 1930s.

See also Thomas Hart Benton; Herbert Hoover; Edward Hopper; Illustrators; Magazines; Reginald Marsh; New Deal; Charles Sheeler; Social Realism; Toys

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WRIGHT, FRANK LLOYD. The man deemed the greatest U.S. architect of the twentieth century had been designing buildings for some 40 years when the 1930s began. Born in 1869, he launched his long and distinguished career in 1889 in Wisconsin. A colorful personality, and possessed of a tempestuous personal life, by the time he reached 60, some in the architectural community perhaps thought it time for him to retire. Wright did not count himself among them. Although he had a string of acknowledged masterpieces behind him, no one could have foretold that almost 30 more productive years lay ahead of him. Wright remained active until his death in 1959, and the 1930s rank among his most fruitful decades.

During those years, he oversaw the completion of no fewer than 27 structures, ranging from modest homes to large-scale office complexes, and some of his most admired and enduring buildings emerged from his drawing board. Among those accomplishments, the following designs deserve mention: the many Usonian homes (1930s–1940s), the Kaufman residence, Fallingwater (1935), the Johnson Wax Building (1936), and the Johnson residence, Wingspread (1937).

The term "Usonian," a Wright neologism, suggests "United States," or "U.S.," and also serves as an acronym, US + *onian*. He began using the word in the 1930s when he discussed low-cost, available housing for people of limited means. The effects of the Depression had crippled much of the housing industry, a reality that had impacted his own commissions, and he decided to create affordable, aesthetically pleasing residences. His Usonian houses make up over half of his completed works for the decade and depart from his larger, expansive Prairie House concepts.

Using wood as his primary building material, Wright opted for one-story dwellings featuring flat roofs with considerable, often cantilevered, overhangs that blended the interior spaces with the surrounding outdoors. Since most American homeowners had acquired an automobile by the 1930s, he incorporated that fact into his designs, conceiving—and naming—the carport, an inexpensive, minimal shelter for the ubiquitous vehicle. Usonian homes frequently employ an L-shaped floor plan that effectively separates bedrooms from other living areas, and maximizes available floor space. Although his Usonian dwellings did not stir the enthusiasm, nor the sales, he anticipated and hoped for, they nonetheless looked to, and influenced, the future housing developments that would dot the American landscape following World War II.

While he worked on creating a "home for all" with his Usonian concepts, Wright also completed one of his great masterpieces, the Kaufman House, or Fallingwater. Built on a rocky hillside in southwestern Pennsylvania, Fallingwater incorporates elements of the

International Style with its white, unadorned facades, as well as much of his Prairie Style thinking with open interiors and natural touches like exposed rock ledges and a cascading stream that become integral parts of the house. Boldly cantilevered, Fallingwater sums up much of Wright's thinking about a dwelling being but an extension of the surrounding environment, and it challenged a generation of architects. In Wright's words "a design for living," the Kaufman House proved costly both to build and to maintain. But it broke free of the sterility of the International Style and brought a new level of modernism to usually conservative home architecture.

The following year, 1936, Wright unveiled his Administration Building for the Johnson Wax Company of Racine, Wisconsin. Using an essentially treeless urban site, he eliminated corners and cornices to produce a light-filled office space that supplies its own "trees" with what he called "dendriforms," narrow, towering columns that flare open at the top in order to support the ceiling. This design allows the creation of a vast, airy arena for employees to do their work, a place that enjoys a certain harmony with nature.

The Administration Building, from the exterior, invites comparison with the popular International Style, especially its smooth brick walls and ribbons of windows. But the sinuous curves of the Johnson structure run counter to the sharp angularity of most other commercial buildings, giving it a warmth usually lacking in modernism.

Wright and Herbert F. Johnson (1900–1980), the president of Johnson Wax, enjoyed a special relationship. With the completion of the Administration Building, Johnson commissioned Wright to design a private home for a peninsula on the shore of Lake Michigan near Racine. In a burst of creativity, Wright responded in 1937 with Wingspread, a large, expensive house that again expresses his Prairie School aesthetic. Employing what Wright described as a "pinwheel design," the house features a central, three-story domed octagon that serves as the axis for four wings that extend across the site, creating in effect a pinwheel that suggests the four points on a compass. Although not as spectacular as the Kaufman house, which preceded it by just two years, Wingspread embodies many characteristics associated with the architect: the horizontality of the earlier prairie houses; a long, low silhouette; a cruciform plan; and a complete integration of site and structure.

An architect who contributed a unique vision to American building, Frank Lloyd Wright continued to produce significant works until his death. The 1930s, a time of retrenchment in the construction trades, saw him attempting to adjust to the economic crises of the period with his Usonian houses. Much contemporary residential architecture owes a debt to his vision.

See also Automobiles; Streamlining

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WYETH, N. C. Born in Needham, Massachusetts, Newell Convers Wyeth (1882–1945; through most of his life, he was known by the initials N. C.) early on displayed artistic talent, along with a fondness for literature and history. In 1902, he enrolled in classes taught by the distinguished American illustrator Howard Pyle (1853–1911) in Wilmington, Delaware. Founder of the so-called Brandywine School of Illustration, Pyle profoundly influenced Wyeth, especially in the areas of realism and narrative. These elements achieved paramount importance in Wyeth's illustrations. A year after his admission to Pyle's school, the *Saturday Evening Post*, at that time already one of the most popular mass-circulation magazines published in the United States, accepted a Wyeth painting of a bronco rider as the cover for a February 1903 issue. That accomplishment launched the 21-year-old into what would prove to be a great career.

By the onset of the 1930s, Wyeth had reached a pinnacle of success and public regard, and many considered him the dean of American illustrators. A prolific artist, he had executed over 2,000 drawings and paintings since that early Saturday Evening Post cover. Among his Depression-era magazine clients, he could count Good Housekeeping, Ladies' Home Journal, McCall's, The Progressive Farmer, Redbook, Scribner's Magazine, Woman's Day, and Woman's Home Companion. His advertising art at that time included such diverse companies as the American Tobacco Company (Lucky Strikes), Coca-Cola, Frankfort Distilleries (Paul Jones whiskey), the General Electric Company, Hercules Incorporated (chemicals), International Harvester, and John Morrell & Company (meat packing).

In addition to these commissions, Wyeth also managed to create a significant body of other artistic work during the decade. Brochures and newsletters, booklets and bulletins, posters and calendars—his signature could be found on all. He painted a number of murals for banks, life insurance companies, publishers, schools, and **hotels**, the majority featuring episodes from American history or religious themes. In 1936, he completed a triptych for the Washington Cathedral, an unusual commission in those dire economic times.

By now financially secure, Wyeth enjoyed the luxury of painting for its own sake and showed no lessening of his powers or prestige. He practiced his still life techniques, especially the uses of light, and explored tempera painting. For these personal compositions, he worked leisurely, in contrast to the hectic pace he had maintained in earlier decades. In acknowledgment of his renown and popularity, museums, galleries, and collectors strove to purchase his works, both old and new. Numerous exhibitions celebrating prominent illustrators displayed his paintings and drawings, and he had the honor of a one-man show—belatedly, some would argue—in 1939 at a gallery in New York City.

People perhaps best remember N. C. Wyeth for the paintings he executed for the publishing firm of Charles Scribner's Sons between 1911 and 1939. Called the Scribner Illustrated Classics, these attractive, well-bound books were aimed at younger readers and included many well-known titles. Wyeth's pictures adorn the jackets and pages of such favorites as *Treasure Island* (1911), *Kidnapped* (1913), *The Black Arrow* (1916), *The Boy's King Arthur* (1917), *The Last of the Mohicans* (1919), *The Deerslayer* (1925), and *The Yearling* (1939), the last in the series. The success of the Scribner Classics led to contracts with other publishers for similar work, and his illustrations can be found in histories, novels, and stories published by Harper's, Houghton Mifflin; David McKay; Cosmopolitan

Book Corporation; Little, Brown; and others. Many of these editions have remained in print, in no small measure because of Wyeth's evocative pictures.

N. C. Wyeth stayed active on into the 1940s, but a fatal accident in 1945 prematurely snuffed out his career, but not his fame. In addition, he fathered a veritable artistic dynasty; of his five children, three were painters who carried the Wyeth name forward for the remainder of the century: Henriette (1907–1997), Carolyn (1909–1994), and Andrew (b. 1917).

See also Best Sellers; Regionalism; Soft Drinks; Norman Rockwell

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Y

YOUR HIT PARADE. On Saturday evening, April 20, 1935, a new and original show made its **radio** debut on the National Broadcasting Company (NBC radio) network. Calling itself *Your Lucky Strike Hit Parade*, it attempted, in the space of an hour, to rank the most popular current songs across the nation. Contrary to what most people recall, the format at first featured 15 songs played in random order; the idea of a "top 10" and the breathless counting down to "number one" came later. "We don't pick 'em, we just play 'em," and play 'em they did, making *Your Hit Parade* must listening for anyone who wanted to know what tunes led the way for any particular week.

Your Hit Parade—although the cigarette maker continued to sponsor the show, the "Lucky Strike" soon disappeared from the title—enjoyed sufficient popularity that in April 1936 the two leading radio networks shared broadcasting rights to the program. The Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS radio) scheduled it on Saturday evenings, and NBC aired it on Wednesdays. At the end of 1937, CBS gained exclusive rights to Your Hit Parade and retained them until 1947, when NBC recaptured the show. The program would remain on radio until 1957. A television version also covered the hits; it ran from 1950 until 1959, an unusual radio-television overlap.

The show's promoters claimed they could estimate, scientifically, the nation's popular preferences by surveying weekly record and **sheet music** sales, along with jukebox plays and disc jockey preferences, at selected outlets. *Hit Parade* staffers also contacted popular band leaders, questioning them about what musical numbers received the most requests from the dance floor, although any responses in that regard would have to be seen as subjective and less than reliable. The producers professed complete objectivity in their surveys—Broadway and Hollywood tunes, current hits, old standards, new releases—and claimed no favorites; whatever sold during the week they noted. After tabulating the results of their polling, they promised listeners the show would perform the 15 top-ranked songs for the preceding seven days.

That tabulating, done amid a rather contradictory mix of fanfare and secrecy by the American Tobacco Company's **advertising** agency, brought with it delightful suspense for the waiting audience. The results arrived, in time for rehearsals, at the networks' studios each week in an armored truck. Of course, such procedures generated considerable publicity, something everyone involved wanted. While listeners awaited the results, the

orchestra and the singers worked diligently to come up with fresh weekly arrangements of the chosen songs. If a number lingered in the listings, they faced the challenge of repeating it while at the same time keeping it from getting repetitious or stale.

The show changed over time. The original 15 songs got cut to 7 in 1936. A year later, 7 went to 10, the figure most people remember. Your Hit Parade stayed with 10 songs until 1943, when the total dropped to 9. For the remainder of its run, the show's number of selections shifted periodically. By the time of its 1957 demise the band and singers were performing only 5 tunes. Your Hit Parade often gave audiences additional songs not in the official tabulations, calling these treats "Lucky Strike Extras."

The musicians and singers on *Your Hit Parade* changed almost as quickly as the latest hits they performed. The house band had no fewer than 14 different leaders fronting it between 1935 and 1940, most of whom appeared for only a few weeks at a time. The conductors ranged from fairly well-known figures like Lennie Hayton (1908–1971) in the summer of 1935, Harry Sosnik (1906–1996) in September 1936, and Raymond Scott (1908–1994), who led the band from November 1938 until July 1939, to relative unknowns like Richard Himber (1899–1966) in June 1937, and Peter Van Steeden (1904–1990) the following month. The vocalists of the 1930s likewise made for a mixed group, with 19 different singers interpreting the hits, although few achieved much fame. Kay Thompson (1908–1998) sang in 1935, Buddy Clark (1912–1949) in 1936, Georgia Gibbs (b. 1920; then known as Fredda Gibson) in 1938, Lanny Ross (1906–1988) in 1939, as well as "Wee" Bonnie Baker (1917–1990) and Bea Wain (b. 1917) that same year; together they remain the best-remembered performers for the 1930s.

Despite the constantly changing faces on the show, audiences loved the suspense and they got to hear some of their favorites performed each week. The proof of the formula came with the show's longevity: *Your Hit Parade* outlasted most **music** shows of any kind. It focused on the songs themselves, not the performers. "Number one" always meant a particular tune, although several interpretations of the same song by different artists might be competing in the marketplace.

With its large, enthusiastic listenership, a tantalizing question arises: How closely did the show reflect the public's tastes and how much did it influence them? Did Your Hit Parade serve as an accurate barometer of public preferences? No definitive answer has ever been given, but the show doubtless had an effect on both sides of the issue. Like many elements of popular culture, Your Hit Parade functioned as both an influence on and a reflector of public preferences.

See also Jukeboxes; Radio Networks; Recordings

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YOUTH. Before the onset of the Great Depression, most young people had traditionally entered the workforce when they reached their teen years. They found jobs on farms or in factories, and the terms "teenager" and "adolescent" usually signified those lucky ones who could go on to high school, a small elite group that did not have to

find work. But the economic difficulties of the 1930s pushed youths out of the job market in order to guarantee more opportunities for adults seeking employment. Many teens chose to remain in school, creating the largest high school population in the nation's history. "Adolescents" now referred to an entire age group, not just a privileged socioeconomic class.

Even with a dramatic increase in school enrollment, perhaps as many as 3 million young people between the ages of 16 and 24 did not attend school, did not have a job, had no good reason to stay at home, and had no place to turn to for relief. In 1933, the U.S. Children's Bureau estimated that 23,000 adolescents (a figure that many ascribed as low), mostly males, aimlessly roamed the country with neither a dime nor a place to sleep, a condition that caught the attention of many Americans.

Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) assumed the presidency following a landslide victory in the 1932 election. Soon after his 1933 inauguration, and at his urging, Congress established the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC, 1933–1942), a New Deal program that offered unemployed men between the ages of 18 and 25 meaningful work and healthy living in camps across the country. As conditions worsened, officials lowered the entry age to 17. For those who volunteered, the program quickly improved their lives, and their labor contributed to the betterment of the country.

But this stopgap measure primarily served young adults, not needy youth; therefore it failed to meet the wants of many younger Americans. Those teens who stayed in high school or college to pursue an **education** often struggled financially to do so. Also, the total number of youth not in school, unemployed, and ineligible for the CCC remained high. Many adults worried that these ranks would grow and that young people would become disillusioned and apathetic; some expressed concern about the potential for juvenile delinquency. The fear that unproductive and disgruntled youth would succumb to revolutionary politics also entered these discussions.

In May 1934, First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt (1884–1962) stepped forward as a champion of adolescents, saying that she lived in "real terror that we may be losing this generation. We have got to bring these young people into the active life of the community and make them feel that they are necessary." Shortly thereafter, student leaders and youth activists from across the country formed the American Youth Congress (AYC) to discuss the problems facing teenagers. AYC activity peaked between 1936 and 1939 as the group lobbied for racial justice, increased federal spending on education, and an end to mandatory participation in the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) for male college students. In 1936, the AYC issued a Declaration of the Rights of American Youth, a statement that recognized the growing impact that adolescents exerted in society.

Mrs. Roosevelt took a special interest in the politics undergirding the student movement. She worked closely with educators and convinced the president to sign an executive order establishing the National Youth Administration (NYA, 1935–1943), a division of the Works Progress Administration (WPA, 1935–1943; name changed to Work Projects Administration in 1939). The NYA, designed for young people between the ages of 16 and 25, aimed to combat the problem of youth unemployment on a long-term basis in two ways. First, it allocated grants to high school and college students in exchange for part-time work, usually within the educational institution. This income enabled them to continue their studies while at the same time reducing the

number of unemployed youth. Second, it combined economic relief with on-the-job training for those not in school and unemployed, thereby giving them a better opportunity to find meaningful work.

President Roosevelt appointed Aubrey Willis Williams (1890–1965) to head the new agency, a position he held throughout the program's existence. By 1938, the NYA had enrolled more than 480,000 people, and, unlike the all-male CCC, it included women. Schools and colleges ran the student work program, making that sector relatively easy to manage. The component for individuals not attending school presented more difficulties. The first work projects, such as cleaning up public buildings, benefited communities, but they did not impart practical job skills. To correct this situation, the NYA introduced short-term courses to assist participants in acquiring permanent work skills.

In addition, the NYA courses supported traditional American values. Across all economic strata, social classes, and races, a majority of citizens during the 1930s saw a respectable life as one where women held the role of homemakers and men worked as breadwinners. Instruction in areas like child care, sewing, nutrition, and money management enabled girls to learn how to run their future homes efficiently and raise their children intelligently. The NYA also taught some out-of-home employment skills, such as those needed for secretarial positions. For boys, courses in car mechanics, basic shop, and commercial art provided them marketable skills in anticipation of their becoming the primary wage-earners for their future families.

Community groups also offered teenagers opportunities for worthwhile ways to spend their time. These groups organized activities that helped prepare them for their future lives as husbands and breadwinners, wives and homemakers, and responsible community residents and leaders. Organizations such as the Young Men's Hebrew Association (YMHA) and the Department of Agriculture's 4-H Clubs gained new members.

The Boy Scouts of America did well during the Depression, with membership surpassing 1 million by the early 1930s. Encouraged by this popularity, the organization launched a program for younger boys in 1930 called Cub Scouts. The Girl Scouts of America also engaged in active recruiting and experienced substantial growth. In the mid-1930s the organization inaugurated its annual nationwide cookie sale. Churches, YMCAs, and YWCAs, along with high school athletic programs, provided **leisure and recreation** resources with indoor tracks, **swimming** pools, gyms, game rooms, and hobby clubs.

As enrollments grew, high school became a shared experience for a majority of American adolescents, and with that a distinct youth culture developed. Teens began looking to one another, not to adults, for advice, information, and approval. They tried to make sense of their times, with the result that social science and history courses gained in popularity. Marxist study and discussion groups, such as the Young Socialists and the Young Communists, experienced membership increases, and an active student antiwar movement developed.

Three groups in particular appeared on college campuses: the Socialist League for Industrial Democracy (SLID), the National Student League (NSL), and the National Student Federation of America (NSFA). All three adapted the Oxford Pledge, an ideological movement that had its origins in England. Those who affirmed it promised not to support the government of the United States in any war it might conduct, and as early as 1933 the three groups coordinated an annual student strike against war. As the

very real threat of world war loomed larger, these organizations openly demonstrated for peace and lobbied in Washington, D.C., to keep the nation out of foreign conflicts.

The business community, far less ideological and political than those student groups, addressed the youth issue in another way. Advertisers and merchants quickly zeroed in on this newly identified youth market. Sellers of school supplies and clothing aimed their ads directly at teenage consumers, not their parents. Products traditionally targeted at adults were found to possess new uses for this marketing group. For example, Fleischmann's Yeast promised to clear a pimply complexion, while Postum, a beverage substitute for caffeine and coffee, guaranteed young people pep and vitality.

Acceptability and popularity, always important for young people, became important components of a new concept, that of teenage rights. They increasingly demanded the right to dress and act the way they wanted to, along with the right to choose their own friends and run their own social lives. As the Depression waned, **magazines**, books, **movies**, and **radio** exploited these themes and, with the enthusiastic help of advertisers, began to create an image of the American teenager as an autonomous person possessing a private life that included a car, a telephone, an allowance, stylish clothes, and endless entertainment. For most adolescents and their parents, it may have been pie in the sky, but the image nonetheless took vigorous root.

Print media recognized the emerging adolescent subculture while simultaneously reinforcing character building and the accepted role differences of men and women. Publications such as *American Boy* and *Boy's Life* contained inspiring adventure stories of teenage heroes who could handle a gun, survive in the wilderness, and protect their families. These male-oriented articles admired bravery but cautioned that real men never took risks lightly and always upheld their responsibilities to others. Numerous authors extolled the value of earning a good living and even suggested ways for young men to make money, ranging from delivering **newspapers** to printing and distributing circulars.

On the other hand, magazines like *American Girl* and *Everygirls* taught that life improved with marriage and children. These periodicals urged girls to nurture their talents in order to create a beautiful home and raise healthy children. The magazines' articles stressed the importance of mastering the domestic skills of cooking, sewing, shopping, and housekeeping, and acknowledged the value of engaging in community service. Discussions of working outside the home appeared occasionally, with the exception of careers that would have been in direct competition with masculine goals, such as medicine and law.

In a bow to the manners and mores of past decades, dating remained restrictive during the 1930s; teenage autonomy still had its limits. Few young men could afford the costs of entertaining a girlfriend beyond maybe a movie or a soda. No doubt many girls and some boys felt their wardrobes inadequate for socializing. Along with innumerable **fashion** hints, the magazines for girls also emphasized that they should know proper etiquette and understand how dating and courtship worked in American society. Although both girl- and boy-oriented publications avoided frank discussions of sex, the ones directed at teenage girls did present the concept of "Mr. Right," along with the idea that one should wait to marry until "he" came along. Some women's magazines, such as the *Ladies' Home Journal*, along with a few newspapers, ran advice columns on modern dating behaviors. They stressed the girl's role of regulating male deportment and of practicing caution and restraint; nice girls kept their dates in line.

The boys' magazines did not carry comparable columns. Some of the more daring young males might sneak a glance at a newsstand copy of *Spicy Detective*, *Esquire*, or the *Police Gazette*, and some might discover the crude, cheaply printed cartoon booklets of pornographic material called "8-pagers," or "Tijuana Bibles" for titillation. Family-centered magazines, like *Parents*, encouraged adults to address their children's sexual development through frank father-son and mother-daughter talks that stressed responsibility and the need to prepare for a productive future before marrying and starting a family.

Pulp magazines and books also catered to the youth market. Girls could turn to a host of publications like *True Romance*, *True Lovers*, *True Experience*, and *True Story* to read about love and all its accompanying emotional anguish. For young males, the exploits of youthful heroes appeared in cheap periodicals like *Argosy*, *Doc Savage*, *Action Stories*, *The Shadow*, and innumerable others. Heroes for either gender could be found in **comic books** like *Detective Comics*, *Superman*, *Batman*, and dozens more.

As far as portraying adolescents, newspaper **comic strips** had a head start on rival media. Readers in the 1920s and 1930s enjoyed, among others, two humorous strips that focused on young people: *Freckles and His Friends* and *Harold Teen. Freckles and His Friends* debuted in 1915. Written and drawn by Merrill Blosser (1892–1983), it features Freckles, a kid about 7 or 8 years old. In the 1930s, Freckles overnight grows to be 16 and gets involved with girls, dating, and all the other rituals of adolescence. It would continue in newspapers until 1973, when it quietly faded away.

Harold Teen, created in 1919 by Carl Ed (1890–1959), boasted a strong readership from its inception. Harold uses contemporary slang, a teenage characteristic across all time periods, and the strip introduced a number of favorites during the 1930s—for example, "Yowsah!" and "pitch a li'l woo." Despite the popularity of the comic strip, two movie adaptations, Harold Teen (1928; remade in 1934 as a musical but with the same title) did little at the box office, once again proving that media crossovers have no guaranteed success. Harold's antics in newspapers ended with Carl Ed's death in 1959.

Other strips with adolescent characters often focused on adventure. Milton Caniff's (1907–1988) *Terry and the Pirates*, an immediate hit, premiered in 1934. Its likable young hero moves from one dangerous experience to another in the exotic Far East, matching up well with radio serials of the day. In fact, in 1937 Terry got his own late afternoon network time slot with the National Broadcasting Company (NBC radio).

Roy Powers, Eagle Scout, a series done by Frank Godwin (1889–1959), among others, in 1938 featured 17-year-old Roy as leader of the Beaver Patrol Troop in adventures around the neighborhood and later around the globe. For the five years of its run it served as the official strip of the Boy Scouts of America, a reflection of the popularity of scouting.

The Stratemeyer Syndicate, a large publishing firm that controlled many different fiction titles and series, specialized in mass producing formularized reading for youthful audiences. The firm released, with great success, 16 different Nancy Drew books during the 1930s. Starting with *The Secret of the Old Clock* (1930), and three others that first year, the syndicate created one of the most enduring teen heroines in literary history. Ghostwritten by several authors under the pseudonym Carolyn Keene, each featured Nancy Drew and her friends solving mysteries. Unlike most teenage girls of the 1930s, Nancy owns a sporty blue roadster and knows as much about engines and transmissions as any young man. In fact, she can do just about anything, important features for an

adventure series. Mildred Wirt Benson (1905–2002) worked as one of the ghostwriters for the series, and she wrote most of the 1930s titles.

Given her success in print, Nancy Drew in time graduated to film. Nancy Drew, Detective (1938), the first in a series of four movies during the period, presented the story line of the 1933 novel Password to Larkspur Lane. Bonita Granville (1923–1988) starred in all, and she made a convincing Nancy Drew. Three more pictures came out in 1939: Nancy Drew and the Hidden Staircase carried the same story and title as its 1930 print counterpart; Nancy Drew, Reporter and Nancy Drew, Troubleshooter rounded out this rush of Depression-era films about the teenage detective.

In addition to magazines, books, and comic strips, other media, such as movies, radio, and recordings, became universal experiences for an increasing number of young people during the 1930s. Children and teenagers everywhere went to Saturday matinees and saw the same features, short subjects, newsreels, and serials, reinforcing national modes of behavior. As the teen culture developed, Hollywood struggled with how to portray adolescents; for most of the decade, many motion pictures focused on troubled youth caught up in petty crime and running in gangs. Initially, these movies served as hard-hitting studies of juvenile delinquency, a side of youthful behavior that concerned many adults, and they purported to demonstrate how economic and social forces conspired to wear down a neighborhood and turn innocent children into hardened criminals. Over time, however, these movies eroded into youthful shenanigans and slapstick comedy.

The films of the 1930s seldom depict adolescents in meaningful roles that clearly link them with any evolving subculture of youth. All that changed when Mickey Rooney (b. 1920) appeared in a succession of 17 Andy Hardy Films that commenced in 1937. The first, A Family Affair, casts him as the typical American male teenager. Judy Garland (1922–1969), soon to be a star herself, costars with Rooney in Thoroughbreds Don't Cry (1937—not an Andy Hardy film, but their first roles together), Love Finds Andy Hardy (1938), and Babes in Arms (1939) and quickly found herself cast as the model teenage girl, a role that would culminate with her playing Dorothy in 1939's The Wizard of Oz.

On weekdays, right after they got home from school, many young people turned on the radio. Early in the decade, the major networks began utilizing the 4 P.M. until 6 P.M. slot for serials aimed at the after-school crowd. In extended tales of good pitted against evil (with good always winning), the serials contained action, adventure, patriotism, and heroics that appealed to listeners from elementary through high school. *Jack Armstrong, the All-American Boy* (1933–1950), *The Lone Ranger* (1933–1955), *Jungle Jim* (1935–1952), *Smilin' Jack* (1935–1939), *Don Winslow of the Navy* (1937–1943), and Captain Midnight (1939–1949) ranked among the most popular.

Fan magazines, radio shows, and the movies provided teenagers an incredible amount of knowledge about the **music** of the 1930s and they quickly became connoisseurs, particularly in the area of **swing**. NBC's Saturday evening show **Your Hit Parade** premiered in April 1935 and attracted young listeners all over the country, another step toward creating a national teen culture. They bought millions of records and fed nickels into the innumerable **jukeboxes** found in soda shops and diners everywhere. The more they listened, the more they learned about the popular tunes of the era; in time, they challenged authorities who had traditionally dictated musical standards. This new generation of youthful critics brought about a refreshing openness. As educated fans, they knew the

bands and sidemen, appreciated the hits, and saw in swing a new expression of their right of independence.

Much popular music in the 1930s encouraged both listening and dancing. For teenagers out of work and not in school, the popular dance marathons offered something to do along with the chance to make some money. Dance crazes abounded: the Shag, the Lindy Hop, the Big Apple, and the Suzy Q. But for most teenagers only one dance really mattered, the **jitterbug**. Dance halls and pavilions sprang up everywhere, as did jukeboxes, and in 1937 they even jitterbugged in the aisles of New York's Paramount Theater to the swing of **Benny Goodman**.

The economic crisis at the beginning of the 1930s clearly shaped the lives of children and youth. Despite the troubled times and the large number of uneducated and untrained transient youth during the Great Depression, the decade developed as one filled with promise for young people. Adolescence became a developmental period separate from childhood and adulthood; it possessed its own rituals and responsibilities, and demanded—for most youth—that they get a high school education. Finally, merchandisers, advertisers, and the popular media courted teenagers as a distinct, identifiable subculture.

See also Advertising; Automobiles; Desserts; Children's Films; Games; Hobbies; Marathon Dancing; Musicals; Race Relations & Stereotyping; Radio Networks; Soft Drinks; Teenage & Juvenile Delinquency Films; Toys

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Selected Resources

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